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THE
WORKS
OF
NATHANIEL LARDNER, D.D.

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES:

CONTAINING THE
CREDIBILITY OF THE GOSPEL HISTORY;
JEWISH AND HEATHEN TESTIMONIES;
HISTORY OF HERETICS;
AND HIS SERMONS AND TRACTS:

WITH
GENERAL CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES, AND COPIOUS INDEXES.

TO THE FIRST VOLUME IS PREFIXED
THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,
BY
ANDREW KIPPIS, D.D. F.R.S. AND S.A.

VOLUME VII.

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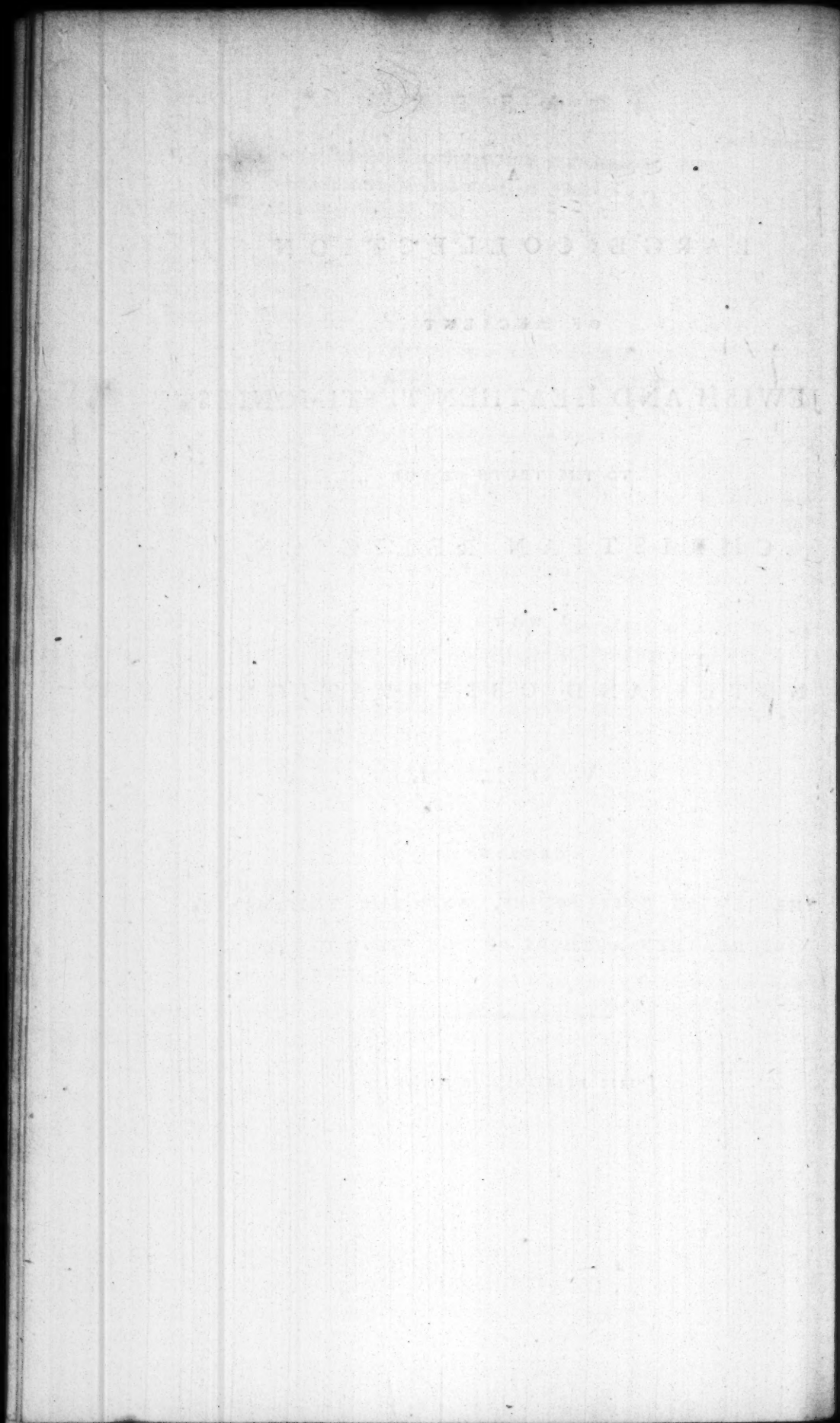
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A
LARGE COLLECTION
OF ANCIENT
JEWISH AND HEATHEN TESTIMONIES
TO THE TRUTH OF THE
CHRISTIAN RELIGION,
WITH
NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.
VOL. I.
CONTAINING
THE JEWISH TESTIMONIES, AND THE TESTIMONIES
OF HEATHEN AUTHORS OF THE FIRST CENTURY.

[FIRST PUBLISHED IN MDCCLXIV.]



T H E

P R E F A C E.

IT is well known, that I have long since intended a collection of passages of Jewish and Heathen authors, who bear testimony to the books or facts of the New Testament, or the affairs of Christians in their own times. I have also intimated, that I had by me large materials for that purpose; at the same time expressing my doubts, whether I ever should be able to put those materials into * order. But God, in his good providence, has prolonged my life. And, having completed the Supplement to the second part of the *Credibility of the Gospel History*, I have now put my collections of Jewish and Heathen Testimonies into such order, that it has been judged not improper to begin the publication.

This part of my design has been long deferred; but I hope it is not the worse for that.

Many others of late times have made collections of this kind.

This argument was not omitted by Mr. Addison, in his *Evidences of the Christian Religion*, who has insisted, though briefly, upon the testimonies of Tacitus, Suetonius, Phlegon, Dion, Celsus, Macrobius, and other Heathen authors, and made good remarks upon them; intending likewise to add the testimonies of Jewish writers, but was prevented by death.

In the year 1733 was published a book with this title—*An Appeal to the genuine Records and Testimonies of Heathen and Jewish Writers, in Defence of Christianity*: by Thomas Dawson, D. D. Vicar of New Windsor, some time Member of Convocation.†

That work has a pompous title, from which a great deal might be expected; but it is little more than an angry declamation against Dr. Sykes, for not shewing due respect to Phlegon, and Dionysius the Areopagite. I have made no use of that work. Nor do I know that I shall have occasion to take any further notice of it.

An Argument in Defence of Christianity, taken from the Confessions of the most ancient Adversaries, Jews, and Pagans, Philo-

* See the Preface to the 12th volume (in the 5th of this edition) of the second part of *The Credibility of the Gospel History*, near the end; published in the year 1755.

† It is in two parts; 201 pages for the first part, and 112 for the second; in octavo.

sophers and Historians: by Gregory Sharpe, L. L. D. Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Society of Antiquarians. * I am indebted to this learned author, and shall quote him sometimes.

In 1725 J. A. Fabricius published a volume, in quarto, concerning *the Truth of the Christian Religion*. || In the 32d chapter of which volume is a catalogue of authors, who have supported the evidence of the Jewish and Christian religion by testimonies of Heathen writers: † where are mentioned many authors, with whom I am unacquainted, as well as others, whom I have seen, and of whom I shall take notice presently.

Le Clerc, who, in the year 1727, revised that work of Fabricius, in his *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, observes, that ‘ † there are in Pagan authors, still remaining, testimonies and events, which may be of great use to confirm the truth of the Christian religion. The same is said by Herman Conringius, who, as is well known, was a very learned man.’

Unquestionably, Conringius, of Brunswick, was a very learned man, author of many valuable works, and in great

* A small volume of 166 pages, published in 1755.

|| *Delectus argumentorum, et syllabus scriptorum, qui veritatem religionis Christianæ adversus Atheos, Deistas, . . . lucubrationibus suis asseruerunt.* Hamb. 1725.

† *Cap. xxxii. Ethnicorum testimonia, veritatis religionis naturalis, Judaicæ, et Christianæ suffragantia.* Ibid. p. 634. . . . 643.

‡ Il y a dans les auteurs Payens, qui nous restent, des temoignages et des evenemens, qui peuvent beaucoup servir à confirmer la verité de la religion Chretienne. C’ étoit le sentiment d’ Herman Conringius, qui étoit, comme l’on fait, un tres-savant homme. *Bib. A. et M. T.* 27. P. i. p. 71.

Le Clerc here follows the modern way of speaking; which indeed is now in use with all learned men in general. But Heathen people were not called Pagans, *Pagani*, before the year of Christ 365, about which time, and afterwards, that denomination became common in Latin authors, as Prudentius, Salvian, Orosius, Augustin. That denomination is supposed to have had it’s rise from the state of things at that time. Sacrifices were prohibited by Christian emperors in cities, but allowed of for a while in villages and country-places. But I do not recollect that this way of speaking is adopted by the Greek ecclesiastical historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret; though they wrote after this style was common in Latin authors. To me it seems not quite proper to call those writers Pagans, who lived before the times of the Christian emperors. I therefore generally say, Heathens, Gentiles, Greeks; Heathenism, Gentilism, Hellenism.

Hæc omnia, ut in urbibus primo sublata, sic permixta ad tempus in pagis et vicis, ubi templa aliquamdiu Gentilibus patuere. . . . Unde Paganorum nomen enatum est, primum auditum sub imperatoribus Christianis, primumque Paganorum mentio existat in L. xviii. Cod. Theod. *De Episcopis, &c.* Valentiniano et Valente. A. A. Coss. *Spanhem. Hist. Christ. Sec. iv. T. i. p. 836. Vid. et Jac. Gotbtfred. in notis in Tit. de Paganis. Et Conf. Pagi ann. 351. num. v.*

Præceperas mihi, ut scriberem adversus vaniloquam pravitatem eorum, qui alieni a civitate Dei, ex locorum agrestium compitis et pagis, Pagani vocantur, sive Gentiles. *Oros. Hist. l. 1. cap. 1.*

P R E F A C E.

esteem with divers princes § of Germany. But I wish that Le Clerc had quoted his words at length, or referred to the work, in which Conringius delivered his judgment upon this point, and where, possibly, he so enlarged upon it, as to afford us some instruction.

Houtteville, in his work, entitled, *The Christian Religion proved by Facts*; and in his *Historical and Critical Discourse*, prefixed to it, * has alleged the testimonies of many Jewish and Heathen writers; Celsus, the emperor Julian, Porphyry, Jamblichus, the Talmud and the Rabbins. Fabricius, in the forecited volume, has given a large account of this performance.

I may not omit Tobias Eckhard, who has published a learned and useful work, entitled, ** *The Testimonies of such as are not Christians, collected from ancient Monuments*. Of which there have been two editions, both in my hands; and from which I have reaped benefit. This author also is in the forementioned catalogue of Fabricius.

The † Christian Religion confirmed by the Testimonies of ancient Pagan Authors; by Dominique Colonia, of the Society of Jesus. This author likewise is in the catalogue of Fabricius, who ‡ calls him a polite and eloquent writer.

This work has a nearer resemblance with mine, than any other which I have met with. Many authors are here || quoted: and Colonia gives some account of them, for shewing the value of their testimony. I shall often quote him, or refer to him; whereby the character of the work, and the judgment of the author, will be apparent to my readers. Undoubtedly, he has learning and zeal; but some allowances must be made for the credulity of his church.

§ See the Dictionary and Supplement of Moreri.

* A large volume in quarto, at Paris, in 1722.

** *Non-Christianorum de Christo testimonia, ex antiquis monumentis proposita et dijudicata.* Quarto. 1725, et 1736.

† *La Religion Chrétienne autorisée par le temoignage des anciens Auteurs Payens.* Par le P. Dominique de Colonia, de la Compagnie de Jesus. A Lyon. 1718.

‡ . . . elegans ac disertus scriptor. *Fabr. ubi supra.* p. 635.

|| Tom. 1. ch. I. Phlegon, et Thallus, ch. II. Ammianus Marcellinus. III. Marcus Antoninus, Dion, Capitolinus, Claudian, Themistius. IV. Plutarch; where comes in the pilot Thamus. Strabo, Lucan, Juvenal. V. Claudian. Again, VI. Chalcidius, Amelius, and Macrobius. VII. Cornelius Tacitus. VIII. Celsus, the epicurean. IX. The philosopher Porphyry. . . . Tom. 2. ch. I. Lampridius. II. The younger Pliny. III. The sophist Libanius. IV. The emperor Julian, the apostate. V. Lucian, of Samosata. VI. Rutilius Claudius Numatianus. VII. The emperor Antoninus, the pious. VIII. The emperor Marcus Antoninus again. IX. The false prophet, Mahomet. X. Josephus the historian. XI. The true acts of Pilate.

However, it can little become me to pass censures upon others, who am as liable to be censured; and may fall into mistakes, notwithstanding my best care to avoid them.

One fault in my work may be reckoned to be very obvious, which is the prolixity of it. In regard to which, I beg leave to say beforehand, that I aim to be distinct and particular. These things have been already slightly touched upon by many. I propose to enlarge, and set them in a fuller light. I allege passages of ancient authors at length: I settle their time: I distinguish their works, and endeavour to shew the value of their testimonies. I intend likewise to allege the judgments of divers learned moderns, who have gone before me in this service. All the persecutions of this time are a part of my subject, as they were appointed by edicts of Heathen emperors, and were carried on by Heathen governors of provinces, and officers under them. I shall have an opportunity to shew the patience and fortitude of the primitive Christians; and the state of Judaism, Gentilism, and Christianity, in the first four centuries. As most of the authors to be quoted by me are men of great distinction in the republic of letters, some occasions will offer for critical observations, which cannot be all declined; but nice and intricate questions will be carefully avoided, that the whole may be upon the level with the capacities of all who are inquisitive, and disposed to read with attention.

In the first volume are the Jewish testimonies, and the testimonies of Heathen authors, who lived in the first century.

In the second volume are Heathen writings of the second century: Among which are the letter of the younger Pliny to Trajan, and that emperor's rescript; which will give occasion for many observations concerning the sufferings of the Christians at that time, and afterwards; and the remains of the work of Celsus against the Christians, preserved in Origen; which afford an early and very valuable testimony to the genuineness of the books of the New Testament, and to the truth of the evangelical history.

In the third volume will be Ulpian, Dion Cassius, Porphyry, Hierocles, and other Heathen writers, and a history of the several persecutions of the Christians in the third century, concluding with that of the emperor Diocletian.

The fourth and last volume, in which will be the emperor Julian, Ammianus Marcellinus, Libanius, and other Heathen writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, may be as entertaining as any of the rest; but it cannot be so important.

important. Julian, in his work against the Christians, may mention the names of the evangelists, and of the other writers of the New Testament, and quote the books more distinctly than Celsus; but his testimony to the scriptures, in the fourth century, cannot be so valuable as that of Celsus in the second. However, these also deserve to be collected, and put together in their proper order. We shall there see the last struggles of expiring Gentilism, and some attempts to restore it, after it had been for a while exploded with scorn and disdain. And we may meet with more than a few men of great learning, and fine abilities, who were still tenacious of the ancient rites, and fond of all the fables upon which they were founded, and by which they had been long upheld and encouraged.

The author professes great impartiality: for which reason he is not without hopes, that his work, notwithstanding some imperfections, may be approved by the candid of every denomination. If it shall be of some use to promote good learning, and true religion, he will have great reason to be well pleased.

A
LARGE COLLECTION
OF ANCIENT
JEWISH AND HEATHEN TESTIMONIES.

JEWISH TESTIMONIES.

CHAP. I.

THE faith of many Jewish believers, in early times, a valuable testimony to the truth of the Christian religion.

I. *That many of the Jewish people believed in Jesus as the Christ, shewn from the books of the New Testament.* II. *From other ancient writings.* III. *Their faith a valuable testimony.*

I. THE Lord Jesus was born at Bethlehem, and brought up at Nazareth; and in Judea (understanding thereby the land of Israel) he fulfilled his ministry. At Jerusalem he was crucified: there he arose from the dead, and thence he ascended to heaven.

A short time before his appearance in the world, John, called the Baptist, a man of an austere character, and acknowledged by all to be a prophet, who acted with a divine commission, preached to the people, saying, *Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.* ‘Be persuaded by me to reform your lives, and break off every evil course, by repentance; for the kingdom of God by the Messiah, long since promised by God, and foretold by the prophets, is now about to be erected among you, which is a dispensation of the greatest purity and perfection, the privileges of which are appropriated to sincere penitents only, and really good men.’ He also pointed to Jesus, as the person who was to set up that kingdom, and was much greater than himself.

Soon after which Jesus also appeared, preaching the like doctrine in the name of God; recommending the practice of strict and sublime virtue in heart and life; with a view, not to honour from men, or any other worldly advantages, but with an eye to the favour and approbation of God, who knows all things.

things. These were the general terms proposed by him; forgiveness of past sins upon repentance, and eternal life to perseverance in the profession of the truth, and the practice of virtue; without any assurances of worldly riches, honour or preferment; and with frequent intimations of many difficulties, and external discouragements.

As he went about preaching that doctrine, he wrought many miracles, healing all men, who came to him, of the diseases they laboured under; and raising to life some who had died. And twice he miraculously fed in desert places, with a few loaves and small fishes, great numbers of men, who had long attended upon his discourses. At the beginning of his ministry, and during the time of it, there were some extraordinary manifestations from heaven, bearing testimony to him, as the *beloved Son of God*, or the *Messiah*, the great and extraordinary person, who had been long since foretold, and promised, as the *seed of the woman, that should bruise the head of the serpent, the seed of Abraham, in whom all the families of the earth should be blessed, and the Son of David*, in whom the promise of an extensive and everlasting kingdom was to be fulfilled. Of all which things the blessed Jesus sometimes, in the latter part of his ministry, reminded the Jewish people, his hearers, to induce them to act according to evidence, and to improve the present opportunity, and accept the blessings offered to them, lest they should expose themselves to the divine displeasure and resentment. But, as before hinted, he never invited any with assurances of worldly advantages from him: and all were at liberty to act according to their own judgment, and to go away, or stay with him. John vi. 66. . . 71.

Wherever he went, preaching that excellent and heavenly doctrine, he was attended by many; who plainly discerned it to be superior to that of their ordinary teachers, the scribes and Pharisees, and that he spoke and acted as a prophet, with divine illumination and authority. The people in general were so well satisfied of his great character, that they could not help wondering, that their scribes and rulers, for whom they had a great respect, did not publicly acknowledge him to be the *Messiah*. *And many of the people believed on him, and said; When the Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these which this man has done?* John vii. 31. Again: *And many resorted unto him, and said; John did no miracle. But all things that John spake of this man were true. And many believed on him there.* John x. 41, 42.

Nevertheless, among the chief rulers also, many believed on him; but because of the Pharisees they did not confess him, lest they should be put

put out of the synagogue: For they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God. John xii. 42. 43. But Nicodemus, a Pharisee, and a ruler, and in the very early part of our Lord's ministry, came to him of his own accord; and acknowledged him to be a teacher come from God, John iii. And it is very likely that he went away fully convinced that he was the Christ. And when the Jewish council reproved their officers for not having apprehended Jesus, and brought him before them, Nicodemus, *being one of them*, pleaded his cause, saying; *Doth our law judge any man before it hear him and know what he doeth?* John vii. 51. For which he was reviled, as very ignorant and greatly mistaken. However, he afterwards attended the burial of Jesus, together with *Joseph of Arimathea*, another disciple of Jesus; but secretly, for fear of the Jews. He was a rich man, and an honourable counsellor: who went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus, and wrapt it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new tomb, hewn out of a rock. John xix. 38... 42. Matt. xxvii. Mark xv. Luke xxiii.

Beside them, Jairus, ruler of a synagogue, and a nobleman of Capernaüm, were disciples of some distinction. And there may have been some others in like stations, who paid their respects to Jesus, though they are not named. The centurion at Capernaüm had such faith in Jesus, as to believe him able to heal his sick servant at a distance, by speaking a word only. He was a Gentile; but he was in esteem with *the elders of the Jews*, who lived in that city. And they also joined with him in the request to Jesus to heal his sick servant, saying, *that he was worthy, for whom he should do this.* Luke vii. 4. So that they also were persuaded in their minds, that Jesus had power to perform so great a miracle. Not now to take any notice of our Saviour's female disciples, though they also were, some of them, respectable for their outward condition, as well as for their eminent virtue.

Out of the number of his disciples Jesus chose twelve, to be generally with him, and to be employed by him, whom he named apostles; who, notwithstanding some imperfections and failings, owing to the prevailing prejudices of the Jewish people, all continued faithful to him, excepting only Judas the traitor, a man of a worldly and covetous disposition. And though the miscarriage and loss of Judas could not but be a great grief and discouragement to them, the other eleven kept together; even after the death of their Lord.

When he was risen from the dead, he came again among them, and shewed himself to them: and though they were not to be persuaded without good proof, in the end they were all satisfied that it was he.

Having, in the space of forty days, been often seen by them, and having frequently conversed with them, *speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God*, he was in their sight taken up into heaven. Acts i.

Soon after which, when they were assembled together, to the number of *about one hundred and twenty*, another, named Matthias, was chosen in the room of Judas, to be a witness with the rest of the things concerning the Lord Jesus, and particularly his resurrection from the dead.

At the next following pentecost, the Holy Ghost, in a remarkable manner, came down upon the apostles and their company, agreeably to the promise which Jesus had made to them. And henceforward the apostles, being fully qualified, preached to all men in the name of Christ, exhorting them to repentance, with the promise of the remission of sins, and everlasting salvation. Acts ii.

Such was the effect of St. Peter's first discourse at Jerusalem, after our Lord's ascension, that *there were added to them about three thousand souls*: and afterwards such accessions were made, that their number was *about five thousand*. Acts ii. 41. iv. 4.

But though many miracles were done by the hands of the apostles, and the whole company of the believers behaved in a very becoming manner, insomuch that it is said, *they had favour with all the people*; Acts ii. 49. and again, that *the whole multitude of them that believed was of one heart, and of one soul; neither said any of them, that ought of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had all things common*; Acts iv. 32. yet they met with many difficulties, and were ill treated by the Jewish rulers. Peter and John were apprehended and brought before the council, and examined, and were then commanded, *not to speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus*: Acts iv. And they were farther threatened, if they transgressed that order. But they, nevertheless, thinking themselves obliged to persist in their work, and *to obey God, rather than men*; in a short time afterwards, all the apostles were taken up, and put *in the common prison*, and then brought before the council: and having been *beaten*, and again commanded *not to speak in the name of Jesus*, they were dismissed. Acts v. Soon after this, Stephen, a man of great eminence and usefulness among the disciples, was stoned; Acts vi. vii. And James, brother of John, one of the chief apostles of Jesus, was beheaded by order of Herod Agrippa, then king in the land of Judea. *And because he saw it pleased the Jews, he proceeded farther to take Peter also, and put him in prison, intending after Easter to bring him forth to the people*; Acts xii. But now Divine Providence interposed: Peter was miraculously delivered out of prison;

prison; and Herod died under tokens of divine displeasure. What is added is well worthy of observation. *But the word of God grew, and multiplied.*

And gradually the apostles and their fellow-labourers, with divine approbation and encouragement, enlarged their views, and preached the gospel to Samaritans, and then to Gentiles. But, wherever they went, they first addressed themselves to the Jewish inhabitants, and particularly in their synagogues, which there were at that time in many cities of Greece, and elsewhere, and usually had some converts among them. The evidences of the Christian religion were fairly and openly proposed, and to many they appeared sufficient and satisfactory. The whole argument is briefly summed up in those words of St. Paul before the governor Festus, and King Agrippa, and the rest of that great audience. *Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue to this day, witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come; that the Christ should be liable to sufferings; and that, being the first who rose from the dead, to die no more, he should shew light unto the people, and to the Gentiles.* Acts xxvi. 22, 23. Thus, at Antioch in Pisidia, it is said of Paul and Barnabas, Acts xiii. 14. *they went into the synagogue on the sabbath day; where Paul made a long discourse. . . . Now, when the congregation was broken up, many of the Jews, and religious, or worshipping proselytes, followed Paul and Barnabas, who, speaking to them, persuaded them to continue in the grace of God.* Afterwards, at Iconium, *they went both into the synagogue, and so spake, that a great multitude of the Jews, and also of the Greeks, believed.* Acts xiv. 1. And in like manner at other places. And particularly at Thessalonica, Acts xvii. 1. and at Berea, ver. 10. at Athens, ver. 17. at Corinth, xviii. 4. at Ephesus, xviii. 19, and 26. When Paul came to Rome, he was a prisoner. He therefore could not go to any Jewish synagogue. But being suffered to dwell by himself, with a soldier that kept him, he called the chief of the Jews together. . . . And when they had appointed him a day, there came many to him into his lodging; to whom he expounded and testified the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the law and the prophets, from morning to evening. And some believed, and some believed not. Acts xxviii. 16. . . . 24.

As for the Jews at Jerusalem, we know, from the history of the council, held there in the year of Christ 50, about the terms upon which the Gentiles should be received, that the believers were then numerous there, and greatly concerned for the establishment and propagation of the gospel, Acts xv. And when St. Paul came thither again, at the pentecost of the year

year 58, as we compute, the believers there were still steady and numerous. And St. James, the apostle who presided there, and the elders, reminded him, saying; *Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are that believe*, Acts xxi. 20. By which I suppose to be intended chiefly the church at Jerusalem; though some others may be included, who were come up thither upon occasion of the feast. And about four years after this, near the end of his imprisonment at Rome, or soon after it, Paul wrote his epistle to the Hebrews, or the believers at Jerusalem, and in Judea, not excluding such as lived elsewhere, to confirm and strengthen them, and fortify them against discouragements.

Indeed, it should be particularly observed by us, that there were societies of believers in other parts of Judea, beside Jerusalem. For in the account of things about the year of Christ 40, it is said, (Acts ix. 31.) *Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified; and, walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied.* And St. Paul, in his epistle to the Galatians, speaks of his being *unknown by face unto the churches of Judea, which are in Christ.* Gal. i. 22. See likewise 1 Theff. ii. 14.

Nor were all these men of the lowest rank and condition. For, in the general account of the early progress of the gospel, we are told, Acts vi. 7. *And the word of God increased, and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly: and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith.* And we can reckon up some by name, who, upon several accounts, were men of eminence. Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch, then residing at Jerusalem, who generously undertook a share in providing for the poor of the church; a man of substance undoubtedly, and probably a man of good understanding, and great probity. Barnabas, a Levite, a native of Cyprus, where he had an estate in land, which he sold for the relief of those believers in Jesus who were poor and indigent. Paul, a Pharisee, son of a Pharisee, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, educated in Jewish learning at Jerusalem under Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, and had in reputation among all the people, Acts iv. v. and xxii. and not unacquainted with Greek literature, and a person of uncommon acuteness; who, of a violent persecutor, became a sincere convert to the faith, and a zealous preacher of the gospel. In which service he laboured as fervently, and as successfully, as any other of the apostles; shewing therein great fidelity and self denial: whose disinterestedness had been so conspicuous, that he could openly appeal to the world, and say; *Though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant to all, that I might gain the more,* 1 Cor. ix. 19.

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The character of this person is so extraordinary, that I must enlarge somewhat in his history; notwithstanding the brevity which I have prescribed to myself in this article. By the special choice and designation of Jesus Christ, after his resurrection from the dead, he was added to the other twelve apostles, *that he might bear his name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel*: Acts ix. and xxvi. though it was foreseen, that he would *suffer many things* in that service. In the course of his ministry he preached and asserted the Christian doctrine to the Jewish people in general, and before the Jewish council at Jerusalem. He pleaded also, and preached the doctrine of Christ before Felix and Festus, Roman governors of Judea, and before King Agrippa, and his sisters Drusilla and Bernice, who were Jews by religion; and in the presence of many other personages of great distinction at Cæsarea, the residence of the Roman governor. Acts xxii. . . xxvi. He also pleaded^a before the emperor Nero himself at Rome; by whom was signed the order of his confinement in that city, which was a kind of free custody: where he *dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things, which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, and with great success, no man forbidding him*. Acts xxviii. 30, 31. At the end of which period he was discharged, and set at liberty by the same authority by which he had been confined. And then he went abroad again, preaching the gospel, as he had done before, and visiting and confirming the Christian churches in several places. Afterwards, as we have reason to believe, he came to Rome again. And there, in the year 64 or 65, in the persecution of the Christians, ordered by the same emperor, he suffered martyrdom, being beheaded, as a Roman citizen; so bearing his final testimony to the truth of that doctrine, which he had long preached with great zeal and diligence. I now proceed.

The chamberlain and treasurer of Candace, *queen of the Ethiopians*, a Jewish proselyte, *who had come up to Jerusalem to worship*. Acts viii. 27. His high station, and the great trust reposed in him, are arguments of his ability and fidelity. His journey to Jerusalem indicates his zeal for the religion which he had embraced: and his reading the Jewish sacred scriptures, as he was returning in his chariot, shews his studiousness to understand them. His discourse with Philip, a disciple of Jesus, who drew near to him, manifests inquisitiveness and

^a See the second vol. (in the sixth of this edition) of *The Supplement to the Credibility, &c.* p. 250, &c.

openness to conviction, which are laudable dispositions. And his conversion to the faith of Jesus is therefore a testimony to the truth of the Christian religion, which cannot be slighted.

Judas and Silas, chief men among the brethren at Jerusalem; Acts xv. . . xviii, and the latter of them, as it seems, a Roman citizen. *Aquila and Priscilla*, Jews of Pontus, persons of good understanding, and uncommon piety. *Timothy*, a young man of good understanding at Lystra, who from his childhood had been instructed in the scriptures of the Old Testament, being the son of a Jewess. 2 Tim. i. His mother Eunice, and his grandmother Lois, also were believers. Acts xii. 12. *John Mark*, an evangelist, son of Mary, a woman of great zeal and courage in the profession of the Christian religion, an inhabitant of Jerusalem, and nephew to Barnabas. Col. iv. 10. *Luke*, another evangelist, by some thought to be the same as Lucius of Cyrene; Acts xiii. 1. If so, he was a Jew by birth. If he was not that Lucius, yet very probably he was a Jewish proselyte before he became a Christian. With that Lucius of Cyrene is mentioned, in the place just referred to, *Manaen, who had been brought up with Herod the tetrach*. A^b person, undoubtedly, of a liberal education.

Apollos, a Jew of Alexandria, an eloquent or learned man, and mighty in the scriptures of the Old Testament. Acts xviii. *Crispus and Sosthenes*, rulers in the Jewish synagogue at Corinth; 1 Cor i. and *Zenas*, a Jewish lawyer. Tit. iii. 13.

All these I have reckoned up briefly and imperfectly * among the Jewish believers; designedly omitting converts from among the Gentiles. All these Jews, by their faith and profession, bore a testimony to Jesus, well deserving our regard. For they must have acted under as great discouragements as can be conceived. They underwent the keenest reproaches from the unbelieving Jews, their neighbours, for receiving a person as the Messiah; who, instead of working out a great de-

^b Μαναντι Ηρώδης τῷ τετραρχῇ συντροφός. *Herodis tetrarchæ collataneus*. Vulg. 'At vocabulum συντροφός latius patet, significatque eum, qui a primæ ætate cum altero educatus est.' Grot. in loc.

* I say imperfectly. For I have not rehearsed all the Jewish believers, who are expressly mentioned, and by name. I have omitted several: as *Jason*, who was so friendly to St. Paul, at Thessalonica, as related, Acts xvii. 5. . 9. *Sopater of Berea*. Acts xx. 4. These two seem to be the same who are mentioned again, Rom. xvi. 21. where they appear to have

been the apostle's kinsmen, and therefore must have been Jews. *Aristarchus*, a Thessalonian, Acts xx. 4. who is mentioned again in the epistle to the Colossians, iv. 10, 11. written, during the apostle's imprisonment at Rome, or near the end of it, in the year 62. Where St. Paul calls him *his fellow prisoner*; and reckons him among those of the circumcision, who had been his fellow workers unto the kingdom of God. *Mnason of Cyprus*, an old disciple; Acts xxi. 16. And there are divers others, who may be observed by attentive readers of the Acts, and St. Paul's Epistles.

liverance

liverance for their nation, as was generally expected and earnestly desired, had himself undergone an ignominious death. For my own part, I always think of these early Jewish believers with peculiar respect. I am not able to celebrate all the virtues of their willing and steady faith under the many difficulties which they met with. But I am persuaded, that when the Lord Jesus shall come again, he will bestow marks of distinction upon those who extricated themselves out of the snares, in which their close connections with others had involved them. And as *they were not ashamed of him, and his words, but confessed his name in the midst of an adulterous and sinful generation, he will not be ashamed of them, but will confess them, and own them for his, when he shall come in the glory of his Father, with the holy angels.* Mar. viii. 38. Mat. x. 32.

For certain, I apprehend, that the faith of the Jewish believers is of greater importance than the unbelief of other Jews in the time of Jesus and his apostles.

II. What has been hitherto alleged we know from the books of the New Testament. It will be worth while to attend also to the informations of ecclesiastical history.

There is good reason to believe, that no Christians were involved in the miseries of the last siege of Jerusalem. They are supposed to have left it before the siege began. Some went to Pella, as mentioned by Eusebius, ^c a city on the other side Jordan. Others might go elsewhere, into ^d Asia, or ^e other remote countries, where they could get a settlement. St. John, ^f as I suppose, left Judea, and went to Ephesus in the year 66, or thereabout, a short time before the war commenced. Some Jews of Jerusalem, and other parts of Judea, might go with him, or follow him afterwards. And, under his direction and assistance, they might procure a comfortable settlement in some places not far from him.

After the war was over in Judea, it is supposed, that the believers, who had retired into the country beyond Jordan, returned to Jerusalem, and formed a church there.

James, the Lord's brother, who had presided in the church of Jerusalem, died, as we suppose, in the year of Christ 62; who was succeeded by Simeon. In his ecclesiastical history ^g

^c H. E. l. 3. cap. 5. p. 75. A. Vid. et Epiph. H. 29. vii. H. 30. n. ii.

^d See *The Supplement*, vol. i. p. 346, 347. ch. ix. § iii. and vol. iii. ch. xx. p. 311. 312. (in Vol. VI. of this ed.)

^e Credibile est, Judææ Christianos, non tantum Pellæ, ad ortum Jordanos, commoratos esse, sed et per vici-

nas, immo et remotiores Romani imperii provincias, in quibus tutiores esse poterant, sparsos esse, &c. Cleric. H. E. ann. 71. num. i.

^f See *The Supplement to the Credib.* vol. i. p. 346 . . 349. (in Vol. VI. of this ed.)

^g H. E. L. 3. cap. xi.

Eusebius placeth his election after the destruction of Jerusalem; but in his Chronicle ^h it is so expressed, as if it had been done immediately after the death of James. That is no very material circumstance; nor are we able to determine which is right, for want of sufficient evidence. By Hegesippus he is ⁱ said to have been son of Cleophas, brother of Joseph; and therefore was our Lord's cousin-german. But Eusebius mentions that in a doubtful manner. We should therefore, as I apprehend, be cautious of being too particular in our decisions about it. However, Eusebius ^k justly reckons him among the eye and ear-witnesses of the Lord: and according ^l to Hegesippus, whose ecclesiastical history Eusebius had before him, he suffered martyrdom in Trajan's persecution. We therefore, without hesitation, place his death at the year of our Lord 107; where also it is placed by Eusebius in ^m his chronicle. Simeon was then 120 years old. By order of Atticus, president of Syria, he was crucified: he must therefore have been born several years before our Lord; and, supposing him chosen bishop of Jerusalem in the year 62, he presided in that church more than forty years.

He was succeeded by Justus, a Jew; and, as Eusebius adds, 'there ⁿ were then many believers of the circumcision.' 'The ^o times of the ensuing successions of bishops at Jerusalem, Eusebius says, he could never learn: but it was said they had sat in the see for a short time only. This he had learned from ancient writers, that to the war in Adrian's time, (about the year 132) there had been fifteen successions, who were all Hebrews by birth, and had held the genuine doctrine of Christ.' Whose names are all put down by him. In this catalogue of fifteen, Eusebius reckons James the first, Simeon the second; after which there follow thirteen more. Why their times were so short we cannot say; there is no reason to think that any of them were taken off by persecution: but

^h Jacobus, frater Domini, quem omnes justum appellabant, a Judæis lapidibus opprimitur: in cujus thronum Simeon, qui et Simon, secundus assumitur. *Cbr.* p. 161.

ⁱ . . . Απ' αὐτῶν ὡς γε φασὶ γεγονότα τῷ σωτηρῶς. Τοῦ γὰρ ἐν Κλωπᾷ, ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ὑπαρχεῖν Ἡγησιππος ἰστέρι. *H. E.* l. 3. c. xi. p. 87. *Conf. l.* 4. cap. 22. p. 142. C.

^k Λογισμῶ δ' αἱ καὶ τοῦ Συμεῶνα τῶν αὐτοπτῶν καὶ αὐτηκῶν εἶποι ἀντίγε γένεσθαι τῆς κληρίας. *L.* 3. c. 32. p. 104. B.

^l *Ap. Euf. H. E. l.* 3. c. 32. p. 104. C.

^m Trajano adversus Christianos persecutionem movente, Simon, filius Cleopæ, qui in Jerosolymis episcopatum tenebat, crucifigitur. Cui succedit Justus. Ignatius, quoque Antiochenæ ecclesiæ episcopus Romam perductus bestiis traditur. *Cbr.* p. 165.

ⁿ . . . Τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολυμοῖς ἐπισκοπῆς τοῦ θρόνου Ἰεβδαῖος τῆς ὀνόμα Ἰησοῦς, μυρίων ὀσσην ἐκ περιτομῆς εἰς τοὺς Χριστοὺς τῆς καὶ ταῦτα πεπρωτοῦν εἰς καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς διαδέχεται. *l.* 3. c. 35. p. 106. ^o *L.* 4. cap. v.

possibly

possibly they were all in years, seniority being esteemed a ground of preference. After their defeat by Adrian, the Jews were forbid to come to Jerusalem: from that time the church there consisted of Gentiles, whose first bishop was named Mark.

That there were Jews who believed in Jesus, we are assured even by Celsus the epicurean, who wrote against the Christians about the middle of the second century. In divers parts of his work he personates a Jew: it is likely, that he had conversed with divers unbelievers of that nation. He consulted them, that they might assist him in his argument against the Christians, and likewise furnish him with scandal against them if they could. 'In ^a this manner,' says Origen, 'this personated Jew addresseth those who had believed from among the Jews—What ailed you, fellow-citizens, that you forsook the law of your country, to follow him, whom we mentioned just now, by whom you have been miserably deceived, leaving us, and going over to another name, and another way of living?'

And Origen, in his books against Celsus, says, 'that ^r the Messiah had been foretold so long, and by so many, that the whole nation of the Jews were in earnest expectation of his coming; but since the birth of Jesus they have been divided in their opinion; for many of them have believed, that Jesus is the person whom the prophets foretold; but others rejected him, despising him because of the meanness of his outward character.'

Irenæus says, 'there ^s were many of the circumcision, who believed in Jesus, who rose from the dead, hearkening to Moses and the prophets, who beforehand preached the coming of the Son of God.'

Among these Jewish believers there were different sentiments. Origen says, 'there ^t were two sorts of Ebionites; some who believed Jesus to have been born of a

^p Ib. l. 4. cap. 6. vid. et Chr. p. 167.

^q Contr. Cels. l. 2. § 1. p. 57. Conf. § 3. p. 58, 59.

^r . . . Ὡς τοῖς Ἰουδαίων ὅλον ἔθνος ἡρτημένον τῆς περὶ τοῦ ἐλπιζομένου ἐπιδημησείν προσδοκίας, εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ζήτησιν ἐληλυθέναι, τὸ Ἰησοῦ ἐπιδημησάμενος· καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν πλῆθος αὐτῶν ὁμολογῆσαι Χριστὸν, καὶ πεπιστευκέναι αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν προφητευόμενον· τῶς δὲ μὴ πιστευούσας, κ. λ. Contr. Cels. l. 3. n. 28. p. 127.

^s — etiam ipsum Dominum, qui

resurrexit a mortuis, in quem et credunt multi, qui sunt ex circumcissione, qui et Moysen et Prophetas audiunt prædicantes adventum filii Dei. Iren. l. 4. cap. ii. § 4.

^t . . . ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίων νόμον ὡς τοῖς Ἰουδαίων πλῆθι βίαν ἐθελοντες. Οὗτοι δ' εἰσιν οἱ διττοὶ Ἐβιωναῖοι, ἧτοι ἐκ παρθένου ὁμολογῶντες ὁμοίως ἡμῖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἡ οὐχ οὕτως γεννηθῆναι ἀλλ' ὡς τὰς λοιπὰς ἀνθρώπων. Contr. Cels. l. 5. § 61. p. 272.

‘ virgin, as we do ; some who supposed Jesus to be born as ‘ other men are.’ Origen speaks of both sorts of these men, as fond of the Jewish observances. Afterwards, “ in the same book against Celsus, he says, that both sorts of the Ebionites, like the Encratites, rejected St. Paul’s epistles ; nor did they consider him as a wise or good man.

Eusebius, in his ecclesiastical history, in a chapter entitled *Of the Heresy of the Ebionites*, speaks to the like purpose. ‘ Some,’ * says he, ‘ who are not to be moved by any means ‘ from their respect for the Christ of God, are in some respects very infirm. They are called by the ancients Ebionites, because they have but a low opinion of Christ, thinking him to be a mere man, born of Joseph and Mary, ‘ honoured for his advancement in virtue ; and esteeming the ‘ ritual ordinances of the law necessary to be observed by ‘ them, as if they could not be justified by faith in Christ ‘ only. Others of them do not deny, that Jesus was born of ‘ a virgin by the Holy Ghost. Nevertheless, they do not ‘ acknowledge his pre-existence as God the Word : and, like ‘ the others, they are fond of the external observances of the ‘ law of Moses. They also reject Paul’s epistles, and call ‘ him an apostate from the law.’

These two learned ancient authors speak of two sorts of Ebionites, therein, as † may be supposed, including those who are sometimes called Nazarenes, and were the descendants of the Jewish believers at Jerusalem.

It may be also here observed by us, that many learned men are now of opinion, that there never was any man named Ebion, the leader of a sect ; but that the Ebionites were so called from their low opinion concerning the person of Christ, and their attachment to the external rites of the law of Moses. And that opinion, as I apprehend, is much countenanced by the passages which have been just quoted.

* Εἰσι γὰρ τινες αἰρεσεῖς, τὰς Παύλου ἐπιστολάς τε ἀποστολὴν μὴ προσέμεναι, ὡς περ Ἑβωναῖοι ἀμφοτέρω, καὶ οἱ καλεσμένοι Ἐγκρατῖται. Οὐκ ἀνέβη οἱ μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, ὡς μακαρίῳ τινι καὶ σοφῷ. Ib. n. 65. p. 274.

† Ἄλλως δὲ ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων τῆς περὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ τῆς Θεῆς διαθεσεως ἀδυνατῶν ἐκσεῖσαι, βατεραληπτικῆς εὐραν, ἐσφετερίζετο. Ἐβιωναῖος τῆς οὐκ οὐκ ἐπὶ φημιζον οἱ πρῶτοι, πτωχῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ δοξαζόντας λίτον μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ κοῖνον ἡγνόν, κατὰ προκοπὴν ἡδὺς αὐτοῦ μόνον ἀνθρώπων

δεδικαιώμενον, ἐξ ἀνδρὸς τε κοινῶν καὶ τῆς Μαρίας γεγεννημένον . . . Ἄλλοι δὲ παρὰ τοῖς τῆς αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐπὶ προσήγορίας, ἐκ παρθένου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μὴ ἀρνημένοι γεγονέναι τοῦ κυρίου, ἢ μὴ ἐθ' ὁμοίως καὶ ἡτοὶ προσηγορεῖν αὐτὸν θεὸν λόγον ὄντα καὶ σοφίαν ὁμολογῶντες. κ. λ. L. 3. cap. 27. p. 99.

‡ Et Origines, cum duplices facit Ebionæos in disputatione contra Celsum, Ebionæorum nomine abutens, sub priore illa nota Nazareos, ut credibile est, describat. Grot. Prol. in Matt. p. 5.

We cannot deny that there were some believers, who supposed Jesus to have been born as other men; but I apprehend that the number of these was very small: nor do I recollect any Christian writing, now extant, where that opinion is maintained.

We must also allow that there were some, who² rejected the apostle Paul, whilst they received the other apostles: these likewise I suppose to have been few in number. I know no work of any ancient author now remaining, who speaks disrespectfully of him, excepting only ^a *The Recognitions*, or *Clementine homilies*, of which we formerly took particular notice.

As for the other Ebionites, called also Nazareans, it is allowed, as we have just seen, that they believed Jesus to be born of a virgin, by an especial interposition of the power of God, or by the Holy Ghost. These also received the apostle Paul. *The testaments of the twelve patriarchs* were written by a Jewish believer of this character in the second century. He plainly received Paul and his epistles, and the acts of the apostles, as was shewn^b formerly. It is a very curious work. When it came in my way, I enlarged in my extracts of it. Nor do I now repent of that labour.

That the Nazareans, called also believers from among the Hebrews, received Paul, is apparent from Jerom's commentary upon Is. ix. 1. . . 3. quoted Matt. iv. 15, 16. 'The 'Nazareans,' says he, 'whom I before mentioned, endeavour 'to explain this text after this manner. When Christ came, 'and began to enlighten the world with his doctrine, the land 'of Zabulon and Nephtali was first delivered from the 'errors of the scribes and Pharisees, and shook off from 'their necks the heavy yoke of Jewish traditions. Afterwards, 'by the preaching of the apostle Paul, who was the last of

² Nota, quod primi apostoli salvatoris literam Sabbathi destruunt adversus Ebionitas, qui quum cæteros recipient apostolos, Paulum quasi transgressorem legis repudiant. Hieron. in Matt. xii. 2. T. 4. P. i. p. 46.

^a See *The Credib.* P. ii. vol. ii. p. 787, 788, and p. 794 (in. vol. ii. of this ed.)

^b See *The Credib.* P. ii. vol. ii. p. 760 . . . 764 (in vol. ii. of this ed.)

^c Hebræi credentes in Christum hunc locum ita edisserunt. . . Nazaræi, quorum opinionem supra posui, hunc locum ita explicare conantur. Adveniente Christo, ac prædicatione illius co-

ruscante, prima terra Zabulon et terra Nephtali scribarum et Phariseorum est erroribus liberata, et gravissimam traditionum Judaicarum jugum excussit de cervicibus suis. Postea autem per evangelium apostoli Pauli, qui novissimus omnium apostolorum omnium fuit, ingravata est, id est, multiplicata prædicatione: et in terminos gentium, et viam universi maris Christi evangelium splenduit. Denique omnis orbis, qui ante ambulabat, vel sedebat in tenebris, et idolatriæ ac mortis vinculis tenebatur, claram evangelii lucem aspexit. In Is. cap. ix. T. 3. p. 83.

‘all the apostles, the preaching was increased, and even multiplied; and the gospel of Christ shone out among the Gentiles, and by *the way of the sea*. At length the whole world, that had walked, or *sat in darkness*, and had been held in the chains of idolatry and death, saw the clear light of the gospel.’ So he says that text was explained by the Nazarenes, whom just before he called *the Hebrews that believed in Christ*.

That the Nazarenes received all Christ’s apostles, is evident from the passage just transcribed. It is also manifest from Jerom’s commentary upon Is. xxxi. 6. . . 9. ‘The ^d Nazarenes,’ says he, ‘understand this place after this manner: O ye children of Israel, who under the worst direction denied the Son of God, return to him, and to his apostles: for if you do that, you will then cast away your idols, which have been a sin to you; and the devil shall fall before you, not by your own power, but by the mercy of God; and his young men, who before fought for him, shall be tributary to the church, and all his strength and power shall be subdued.’

The Ebionites ^e are said to have adhered to the injunctions of the law of Moses, after they had received the gospel of Christ. ‘Some of them,’ as ^f Jerom intimates, ‘were for imposing the legal observances upon all men, as necessary to salvation: but the other Ebionites, (or Nazarenes) as the same ancient and learned writer owns, observed those appointments themselves, as being of the seed of Israel, without imposing them upon others.’ These were evidently of the same opinion with the believers in the church of Jerusalem: see the Acts of the Apostles, ch. xxi. And divers learned moderns ^g are now convinced of this, and readily allow, that the Jewish believers, who were called Nazarenes,

^d Nazaræi locum istum sic intelligunt. O filii Israel, qui consilio pessimo Dei Filium denegastis, revertimini ad eum, et ad apostolos ejus. Si enim hoc feceritis, omnia abjicietis idola, quæ vobis prius fuerant in peccatum: et cadet vobis diabolus, non vestris viribus, sed misericordia Dei, et juvenes ejus, qui quondam pro illo pugnabant, erunt ecclesiæ vestigales, omnique fortitudo et petra illius pertransibit. In Is. cap. xxxi. T. 3. p. 267.

^e Simul arat in bove et asino Ebion, dignus pro humilitate sensus paupertate nominis sui, qui sic recipit evangelium,

ut Judæicarum superstitionum, quæ in umbra et imagine præcesserunt, caeremonias non relinquunt. Hieron. in Is. cap. i. T. 3. p. 9.

^f Audiant Ebionæi, qui post passionem abolitam legem putant esse servandam. Audiant Ebionitarum socii, qui Judæis tantum, et de stirpe Israelitici generis hæc custodienda decernunt. Id. in Is. cap. i. T. 3. p. 15.

^g Ego ad eos accedere non vereor, qui statuunt, Nazaræos, nullos Christianorum, nisi Judæos, et Abrahamæ posteros, legi Mosaicæ alligare voluisse, &c. Mosheim. de reb. Chr. ante C. M. p. 339.

did not impose the ordinances of the law upon others, though they observed them as descendents of Israel and Abraham.

The Ebionites, or some who went under that denomination, must have received the Acts of the Apostles. 'For, as^b we learn from Epiphanius, they said they were called Ebionites, or Poor, because in the times of the apostles they sold their goods, and laid them at the apostles feet; and by that means they had voluntarily reduced themselves to poverty. For that reason men called them poor, but they gloried in the name.' Manifestly referring to the history in the fourth and fifth chapters of the Acts. They who received that book must have received Paul and all the apostles of Jesus, and very probably all their writings which were received by other christians.

I suppose likewise, that all the Jewish believers in general received the gospel of St. Matthew entire, with the genealogy, at the beginning. The testimony of Irenæus, as seems to me, without searching for any other authority, is sufficient to put it out of question: 'Theⁱ gospel, according to Matthew,' he says, 'was written to the Jews; for they earnestly desired a Messiah of the seed of David: and Matthew having the same desire to a yet greater degree, strove by all means to give them full satisfaction, that Christ was of the seed of David; wherefore he began with his genealogy.' (A)

Eusebius, in a place above cited, says, *that even those Ebionites, (or Nazarenes) who believed Jesus to be born of a virgin by the Holy Ghost, did not acknowledge his pre-existence, as God the Word.* Nevertheless, I presume, they did believe Jesus Christ to be *the Word, and Wisdom, and Power of God.* But they did not believe the pre-existence of the Word as a

^b Αυτοι δε θηθεν σιμνουνται, εαυτης φασκοντες πτωχεις δια το φασιν εν χρονοις των αποστολων πωλειν το αυτων υπαρχοντα, και τιθηναι παρα της ποδας των αποστολων, και εις πτωχειαν και αποταξιν μεταληλυθειναι και δια τωτο καλεισθαι υπο παντων, φασ, πτωχοι. H. 30. n. xiii. p. 141. A.

ⁱ Iren. 147. Mass. and see *The Credib.* P. 2. vol. i. p. 356, (in vol. ii. of this ed.)

(A) As many mistakes have been entertained about *the Gospel according to the Hebrews*, it may not be unseasonable to observe here, that probably it was an Hebrew translation of St. Matthew's original Greek gospel, with additions from the other gospels: to which possibly might be added some few particulars received by tradition from the

early Jewish believers. See *Credibility*, P. 2. ch. v. vol. i. p. 185. and vol. 2. ch. xxxix. p. 804, 805. Epiphanius therefore says, *that the Hebrew gospel of Matthew, used by the Nazarenes, was a full gospel.* Εχεισι δε το κατὰ Ματθαίου ευαγγελιον πληρεςατον ιβραϊσι. H. 29. num. ix. p. 124. The Nazarenes therefore did not reject the authority of the other evangelists, but owned and acknowledged it. That St. Matthew wrote in Greek, see *The Supplement*, vol. i. p. 118, 119, 120, (in vol. vi. of this ed.) Says Lampe, Synopf. H. E. p. 73. Græca vero lingua omnes, ne Matthæo quidem excepto, usi sunt, ut a judæis et Gentibus uterentur.

distinct person, and separate from God the Father; as Eusebius and some Arianizing Christians of his time did. That I take to be the truth, and the ground and reason why Eusebius expresseth himself as he does. And it might be easily shewn,¹ that ^k the Nazarean Christians did not reject St. John's gospel, nor hold any principles that obliged them to reject or dislike it.

Finally, we are assured by St. Jerom, 'that ^l in his 'time there were many all over the East called Nazareans, 'upon whom the Jews pronounced their curses as heretics. 'They profess,' says Jerom, 'that they believe in Christ, the 'Son of God, born of the virgin Mary, who suffered under 'Pontius Pilate, and rose again from the dead, the same in 'whom we also believe.'

I shall proceed no farther in this argument, nor go any lower. There were for the first four centuries many Jews who professed faith in Jesus as the Christ, notwithstanding the difficulties and discouragements to which they were exposed; for they were in an especial manner the object of the spite and enmity of the unbelieving part of their nation: and, besides, they ^m were too much slighted and disregarded by the Gentile Christians.

III. I now leave it to my readers to judge, whether the faith of so many Jewish believers, in the early days of the gospel, be not a valuable testimony to the truth of the Christian religion.

Some Jews have all along, in every age since, embraced the Christian religion, who have joined themselves to the Gentile believers, and have been incorporated with them. These are not now the subjects of my history.

^k Vid. Lampe Prol. in Joh. Evang. l. 2. cap. i. § 1. 2. 3. et cap. iii. num. 38. . . . 43.

^l Usque hodie per totas Orientis synagogas, inter Judæos hæresis est, quæ dicitur minæonem, et a Phariseis nunc usque damnatur: quos vulgo Nazæreos nuncupant, qui credunt in

Christum Filium Dei, natum ex virgine Maria, et eum dicunt esse, qui sub Pontio Pilato passus est, et resurrexit, in quem et nos credimus. &c. Hieron. ad August. ep. 74. al. 89. tom. 4. p. 623.

^m See W. Wall in the Preface to his Notes upon the O. T. p. xi. xii.

C H A P. II.

Of the treatment given to the primitive Christians by the unbelieving Jews.

JUSTIN, in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, ^a speaks to this purpose—‘For ye have killed the Just, and his prophets before him; and now you despise, and as much as in you lies, disparage them who hope in Him, and in God Almighty, Lord of the whole world who sent Him, cursing in your synagogues those who believe in Christ. For it is not now in your power to lay hands upon us, being hindered by them who have the chief government of things. But whenever you have had it in your power, you have done that also. . . . For no other people are so averse to us, and Christ, as you, who are the authors of all the prejudices which others have against Him and us: for after that you had crucified Him, that one unblamable and righteous Man, *by whose stripes they are healed*, who come to the Father through Him; and when ye knew that he was risen from the dead, and was ascended into heaven, as the prophets had foretold; you not only did not repent of the evil that you had done, but you sent out chosen men from Jerusalem into all the earth, saying, that an atheistical sect, called Christians, had arisen among you: thus spreading abroad all those evil reports concerning us, which all who are ignorant of us now believe. So that you have been the causes not only of your own wickedness, but likewise of the wickedness of others.’

Eusebius, ^b rehearsing the works of Justin, has transcribed this passage from his *Dialogue with Trypho*.

And afterwards, in the same dialogue, or the second part of it—‘Notwithstanding ^c all that Christ said to you, you did not repent. So far from it, that after he was risen from the dead you sent forth chosen men into all the world, giving out, that a wicked and atheistical sect was arisen, the author of which was one Jesus of Galilee, an impostor; whom, when you had crucified, his disciples stole out of the sepulchre by night, where he had been laid after his

^a Just. M. Dial. p. 234, 235. Paris. § 16, et 17. p. 127. Bened. ^b H. E. l. 4. cap. 18, ^c Dial. p. 335. Paris. § 108. p. 202. Bened.

crucifixion;

‘ crucifixion ; and that they deceived men, saying, that he
 ‘ was risen from the dead and ascended into heaven. More-
 ‘ over you gave out, that he taught those wicked and impure
 ‘ and abominable things, which you every where charge upon
 ‘ all those who confess Him to be the Christ, and their
 ‘ master, and the Son of God. And though your city has
 ‘ been taken, and your country laid waste, you do not repent ;
 ‘ but still pronounce curses upon Him, and upon all who
 ‘ believe in Him.’

He has somewhat to the like purpose, once more after-
 wards, in the same ^d dialogue ; where he chargeth them with
 hating all who believed in God through Christ, and killing
 them when they had power, and still continually devoting
 him and them to destruction.

Tertullian does not expressly say all this ; but ^e he often
 intimates, that the Jews were the principal authors of the
 reproaches cast upon the Christians : and he speaks of one
 calumny in particular, which had been then lately forged by
 them, in his own time.

Origen says much the same that Justin does. Having taken
 notice of some things in Celsus, he says, ‘ that ^f therein he
 ‘ acted much like the Jews of old, who at the rise of the
 ‘ Christian religion spread abroad calumnies against it ; as if
 ‘ the Christians killed a child, and ate it, and putting out
 ‘ the lights practised promiscuous lewdness. Which calumnies,
 ‘ though very absurd, were in former times believed by
 ‘ many.’

And Eusebius, in his commentary upon Is. xviii. 1, 2.
 ‘ We ^g find in the writings of the ancients,’ says he, ‘ that the

^a Dial. p. 363. Paris. § 133. p. 225
 Bened.

^c Novo jam de Deo nostro fama sug-
 gessit. Adeo nuper quidam perditissi-
 mus in ista civitate, etiam suæ religio-
 nis desertor, solo detrimento cutis, Ju-
 dæus . . . picturam in nos proposuit sub
 ista proscriptione, Onochoetes. Is erat
 auribus canteriorum, et in toga, cum
 libro, altero pede unguato. Et credi-
 dit vulgus Judæo. Quod enim aliud
 genus seminarium est infamiae nostrae ?
 Itaque in tota civitate Onochoetes præ-
 dicatur. Adv. Nat. l. i. cap. 14. p. 59.
 Vid. et Ap. cap. 16 p. 17. D. et conf.
 Minuc. Fel. cap. ix. et xxviii.

Dehinc, cum ex perseverantia furo-
 ris, et nomen Domini per ipsos blasphemaretur, sicut scriptum est : *Propter vos*

blasphematur nomen meum in nationibus :
 (ab illis enim cœpit infamia :) et tem-
 pus medium a Tiberio usque ad Vespasianum, non poenitentiam intellexis-
 sent, facta est terra eorum deserta, civita-
 tes eorum exultæ igni, regionem eorum
 sub eorum conspectu extranei devorant.
 Adv. Marcion. l. iii. cap. 23. p. 498.B.

^f Καὶ δοκεῖ μοι παραπλησίον Ἰουδαίους
 πεποιθέναι, τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τοῦ
 χριστιανισμοῦ διδασκαλίας κατασκευάσαντι
 δυσφημίαν τῆς λόγῃ· ὡς ἀρα καταβυσσάντες
 παῖδιον, μεταλαμβάνουσι αὐτὸ τῶν σαρκῶν·
 καὶ πάλιν, οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγῃ τὰ τῆς σκότης
 πράττειν βελομένοι, σβεννύουσι μὲν τὸ Φῶς,
 ἕκαστος δὲ τῇ παρατυχῇ μὴ γινύται. Contr.
 Cels. l. 6. num. 27. p. 293.

^g Εὐρομέν ἐν τοῖς παλαιαῖς συγγραμμά-
 σιν, ὡς οἱ τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ οἰκοντες τῶν Ἰου-
 δαίων

‘ priests

‘priests and elders of the Jewish nation, who dwelt at Jerusalem, wrote letters which they sent to the Jews abroad in all countries, traducing the doctrine of Christ, as a new and strange heresy, and exhorting them not to embrace it.’

Whether the Jews did send out men in this manner, before the destruction of Jerusalem, to asperse the followers of Jesus, is not quite certain. The question is particularly considered by the Benedictines ^g in their preface to Justin Martyr. The origin of the early calumnies upon the Christians is somewhat doubtful. Some have supposed them to have been occasioned by the absurd doctrines, and vicious lives, of those called heretics. However, I formerly ^h proposed some observations, tending to shew that they are not to be accounted for in that way.

It is certain that the Christians were very early aspersed with crimes of which they were not guilty. When St. Paul was come a prisoner to Rome, he sent for the chief of the Jews of that city to come to him, who say to him—*As for this sect, we know that every where it is spoken against*, Acts xxviii. 22. Those words might be spoken in the year of Christ 61, and not far from the beginning of it. And Tacitus, giving an account of Nero’s persecution of the Christians, which seems to have begun in the year 64, intimates, ‘that ⁱ the Christians were generally hated for the crimes imputed to them.’

Whether the Jewish rulers did, before the destruction of Jerusalem, send abroad messengers and letters on purpose to defame the doctrine of Christ and his followers, or not, it must be allowed to be true, which Justin says, that no other people were so averse to Christ and his followers as the Jews. It must also be allowed to be very true, which he likewise says of them, that they continued to anathematize Jesus Christ and his followers.

In the authentic account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, at Smyrna, when he was condemned to be burnt, it is said, ‘that ^k presently the people brought together dried wood, and branches of trees from their shops, and from the

δαιων εθνους ιερεις και πρεσβυτεροι γραμματα διαχαραξαντες εις παντα διεσπειραντο τα εθνη τοις οπανταχθ Ιουδαιοις διαβαλλοντες την χριστην διδασκαλιαν, ως αιρεσιν καινην και αλλοτριαν τη θειη, παραγγελλοντες δι επισολων μη παραδιδασθαι αυτην. Euseb. in Ef. c. xviii. p. 424. ^g Pr. Part 3. c. iv. p. 76, &c.

p. 712, 713, (in vol. ii. of this ed.)

ⁱ Ergo abolendo rumorì Nero subdidit reos, et quæstissimis pœnis affecit, quos per flagitia invisos, vulgus Christianos appellabat. Tac. Ann. l. 15. c. 44.

^k . . . μαλιστα Ιουδαιων προθυμως, ως εθος αυτοις, εις τυτο υπεργεντων. Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 4. cap. 15. 133. A.

‘baths ;

‘baths; in which the Jews especially, as is usual with them, readily assisted.’

We are assured by Jerom, that the Jews anathematized the Christians under the name of Nazareans, in their synagogues, thrice every day. So he writes in ^l his commentary upon Is. v. 18, 19. And again ^m in like manner upon Is. xlix. 7. and ⁿ upon the first chapter of the prophecy of Amos.

Epiphanius says, ‘that ^o the Jews three times every day anathematized the Nazareans in their synagogues. For they were more especially displeased with them, because, though they were Jews, they believed in Jesus as the Christ.’

All which may be very true. The Jews, as Jerom says, anathematized in their synagogues all Christians under the denomination of Nazareans; and yet, as Epiphanius says, they were more especially displeased with those believers who were of the seed of Israel.

These passages of ancient Christian writers do sufficiently attest the early and continued enmity of the unbelieving Jews, to all Christians of every denomination.

There are still some other things to be here taken notice of. For some time after our Saviour’s ascension, they aspersed the character of Mary, our Lord’s mother, and reproached him with a spurious nativity. When these aspersions were first given out, we cannot say exactly; but they are in Celsus, who wrote against the Christians about the middle of the second century; and doubtless he had them from the Jews: they are also in the Talmudical writings, as we shall see hereafter.

In order to disparage our Lord’s miracles, they gave out that they were performed by magical arts, such as he had learned in Egypt. This calumny also is in ^a Celsus; and

^l Dicuntur autem hæc ad principes Judæorum, qui supra arguti sunt in avaritia et luxuria: quod provocati a Domino ad pœnitentiam, et postea ab apostolis ejus usque hodie perseverant in blasphemiiis: et ter per singulos dies in omnibus synagogis sub nomine Nazarenorum anathematizant vocabulum Christianum. In Is. cap. v. T. 3. p. 53.

^m Ipse enim bonus pastor posuit animam suam pro ovibus suis, et contempsit eam: qui abominationi est genti Judæorum, cui ter per singulos dies sub nomine Nazarenorum maledicunt in synagogis suis. Id. in Is. c. xlix. T. 3. p. 353.

ⁿ — antiquumque furorem et iracundiam tenentes, usque hodie in syna-

gogis suis sub nomine Nazarenorum blasphemant populum Christianum, et dummodo nos interficiant, volunt igne comburi. In Amos. cap. i. p. 1378. fin.

^o Ου μόνον γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων παῖδες πρὸς τῆς ἐκκλησίας μίσος, ἀλλὰ ἀνιστάμενοι ἔθεν, καὶ μεσὴς ἡμέρας, καὶ περὶ ἑσπερας, τρίς τῆς ἡμέρας ὅτε εὐχὰς ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν συναγωγαῖς, ἐπαρῶνται αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀναθεματίζουσι, φασκόντες, ὅτι ἐπικαταρσάει ὁ Θεὸς τὴν Νασωραῖος. Καὶ γὰρ τῆς περισσοτέρου ἐνεχέει, διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων αὐτὸς ὄντας, Ἰησοῦν κηρύσσειν εἶναι χριστὸν. κ. λ. Epiph. H. 29. § ix. p. 124.

^p Vid. Orig. Contr. Celf. l. i. num. 28, et 32. p. 22, et 26. ^a Vid. Orig. Contr. Celf. l. i. § 28. p. 22.

doubtless

doubtless he had it from the Jews. It is also in the Talmudical writers, as we shall see hereafter.

In the time of the emperor Adrian, about the year of Christ 132, the Jews rebelled under the conduct of the impostor Barchochebas, who set up himself for the Messiah, 'who' inflicted heavy penalties upon the Christians, to induce them to deny and blaspheme Jesus Christ; and if they did not, he ordered them to be put to death.' So writes Justin Martyr, who lived at that time. Some have censured Justin for saying that Barchochebas tortured Christians only; but without reason, as seems to me. For certain, the Christians were, above all men, objects of his and his followers enmity: nor could any be called upon to deny Jesus Christ, but such as had received him for the Messiah. Of the sufferings of the Christians at that time, Eusebius speaks in ^a his Chronicle, and in ^t his Ecclesiastical history: not now to refer to any ^u others.

^t Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ νῦν γεγεννημένῳ Ἰουδαϊκῷ πολέμῳ, βαρκοχεβας ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστασεως ἀρχηγὴς, χριστιανὸς μόνος εἰς τιμωρίας δένας, εἰ μὴ ἀρνούντο Ἰησοῦν τὸν χριστόν, καὶ βλασφημοῖεν, ἐκέλευσάτο ἀπαγεσθαι. Ap. i. p. 71. E. Par. p. 62. Bened.

^a Cochebas dux Judaicæ factionis nolentes Christianos adversum Romanum militem ferre subsidium omnimodis cruciatibus necat. Chron. p. 167.

^t A. E. l. 4. c. 6. ^u Vid. Moshem. de reb. Christianor. ante Const. p. 238, 239.

C H A P. III.

JOSEPHUS, with his testimony at large, to the fulfilment of our Saviour's predictions concerning the destruction of the temple and the city of Jerusalem, and the miseries coming upon the Jewish people.

I. *His time, works, and character.* II. *The state of things in Judea in the time of our Saviour, and some while before.* III. *Our Lord's predictions concerning the destruction of the temple and the city of Jerusalem, and the miseries to be endured by the Jewish people—with the several signs preceding those calamities, as recorded in the gospels.* IV. *The dates of several events: viz. the commencement and the duration of the war, and the siege of Jerusalem—when the temple was burnt, and the city taken.* V. *Of the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place.* VI. *The actual accomplishment of our Saviour's predictions concerning divers events that should precede the great calamities coming upon the Jewish people—the gospel preached all over the world—the disciples of Christ persecuted in many places—declensions among his followers—famines, pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places—wars and commotions.* VII. *The occasion of the Jewish war with the Romans, as represented by Josephus.* VIII. *The history of the Jewish war from Josephus, with his account of the siege of Jerusalem, and the miseries endured therein, and the demolition of the temple and city of Jerusalem, and the desolation of the land of Judea, being his testimony to the fulfilment of our Lord's predictions of those events.* IX. *Reflections upon the preceding history, and the value of the testimony of Josephus.* X. *Other ancient writers, who have borne witness to the accomplishment of our Lord's predictions in the conquest of Judea by Vespasian and Titus—Justus of Tiberias—Pausanias—Antonius Julianus—Suetonius—Tacitus—Dion Cassius—Philostratus—The arch of Titus.*

I. JOSEPHUS, son of Matthias, of the race of the Jewish priests, and of the first course of the four and twenty, by his mother descended from the Asmonean family, which for a considerable time had the supreme government of the Jewish nation, was born in the first year of the reign of Caligula, of our Lord ^a 37.

^a Joseph. in Vita sua. cap. i.

He was educated together ^b with Matthias, who was his own brother by father and mother, and made such proficiencie in knowledge, that when ^c he was about fourteen years of age the high priests, and some of the principal men of the city, came frequently to him to consult him about the right interpretation of things in the law. In the sixteenth year of his age he retired into the wilderness, where he lived three years an abstemious course of life, in the company of Banus. Having fully acquainted himself with the principles of the three sects, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, he determined to follow the rule of the Pharisees. And being now nineteen years of age, he began to act in public life.

Felix, when procurator of Judea, sent some priests of his acquaintance for a trifling offence to Rome, to be tried before Cæsar. Josephus, hearing that they behaved well, resolved to go to Rome to plead their cause: but he had a bad voyage; the ship was wrecked; and out of six hundred persons, not more than eighty were saved. Soon after his arrival at Rome he became acquainted with Aliturius, a Jew by birth, but a stage-player, in favour with Nero. By him he was introduced to Poppæa, the emperor's wife; by whose interest he procured that the priests should be set at liberty. Josephus, who never omits what may be to his own honour, adds, that ^d beside that favour, he also received from Poppæa many valuable presents; and then he returned home. This voyage was made, as he ^e says, in the 26th year of his age, which must have been in the 62d or 63d year of ^f Christ.

Upon his return to Judea he found things in great confusion, many ^g being elevated with hopes of advantage by a revolt from the Romans. He says, he did what lay in his power to prevent it, though in vain.

Soon after the beginning of the war, in the year of Christ 66, (when he must have been himself about thirty years of age) he was sent from Jerusalem to command in ^h Galilee; where, having ordered matters as well as he could, and made

^b Cap. 2.

^c Ετι δε παις ων περι τεσσαρεσκαίδεκατον ετος . . . συνιόντων αει των αρχιερεων και των της πολεις πρωτων υπερ τε παρ ημιν περι των ρωμαίων ακριβεστερον τι γινώσκειν. Cap. 2.

^d . . . μεγαλων δε δωρων προς τη ευεργεσία ταυτη τυχών παρα Ποππίας. C. 3.

^e Μετ' εικοσόν και εκτον ενιαυτον εις Ρωμην μοι συνεπεσεν αναβηναι. Ib.

^f Felix must have been removed from his government some while before that;

which may be thought to create a difficulty in this account: but it may be observed, that Josephus had heard of the good behaviour of those priests at Rome before he left Judea; consequently they had been some while at Rome before he set out on his journey.

^g . . . και πολλας επι τη Ρωμαίων αποστασει μεγα φρονοντας. Vit. C. 4.

^h Vit. cap. 7, 8. De B. J. l. 2. c. 20.

the best preparations for war, by fortifying the cities in case of an attack from the Romans, he was at length shut up in the city of Jotapata: which, after a vigorous defence, and a siege of seven and forty days, was taken by Vespasian,ⁱ on the first day of July, in the 13th year of Nero and the 67th of our Lord.

When that city was taken, by Vespasian's order strict search was made for Josephus; for if^k that general was once taken, he reckoned that the greatest part of the war would be over. However, he had hid himself in a deep cavern, the opening of which was not easily discerned above ground. Here he met with forty persons of eminence, who had concealed themselves, and had with them provisions enough for several days. On the third day the Roman soldiers seized a woman that had been with them. She made a discovery of the place where they were; whereupon Vespasian sent two tribunes, inviting him to come up, with assurances that his life should be preserved. Josephus, however, refused. Vespasian therefore sent a third tribune, named Nicanor, well known to Josephus, with the like assurances. Josephus, after some hesitation, was then willing to surrender himself. But the men who were with him exclaimed against it, and were for killing him and themselves rather than come alive into the hands of the Romans. Hereupon he made a long speech to them, shewing, that it was not lawful for men to kill themselves, and that it was rather a proof of pusillanimity than courage: but all without effect. He then proposed an expedient; which was, that they should cast lots, two by two, who should die first. He who had the second lot should kill the first, and the next him, and so on, and the last should kill himself. It happened that Josephus and another were preserved to the last lot. When all the rest were killed, he without much difficulty persuaded that other person to yield up himself to the Romans. So they two escaped with their^l lives.

This^m has been judged to be a remarkable providence, by which Josephus was preserved to write the history, of which we are now able to make so good use of.

Whenⁿ Josephus had surrendered, Vespasian gave strict orders that he should be kept carefully, as if he had intended to send him to Nero. Josephus then presented a request, that he might speak to Vespasian in private; which was granted.

ⁱ De B. J. l. 3. cap. 7. Conf. cap. 8. § 9. ^k μεγιστη γαρ ην μοιρα τε πολεμικη ληφθει. De B. J. l. 3. c. 8. in.

^l De B. J. l. 3. c. 8. § 1. . . 7. ^m See Tillotson's Sermon. numb. 186. vol. 2. p. 564. ⁿ De B. l. 3. c. 8. § 8.

When

When all were dismissed, except Titus and two friends, he spoke to Vespasian after this manner. 'You think, Vespasian; that you have in Josephus a mere prisoner. But I am come to you as a messenger of great tidings. Had I not been sent to you by God, I know what the law of the Jews is, and how it becomes a general to die. Do you intend to send me to Nero? Are they, who are to succeed Nero before you, to continue? You, Vespasian, will be Cæsar: you will be emperor. So will likewise this your son. Bind me therefore still faster, and reserve me for myself. For you are lord, not of me only, but of the earth, and the sea, and all mankind. And I for punishment deserve a closer confinement if I speak falsehood to you in the name of God.' Vespasian, as he says, at first paid little regard to all this; but afterwards his expectations of empire were raised. 'Besides,' as he goes on to say, 'he found Josephus to have spoken truth upon other occasions: for when one of his friends, who was admitted to be present at that interview, said, It appeared strange to him that Josephus should not have foretold to the people of Jotapata, the event of the siege, nor have foreseen his own captivity, if all he now said was not invention to save his own life; Josephus answered, that he had foretold to the people of Jotapata, that the place would be taken upon the forty-seventh day of the siege, and that himself should be taken alive by the Romans. Vespasian having privately inquired of the prisoners concerning these predictions, found the truth of them.'

All these things I have inserted here for shewing the character of this writer; though the prolixity of my narration be thereby increased.

It is very likely, that he often thought of Joseph in Egypt, and of Daniel at Babylon; and was in hopes of making a like figure at the court of Rome. But I suppose it may be no dis-

^o Ibid. § 9.

^p That is, that a Jewish general should make away with himself, rather than be taken prisoner alive by heathen people. We know not of any such law in the books of the Old Testament. And it seems to be a manifest contradiction to what he says in the speech before referred to.

^q Josephus's address to Vespasian is very precise and formal, predicting things then future. Possibly, this speech was improved afterwards, and at the time of writing this history made more

clear and express, and more agreeable to the event, than when first spoken.

^r Among other presages of Vespasian's empire, Suetonius has mentioned this of Josephus. *Et unus ex nobilibus captivis Josephus, cum coniceretur in vincula, constantissime asseveravit, fore, ut ab eodem brevi solveretur, verum jam imperatore.* Sueton. Vesp. c. 5.

^s Josephus has several times spoken of his having had prophetic dreams, and of his ability to interpret dreams that were ambiguous. *Vid. De B. J. l. 3. viii. 3 et 9, et de Vit. § 42.*

paragement to Josephus to say, that he was not equal to them in wisdom, or in virtue and integrity. And the circumstances of things were much altered: the promised Messiah was come; and the Jewish people were no longer entitled to such special regard, as had been shewn them in times past. Nor was it then a day of favour and mercy for them, but the day of the Lord's vengeance against them, as Josephus himself saw: and they were entering into a long captivity, of which they have not yet seen the end, after a period of almost seventeen hundred years, though they are still wonderfully preserved.

Josephus was still a prisoner: but when Vespasian had been proclaimed emperor, he ordered his iron chain to be cut ^t asunder. When Vespasian went to Rome, Josephus continued to be with Titus, and was present at the siege of Jerusalem, and saw the ruin of his city and country.

After the war was over, when Titus went to Rome, he went with him; and Vespasian allotted him an apartment in the same house in which himself had lived before he came to the empire: he also made him a citizen of Rome, and gave him an annual pension; and continued to shew him great respect so long as he lived. His son Titus, who succeeded him, shewed him the like regard. And afterwards Domitian, and his wife Domitia, did him many kind ^u offices.

Josephus, however, does not deny, that ^x he had many enemies: but the emperors, in whose times he lived, protected him. Indeed, it is very likely that the Jews should have little regard for a man who was with the Romans in their camp during the siege of their city. He particularly says, that ^y upon the first tidings of the taking of Jotapata, the people of Jerusalem made great and public lamentations for him, supposing that he had been killed in the siege: but when they heard that he had escaped, and was with the Romans, and was well used by them, they loaded him with all manner of reproaches, not excepting treachery itself. Nor do we find that ^z the Jewish people ever had any great respect for his writings; though they have been much esteemed, and often quoted, by Christian and ^a other writers, in early and latter times.

^t De B. J. l. 4, cap. x. § 7.

^u Vit. cap. 76.

^x Ibid.

^y De B. J. l. 3.

^z cap. ix. § 7.

^a Quamvis enim ejus scripta apud Judæos in nullo pretio fuerint. . . Gentiles tamen pariter et Christiani Josephum, licet Judæum, ejusque opera,

magni æstimarunt. Ittig. Prolég. pag. 88. ap. Havercamp.

^a Josephus is quoted by Porphyry, not in his books against the Christians, but elsewhere. See the testimonies prefixed to the works of Josephus.

Of them ^b we are now to take some notice.

The first is *The History of the Jewish War*, and the taking of Jerusalem, in seven books. In which work he goes back to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees. In the preface he says, that he ^c first wrote it in the language of his own country, for the sake of such as lived in Parthia, Babalonia, Arabia, and other parts; and afterwards published it in Greek for the benefit of others, which is what we have: it is generally supposed to have been published by him in the seventy-fifth year of Christ, and the thirty-eighth year of his own age. He professeth to have written with great ^d fidelity; and for the truth of his history appeals to Vespasian and Titus, and King Agrippa, then ^e living. He ^f presented it to Vespasian and Titus; which last ^g not only desired the publication of it, but with his own hand signed the book, that should be reckoned authentic.

2. *The Jewish Antiquities*, in twenty books, or the history of the Jews from the creation of the world to the twelfth year of Nero, in which the war began. This work was finished by him ^h in the fifty-sixth year of his own life, in the third year of the reign of Domitian, and the year of Christ 93.

3. To this work is subjoined, as a part of it, or an appendix to it, *His Life*, written by himself some time afterwards.

4. After the several above-mentioned works, he published another work in two books, entitled *Of the Antiquity of the Jews, against Apion*; being a vindication of the Jewish people against the calumnies of that Egyptian author.

5. To Josephus likewise is generally ascribed a book, entitled *A Discourse of the Maccabees*; but, as ⁱ Cave says, there is good reason to doubt of it's genuineness: and ^k Mr. Whiston, who made an English translation of all the above-named works of this writer, declined to translate this, and would not publish it among the rest.

The works of Josephus, notwithstanding many things in them liable to exception, which may be observed by careful and impartial readers, are very valuable. In his larger work,

^b Particular accounts of them are to be seen in Cav. Hist. Lit. Fabric. Gr. l. 4. cap. 6. tom. 3, p. 228, &c. Tillemont La Ruine des Juifs. art. 79. &c. Hist. des Emp. tom. i.

^c De B. J. l. i. in Pro. § 2.

^d In Proleg. § 5, &c. et l. 7. cap. ult. fin.

^e In Vit. cap. 65. Adv. ap. l. i. c. 9.

^f Αλλ' αυτοις απεδωκα τοις αυτοκρατοροι

τα βιβλια. Vit. § 65. Conf. Adv. Ap. tit. supr.

^g ωτε χαραξας τη αυτου χειρι τα βιβλια δημοσιυνισθαι προεταξεν. Vit. § 65.

^h Ant. l. 20. cap. ult. fin.

ⁱ Nihilominus an genuinum sit Josephi opus, justa est dubitandi ratio. Cav. H. L. de Josepho. p. 35.

^k See his note at the end of his translation of Josephus.

The Jewish Antiquities, he confirms the truth of the history of the Old Testament: and, as in several of the last books of that work he has brought down the Jewish history from the ceasing of prophecy among them to the twelfth of Nero, he has let us know the state of affairs in Judea during the time of the evangelical history. And he had before done the like in the first two books of *The Jewish War*. What he has therein said of Herod and his sons, of the Roman governors in Judea, the Jewish sects and their principles, the manners of the Jewish people, and likewise concerning the Samaritans, greatly confirms and illustrates the history of our evangelists; as was formerly shewn in the first part of this work, *The Credibility of the Gospel History*; the design of which was to confirm the facts occasionally mentioned in the New Testament by passages of ancient ¹ authors.

We are now to consider, whether there is any thing in the works of this Jewish author more directly confirming the principal facts of the New Testament: particularly, whether he affords any evidences of the fulfilment of our Lord's predictions concerning the destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem, and the great calamities coming upon the Jewish people; and whether he has said any thing of John the Baptist, our Lord's forerunner, or of our Lord himself, or of any of his apostles.

I shall begin with the first article; for it is very likely, that in his *History of the Jewish War* we should find many things giving credit to the fulfilment of our Lord's predictions concerning the Jewish people.

II. Judea was first brought into subjection to the Romans by Pompey; who, after a siege of three months, took Jerusalem in the year 63, before the Christian era, about the time of our ^m Midsummer. Josephus always dates ⁿ the loss of their liberty at that time. The same is said by ^o Tacitus.

¹ Quam in multis capitibus Evangelistarum narrationi suffragetur Josephus, erudite nuper demonstravit Nathanael Lardnerus in opere Anglice edito, de Fide de Historiæ Evangelicæ. Lond. 1727, 8vo. 2 volum. J. A. Fabric. Lux Evangelii. p. 16. not. (A).

^m See Prideaux, in the year before Christ, 63, p. 439. And Joseph. Antiq. l. 14. c. iv. 4. De B. J. l. i. c. vii. § 6.

ⁿ Τὴν τε παῖς τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις αὐτὴν κατεστῆσαν Ὑρκανὸς καὶ Ἀριστοβούλος πρὸς ἀλλήλους φασιαζόντες. Τὴν τε γὰρ εὐνοβρίας ἀπεβαλομένη, καὶ ὑπηκοοὶ Ῥωμαίων κατεστῆμεν. Antiq. l. 14. iv. 5. And compare what Agrippa says to the Jews at Jerusalem. De B. J. l. 2. c. xvi. 4. p. 187.

^o Romanorum primus Cn. Pompeius Judæos domuit, emplumque jure victoriæ ingressus est. Tacit. H. l. 5. c. 9.

But

But though the Jewish people then became subject to the Romans; and it may be said, that from that time forward the rod of heaven hung over them; they enjoyed many privileges, and the freedom of their worship, under the mild government of those masters; as appears both from Josephus, and from the historical books of the New Testament.

When Pompey became master of Jerusalem, he^p and some of his officers entered into the temple, and the most holy places of it; but he took nothing away. There were then in it the table, the candlestick, with it's lamps, the pouring vessels, and the censers, all of gold, and great quantities of spices, and two thousand talents in money; all which he left untouched: and the day after he gave orders, that they who had the charge of the temple should cleanse it, and perform the accustomed sacrifices. And he restored the priesthood to Hyrcanus.

And that after this the Jewish people were, sometimes at least, in a flourishing condition, appears from many considerations. It was during this period that^q Herod repaired the temple. Excepting the cloud of glory with which the first temple had been favoured, that erected by Herod may be reckoned to have been equal to it in the splendour and magnificence of the building, and in rich and costly presents, and other ornaments.

When the Jewish people, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, laid the foundation of the new house, *many of the priests and Levites, and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men, wept with a loud voice*, Ezr. iii. 12. But God encouraged them by the prophet Haggai, in this manner, ch. ii. 3. *Who is left among you that saw this house in it's first glory? and how do ye see it now? is it not in your eyes, in comparison of it, as nothing? Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord. . . . and be strong, all ye people of the land, and work; for I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts. . . . For thus saith the Lord of hosts. . . . I will shake all nations: and the desire of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of hosts. The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of hosts. The glory of this latter house shall be greater than that of the former, saith the Lord of hosts. And in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of hosts.*

Here is, undoubtedly, a renewal of the great promise concerning the coming of the Messiah, the true Shechinah, whose

^p De B. J. l. i. c. vii. 6. Conf. Antiq. l. 14. cap. iv.

^q Vid. Antiq. l. 15. cap. xi. De B. J. l. i. cap. xxi. et l. 5. cap. v.

presence would make this second temple more glorious than the first. But here is also a gracious assurance of external grandeur and splendour. 'Silver and gold, and all the riches of the world, says God, are mine, to bestow on whom I please. And notwithstanding the present mean and despicable appearance of the building before your eyes, I will fill it with glory, and will cause it to equal, or even surpass, the former in splendour and magnificence. . . For in this place will I give peace. My purpose is to bless you abundantly, and to give you great prosperity.' Which gracious declaration was fulfilled.

That they were in flourishing circumstances at the time of our Lord's preaching among them, is apparent; though they were uneasy under subjection to the Romans. Josephus continually speaks of the temple, as very grand and magnificent; and it appears to be so from his large and particular description of it, in the fifth chapter of the fifth book of his *Jewish War*, just before it's final ruin. And when Titus, upon the fire having seized the temple, entered it, with some of his officers, he says, 'that Titus saw it to be far superior to the report of strangers, and not inferior to our boastings concerning it.' And, having related how it was burnt, he says, it might be justly lamented, 'since it was the most admirable of all the works which we have seen or heard of, for it's curious structure and magnitude, and for all the wealth bestowed upon it, as well as for the reputation of it's sanctity.' And he expressly calls it 'the temple that was built, or begun to be built, in the second year of Cyrus, under the direction of the prophet Haggai. And our Lord's disciples bear witness to the same in some passages, that will come before us in reciting his predictions, of which we are now to take notice, and then observe the fulfilment of them.

III. We find our Lord's disciples speaking of the magnificence of the temple with admiration. So in Mark xiii. . . 10. *And, as he went out of the temple, one of his disciples saith unto him; Master, see what manner of stones, and what buildings, are here! And Jesus, answering, said unto him; Seest thou these great buildings? There shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall*

† . . . παρελθον μετα των ηγεμονων ενδον εθηκετο το ναο το αγιον, και τα εν αυτω, πολυ μιν της παρα τοις αλλοφυλοις φημης αμεινω, τε δε κομπε και της παρα τοις οικειοις δοξης εκ ελαττω. De B. J. l. 6. cap. iv. 7.

‡ L. 6. iv. 8. Conf. l. 6. x. fin.

† απο δε της υστερον, ην ειπεν δευτερω Κυρη βασιλευντος επουσητο Αγγαιος. L. 6. c. iv. 8.

not be thrown down. And as he sat upon the mount of Olives, over against the temple, Peter, and James, and John, and Andrew, asked him privately: Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign when all these things shall be fulfilled? And Jesus answering them, began to say: Take heed, lest any man deceive you; for many will come in my name, and say; I am Christ. And will deceive many. And when ye shall hear of wars, and rumours of wars, be ye not troubled; for such things must needs be: but the end shall not be yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; and there shall be earthquakes in divers places; and there shall be famines and troubles: these are the beginnings of sorrows. . . . And the gospel must first be published among all nations. And ver. 14. . . 20. But when ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing where it ought not, (let him that readeth understand) then let them that be in Judea flee to the mountains. And let him that is on the house-top not go down into the house, neither enter therein, to take any thing out of his house. And let him that is in the field not turn back again for to take up his garment. But woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days. And pray ye, that your flight be not in the winter: for in those days shall be affliction, such as was not from the beginning of the creation, which God created, unto this time, neither shall be.

The like things are in St. Matthew xxiv. 1. . . 35. And Jesus went out, and departed from the temple; and his disciples came to him, for to shew him the buildings of the temple. And Jesus said unto them; See ye not all these things? Verily I say unto you, there shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down. And, as he sat upon the mount of Olives, the disciples came unto him privately, saying; Tell us when these things shall be, and what will be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world? And Jesus answered, and said unto them; Take heed that no man deceive you; for many will come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and will deceive many. And ye will hear of wars, and rumours of wars: see that ye be not troubled; for all these things must come to pass: but the end is not yet. For nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there will be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places. All these are the beginnings of sorrows. Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you: and ye will be hated of all nations for my name sake. And then will many be offended, and will betray one another, and will hate one another. And many false prophets will arise, and will deceive many. And, because iniquity shall abound, the love of many will wax cold; but he that shall endure to the end shall

be saved. And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations. And then shall the end come. When ye, therefore, shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth, let him understand) then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains. Let him which is on the house-top not come down to take any thing out of his house: neither let him that is in the field return back to take his clothes. And woe unto them which are with child, and to them that give suck, in those days. But pray ye, that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath-day. For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning of the world to this time; no, nor ever shall be. And except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved. But, for the elect's sake, those days shall be shortened. Then, if any say unto you; Lo, here is Christ, or there, believe it not: for there will arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; insomuch that (if it were possible) they should deceive the very elect. Behold, I have told you before. Wherefore, if they shall say unto you, Behold he is in the desert, go not forth; Behold, he is in the secret chambers, believe it not. For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be; for wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together. . . . Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled: Heaven and earth shall pass away; but my words shall not pass away.

Those inquiries of the disciples, and our Lord's answers to them, are made in private; but they plainly refer to things said by our Lord publicly in the courts of the temple: we may do well therefore to look back to what precedes, as related in St. Matthew's Gospel especially; where are recorded the many woes pronounced by our Lord upon the scribes and Pharisees, and the people in general, who were under their influence and direction; Matt. xxiii. 29. . . 39. *Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous: and ye say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets: wherefore ye be witnesses unto yourselves, that ye are the children of them that killed the prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers. Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell! Wherefore behold I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes: and some of them ye will kill and crucify; and some of them ye will scourge in your synagogues, and persecute from city to city; that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon*

upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee; how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings! and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate: for I say unto you, ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say; Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Compare Luke xi. 47. . . 51.

The like things are recorded by St. Luke, ch. xxi. 5. . . . 28. a part of which I shall also transcribe here. And as some spake of the temple, how it was adorned with goodly stones, and gifts, he said; As for these things, which ye behold, the days will come, in the which shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down. And they asked him, saying; Master, but when shall these things be? and what signs will there be when these things shall come to pass? And he said; Take heed, that ye be not deceived; for many will come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and the time draws near: go ye not therefore after them. But when ye shall hear of wars, and commotions, be not terrified; for these things must first come to pass: but the end is not by and by. Then said he unto them; Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and great earthquakes shall be in divers places, and famines, and pestilences, and fearful sights, and great signs shall there be from heaven: but before all these things they shall lay their hands upon you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues, and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name sake. And it shall turn to you for a testimony. . . . And ye shall be betrayed both by parents, and brethren, and kinsfolk, and friends. And some of you shall they cause to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name sake. But there shall not an hair of your head perish. In your patience possess ye your souls. And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh: then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains; and let them which are in the midst of it depart out. And let not them that are in the country enter thereinto: for these are the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled. But woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck, in those days. For there will be great distress in the land, and wrath upon this people: and they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations. And
Jerusalem

Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.

And before this, when he was making his public entrance into Jerusalem, says St. Luke, xix. 41... 44. *And when he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying; If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong to thy peace! But now they are hid from thy eyes! For the days will come upon thee, that thy enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and will lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee: and they will not leave in thee one stone upon another, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.*

And afterwards, when they were leading him away to be crucified, Luke xxiii. 27... 31. *And there followed him a great company of people, and of women; which also bewailed and lamented him. But Jesus, turning unto them, said; Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children: for behold the days are coming, in the which they will say; Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck. Then shall they begin to say to the mountains; Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us. For if they do such things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry!*

Our Lord delivers these predictions, of which he had the foresight, with marks of great and undissembled compassion and tenderness. If all these desolations and calamities had been now present, and before his eyes, and if they had been the calamities of his best friends, he could not have been more affected. He is particularly touched with the foresight of the difficulties of such as are most helpless, the distressed of women with child, or who have infants at their breasts. This is true compassion, the effect of the sensibility of the human nature; which he is not ashamed of, and does not dissemble. And that the apprehension of these calamities, impending on the Jewish people, lay much upon his mind, is manifest from his so often speaking of them.

And there are references likewise to the calamities coming upon the Jewish people in divers parables. Luke xiii. 6... 9. Matt. xxii. 1... 7. Luke xiv. 17... 24. Matt. xxi. 33... 46. Mark xii. 1... 12. Luke xx. 9... 19... Luke xix. 11... 27. Compare Matt. xxv. 14... 30. and also in the miracle of the barren fig-tree. Matt. xxi. 18, 19. Mark xi. 12, 13. and 20, 21.

In what has been just transcribed from the evangelists, are observable these several things.

1. Our

1. Our Lord foretels the destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem.

2. He speaks of great and extraordinary afflictions and distresses, which the Jewish people would suffer at that time.

3. He says, that the doctrine of the gospel should be preached in all the world, or all over the Roman empire, before the final ruin and overthrow of the Jewish nation.

4. He foretels, that his disciples and followers would be brought before kings and governors for his name's sake, and would suffer many hardships; and that some of them would be put to death.

5. He intimates, that among his followers there would be great declensions, and that they would betray each other.

6. He foretels, that there would be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places.

7. He speaks of wars and tumults in many places, preceding the final ruin of the Jewish nation, and as preludes of it.

8. He likewise says, that at that time, and before it, would appear many false prophets and impostors, by whom many would be deceived; and he warns men against hearkening to them.

9. He declares, that all these things would come to pass before the end of that age or generation of men.

10. He forewarns and advises those who regarded their own welfare, to flee out of Judea and Jerusalem, when they perceived the near approach of the calamities which had been spoken of by him; which they might know when they should see the Roman armies, with their idolatrous ensigns, standing where they ought not; that is, near Jerusalem, or in the land of Judea.

Of all these several things I propose to shew the fulfilment; though not exactly in the order in which they have been just now mentioned.

IV. Before I enter upon the history of the fulfilment of these predictions, it may be of use to observe, in general, the dates of some events.

The war began, as ^u Josephus says, in the second year of the government of Gessius Florus, who succeeded Albinus, successor of Porcius Festus, mentioned in the Acts of the Apo-

^u Και δη την αρχην ελαβεν ο πολεμος δευτερω μεν ετει της επιτροπης Φλωρε, δωδεκατω δε της Νερωνος αρχης. Antiq. l. 20, xi. 1.

Και προσελαμβανε την αρχην ο πολεμος δωδεκατω μεν ετει της Νερωνος ηγεμονιας, εβδομηδεκατω δε της Αγριππα βασιλειας, Αρτεμισιω μηνος. De B. J. l. 2. cap. xiv. 4.

fles, in the month of May, in the twelfth year of the emperor Nero, and the seventeenth year of Agrippa, mentioned Acts xxv. and xxvi. that is, in the month of May, in the year of our Lord 66.

‘The ^x temple was burnt on the tenth day of the month of August, [in the year of Christ 70] the same day and month on which it had been burnt by the king of Babylon.’ Which ^y Josephus repeats again afterwards.

The ^z city was taken on the eighth day of September, in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, or the year of Christ 70.

That was the end of the siege of Jerusalem, which began, as the same author ^a observes several times, about the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, or our April.

The war therefore lasted four years and four months, computing from May 66 to September in the year 70: and the siege lasted about five months, computing from the fourteenth day of April to the eighth of September, in the year 70. If we carry on our computation to the taking of the castle of Massada, which happened in the year 73, (as we shall see hereafter) the war lasted seven years.

V. I think it proper here also to take notice of our Lord’s expressions concerning the sign whereby the approach of these calamities might be discerned, Matt. xxiv. 15, 16. *When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, . . . stand in the holy place; then let them which be in Judea flee to the mountains.* Mark xiii. 14. *When ye shall see the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not . . . then let them that be in Judea flee to the mountains.* Luke xxi. 20. *And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know, that the desolation thereof is nigh.*

By the *abomination of desolation*, or the *abomination that maketh desolate*, therefore, is intended the Roman armies, with their ensigns. As the Roman ensigns, especially the eagle, which was carried at the head of every legion, were objects of worship, they are, according to the usual style of scripture, called *an abomination*.

^x Παρην δ’ η εμαρμενη χρονων περιόδος ημερα δεκατη Λωμ μηνος, καθ η και το προτερον υπο τη των Βαβυλωνιων βασιλευς ενεπρησθη. De B. J. l. 6. iv. 5.

^y Θαυμασαι δ’ αν τις εν αυτη της περιουδι της ακριβειας και μνη γεν, ως εφην, και ημεραν επατησεν την αυτην, εν η προτερον υπο Βαβυλωνιας ο ναος ανεπρησθη. . . .

γεγονεν εστι δευτερα της Ουεσπασιανης ηγεμονιας. Ib. § 8.

^z Εαλω μεν ετως Ιεροσολυμα εστι δευτερα της Ουεσπασιανης ηγεμονιας, Γορπιαν μηνος ογδοη. Ib. l. 6. cap. x. in.

^a De B. J. l. 5. cap. iii. 1, cap. xiii. 7, l. 6. cap. ix. 3.

By *standing in the holy place*, or *where it ought not*, needs not to be understood the temple only, but Jerusalem also, and any part of the land of Israel.

There are several things in Josephus, which will confirm this interpretation. 'Pilate ¹, says he, 'the prefect of Judea, 'sending his army from Cæsarea, and putting them into winter quarters at Jerusalem, brought the carved images of Cæsar, which are in the ensigns, into the city, in violation of the Jewish laws; since our law forbids the making of images. For which reason the former governors were wont to come into the city with ensigns destitute of these ornaments. Pilate was the first who set up images in Jerusalem: and he did it privately, the army making their entrance in the night time: but, as soon as the people knew it, they went in a large body to Cæsarea, making earnest supplications that the images might be removed. . . . And at length Pilate gave orders for bringing back the images from Jerusalem to Cæsarea.'

And not long after that, Vitellius, president of Syria, received orders from Tiberius to attack Aretas, king of Petra; whereupon he was going to march through Judea: 'But ² some of their chief men waited on him, and entreated him not to lead his army through their country, because it was contrary to their laws that any images should be brought into it, whereas there were a great many in his army. And he hearkened to them, altered his intention, and marched his troops another way.'

Our Lord's disciples and followers therefore might well be alarmed as soon as they saw Roman armies, with their idolatrous ensigns, appear in an hostile manner in any part of the land of Israel: but as they approached to Jerusalem the danger would be more imminent and pressing.

And as men unwillingly leave their native country, and their accustomed habitations, and removals are always attended with dangers and difficulties, our Lord recommends flight in very urgent terms, lest any of those who loved him, and respected his doctrine, should partake in the dreadful calamities of the siege.

VI. We now observe some events spoken of by our Lord, which would precede the great calamity coming upon the Jewish nation.

¹ Antiq. l. 18. c. iii. § 1.

² Antiq. l. 18. cap. vi. 3.

1. One is, that the *doctrine of the gospel* should be preached throughout the Roman empire, and in other places adjoining to it.

And this gospel of the kingdom, says he, shall be preached in all the world, for a witness to all nations; and then shall the end come: Matt. xxiv. 14. And the gospel must first be published among all nations, Mark xiii. 10.

And however unlikely that might seem when those words were spoken by our Lord, they were verified. The epistles of the New Testament, still extant, and written to Christians in divers cities and countries, are a standing monument of it: for they are sent to believers at Rome, Corinth, Galatia, Ephesus, Philippi, Coloss, Thessalonica, and the Hebrews; all written by St. Paul. And the epistles of the apostle Peter are directed to Christians, residing in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia. And the four gospels, and the acts of the apostles, afford evidence, that there were numerous converts to the faith of Jesus; for they were written for the use of such. St. Paul says, Rom. xv. 19, that *from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, he had fully preached the gospel of Christ*. He reminds the Romans, i. 18, *that their faith was spoken of throughout the whole world*. To the Colossians he observes, *that the gospel had been preached to every creature under heaven*; ch. i. 23, and see ver 6. The prediction therefore of that great event had been accomplished within the limits of the time assigned for it.

And Tacitus ^a bears witness that the Christian religion, which had its rise in Judea, had spread into many parts, and had reached Rome itself, where the professors of it were numerous, and many of them underwent grievous torments in the reign of Nero, about the year of our Lord 64, and afterwards.

2. Our Lord also says to his disciples, in his prophetic discourses concerning the coming calamities upon Judea; *Before all these things they will lay their hands upon you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues, and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name sake. . . . And some of you shall they cause to be put to death. And ye will be hated of all men for my name sake*. Luke xxi. 12; and 16, 17. And to the like purpose in the other evangelists.

The full accomplishment of these things is well known to Christians, from the book of the acts, and the epistles of the

^a Ann. l. 15. cap. 44.

New Testament. The apostles of Jesus met with great difficulties in preaching the gospel: and the converts made by them were exposed to many sufferings. Peter and John, and all the apostles, were brought before the Jewish council, and were imprisoned, and beaten, and further threatened: Acts iv. Stephen, an eminent disciple and evangelist, suffered death by stoning; vi, vii. James, the brother of John, was beheaded by King Agrippa; who also shut up Peter in prison, with intention to put him to death also: but he was miraculously delivered; ch. xii. Paul was kept in prison two years in Judea, and afterwards as long at Rome. He pleaded before Felix and Festus, Roman governors in Judea, and King Agrippa the younger, as well as before the Jewish council at Jerusalem; xxi. . . xxviii. And there is good reason to believe that ^b he was brought before Nero himself. Many of his sufferings and dangers are enumerated in 2 Cor. xi. 23.

. . . 33.

They who received the doctrine taught by the apostles, had also their share of afflictions and trials. Paul, whilst he was their enemy, *made havoc of the Church, entering into every house; and, baling men and women, committed them to prison: and when they were put to death, he gave his voice against them: . . . He punished them in every synagogue, and persecuted them even into strange cities*; Acts viii. 3, and xxvi. 10, 11. And in his epistle to the Hebrews he observes to them, that *they had endured a great fight of afflictions; partly whilst they were made a gazing stock, both by reproaches and afflictions; and partly whilst they became companions of those who were so used; and that they had joyfully taken the spoiling of their goods*: ch. x. 32. . . 34. And Agrippa, before-mentioned, began with *laying his hands upon certain of the church*; Acts xii. 1. And that the believers suffered afflictions in other places beside Judea, is manifest from 2 Thess. i. 3. . . 6. James ii. 5. . . 7. 2 Pet. iv. 12. . . 19. And the Jews at Rome, whom Paul sent for to come to him, say; *As concerning this sect, we know that every where it is spoken against*.

Tacitus confirms the truth of these predictions of our Lord. He has given a particular account of the sufferings of many Christians at Rome, before the desolations of Judea. In the tenth year of Nero, the sixty-fourth of our Lord, there happened a great fire at Rome. Nero was suspected to have set

^b See that fully proved in *The Supplement to the Credibility, &c.* V. vi. Ch. xii. § 10.

it on fire himself. 'For, c suppressing that common rumour, ' Nero procured others to be accused, and inflicted exquisite ' punishments upon those people, who were in abhorrence for ' their crimes, and were commonly known by the name of ' Christians.' And he says, that ' they were condemned, not ' so much for the crime of burning the city, as for their en- ' mity to mankind.' Thus Tacitus bears witness, not only to their undeserved sufferings, but also to the reproaches they underwent, agreeably to what our blessed Lord had said, that *they would be hated of all men for his name sake*. However, these innocent sufferers had their supports: for their unerring Master, all whose words were true, has said; *Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake*.

3. Further, our Lord intimates, that, before the full accomplishment of his predictions concerning the miseries coming upon the Jewish nation, there would be declensions of zeal among his own professed disciples and followers.

And then shall many be offended, and shall betray one another...; and because iniquity will abound, the love of many will wax cold; Matt. xxiv. 10. 12. and see Mark xiii. 12. 13. and Luke xxi. 16.

What is said of this matter in the gospels may be verified from the epistles of the New Testament. The whole epistle to the Hebrews is an argument to steadfastness, implying the great danger of apostasy from the faith, or of abatements of zeal for it: *Let us*, says he, *hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering. . . And let us consider one another, to provoke unto love and good works; not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is;* Heb. x. 23. . . 25; and onwards to ver. 39. And ch. xii. 12. *Wherefore lift up the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees*. In ch. vi. 4. . . 9, he shews the great guilt, and the deplorable condition, of such as apostatize. In his second epistle to Timothy, ch. i. 15; *This thou knowest*, says he, *that all they which are of Asia, [probably meaning such as were then at Rome] are turned away from me; of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes*. And afterwards, ch. iv. 16, he complains of other Christians at Rome, who deserted him when he made his appearance there before Nero. *At my first answer (or apology) no man stood with me; but all men forsook me*. And again, in the same epistle, ch. ii. 17, he

^c Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et exquisitissimis pœnis affecit quos per flagitia invisos; vulgus Christianos appellabat. . . . Igitur primo cor-

repti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis convicti sunt, &c. Ann. 15. c. 44.

speaks

speaks of Hymeneus and Philetus: *who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection is past already, and overthrow the faith of some:* and see 1 Tim. i. 19, 20. I allege nothing more from the books of the New Testament.

Tacitus, in his account of Nero's persecution of the Christians, already quoted more than once, does also confirm the truth of this prediction of our Lord: who says that 'at ^d first they only ' were apprehended who confessed themselves to be of that sect: ' afterwards, many more were taken up, whom they discovered ' to be of their number.'

Nor ought this to be thought exceeding strange, notwithstanding the perfection of the Christian doctrine, and the evidences of it's truth. For, in a great number of men, it is very likely that some should be overcome by the difficulties and dangers attending the profession of it. So says the chief sower of his heavenly doctrine: *some seed fell in stony places. The same is he that heareth the word, and anon with joy receiveth it: yet hath he not root in himself, but dureth for a while; for when tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by he is offended.*

4. Our blessed Lord said that before the great calamity, predicted by him, there would be *famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places.*

We know, from the history in the Acts of the apostles, that there was a famine in Judea, in the time of the emperor Claudius; ch. xi. 25—30. It was not an accidental scarcity at Jerusalem only, but it was a famine all over that country. It began in the fourth year of that emperor, and lasted several years. We have a particular account of it in ^e Josephus. He also says it was a very severe ^f famine. And in another place ^g he mentions the high price of corn at that season; and says that this famine happened in the reign of Claudius, not long before the war.

That famine is also taken notice of by Eusebius, in ^h his Chronicle, and ⁱ in his History, and by ^k Orosius.

There was also a famine at Rome, and in Italy, mentioned ^l by Dion Cassius; which began in the first year of Claudius, and continued in the next year.

There was another famine in the same reign, mentioned ^m by

^d Igitur primo correpti, qui fatebantur: deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens. &c. Ann. 15. c. 44.

^e Ant. l. 20. ii. 6.

^f Επὶ ταῖς δὲ καὶ μεγάλῃσι λιμοῖν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν συνέβη γενέσθαι. Ib. cap. v. 2.

^g — ὁ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ δὲ τὸ πολέμου μακροὶ ἐμπροσθεν, Κλαύδιον Ῥωμαίων ἀρχόντος,

καὶ λίμην τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν καταλαβόντος, ὡς τεσσαρῶν δραχμῶν πωλεῖσθαι τὸν ἀσπαραγγόν. Ant. l. 3. xv. 3.

^h Chr. p. 160.

ⁱ H. E. l. 2, cap. xii.

^k Or. l. 7.

cap. 6. ^l Dio. l. 60, p. 671. al. 949.

^m Frugum quoque egestas, et orta ex eo fames, in prodigium accipiebatur. Tac. Ann. l. 12, c. 43.

Tacitus and ⁿ Eusebius; which seems to have been chiefly in the tenth or eleventh year of that emperor.

To all these ^o Suetonius seems to refer, though he does not mention the years in which they happened.

Concerning the famines in the reign of the emperor Claudius, some ^p modern historians and chronologers might be consulted.

Our Lord speaks also of *pestilences*. By Josephus we are informed that, about the year of Christ 40, there was ^q a pestilence at Babylon, in which the Jews suffered.

In the ^r sixty-fifth year of the Christian æra there was a great mortality at Rome. At the same time there were other calamities in divers parts of the Roman empire, as we learn from ^s Tacitus and ^t Suetonius, as well as from ^u Orosius, who might transcribe from them.

— and *earthquakes*.

Tacitus ^x speaks of an earthquake at Rome in the time of Claudius, and of another ^y at Apamea in the same reign.

In the reign of Nero there was an earthquake at Laodicea, mentioned by ^z Tacitus; and likewise by ^a Eusebius in his Chronicle; who says that in Asia three cities, namely Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colossæ, were overturned by an earthquake. And in like manner ^b Orosius. Possibly the earthquake, which was most violent at Laodicea, was felt in the other cities likewise.

In the same reign there was an earthquake in Campania, men-

ⁿ Fames facta in Græcia. Modius sex drachmis venundatus est. — Magna fames Romæ. Chr. p. 160, infr. m.

^o Arcetore autem annona propter assiduas sterilitates, &c. Suet. Claud. c. 18. Vid. et cap. 19, et 20. ^p Vid. Pagi. A. D. 72. n. vii. Reimari annot. ad Dion. Cass. p. 948. See also Credib. P. i. B. i. ch. x.

^q — φθορά ἐν Βαβυλωνί. ἐγένετο αὐτῶν. Ant. l. 18, ix. 8.

^r Vid. Pagi. A. D. 67. n. iii.

^s Tot facinoribus fœdum annum etiam Dii tempestatibus et morbis insignivere. Vastata Campania turbine ventorum, qui villas, arbuta, fruges passim disiecit, perculitque violentiam ad vicina urbi. In qua omne mortalium genus vis pestilentiae depopulabatur, nulla cœli intemperie, quæ occurreret oculis. Sed domus corporibus exanimis, itinera funeribus complebantur. Non sexus, non ætas periculo vacua. Servitia perinde ac ingenua plebes raptim exstingui, inter conjugum et liberorum lamenta: qui dum assident, dum desilent, sæpe eodem rogo cremabantur. Equitum, senatorumque interitus, quamvis promif-

cui, minus flebiles erant, tanquam comuni mortalitate sævitiam principis prævenirent. Tacit. Ann. 16, cap. 13.

^t Accesserunt tantis ex principe malis, probrisque, quedam et fortuita: pestilentia unius autumnus, quo triginta funerum millia in rationem Libitinæ venerunt: clades Britannica, qua duo precipua oppida, magna civium sociorumque cæde direpta sunt: ignominia ad Orientem, legionibus in Armenia sub jugum missis, ægreque Syria retenta. Sueton. Nero. cap. 39.

^u Oros. l. 7, c. 7. ^x Multa eo anno prodigia evenere. Inseffum diris avibus Capitolium: crebris terræ motibus protrata domus. Ann. 12. cap. 43.

^y Tributumque Apamiensibus terre motu convulsis, in quinquennium remissum. Id. l. 12, c. 58. ^z Eodem anno ex illustribus Asiæ urbibus Laodicea, tremore prolapsa, nullo a nobis remedio, propriis viribus revaluit. Ib. l. 14, c. 27.

^a In Asia tres urbes terræ motu conciderunt. Laodicea, Hierapolis, Colossæ. Euf. Chr. p. 161.

^b Oros. l. 7, cap. vii.

tioned by ^c Tacitus and ^d Seneca. By the former it seems to be placed in the year of Christ 62, by the latter in the year 63.

And there may have been other earthquakes in the time of the just mentioned emperors.

5. Our Lord foretels *wars and commotions* preceding the final ruin: Matt. xxiv. 6; Mark xiii. 7; Luke xxi. 9.

Josephus ^e has a long story of a disturbance in Mesopotamia, occasioned by the ambition and indiscretion of two Jews, who were brothers. It seems to have happened ^f about the year of Christ 40. Josephus says it ^g was not inferior to any calamity which the Jews had suffered hitherto; and that ^h it occasioned the death of more than fifty thousand people.

When Cuspius Fadus came procurator into Judea, in the reign of Claudius, in the year of Christ 44 or 45, as ⁱ Josephus says, 'he found the Jews in Peréa in a riot, fighting with the Philadelphians about the limits of the village Mia. And indeed the people of Peréa had taken up arms without the consent of their chief men, and had killed a good number of the Philadelphians. When Fadus heard of it he was much displeased that they had taken up arms, and had not left the decision of the dispute to him, if they thought the Philadelphians had done them any injury. Three of the principal men, who were the causes of the sedition, were apprehended and put in prison; one of whom was afterwards put to death, and the two others banished.'

Afterwards, in the year of our Lord 49, whilst Cumanus was procurator of Judea, there ^k happened a tumult at Jerusalem at the time of Passover. The number of Jews that perished in it was not less than twenty thousand, as it is in his Antiquities: but in the Jewish War the number is no more than ten thousand.

Whilst Cumanus was yet in Judea there ^l happened a disturb-

^c *Iisdemque Consulibus gymnasium ictu fulminis conflagravit, effigiesque in eo Ne-ronis ad informe æs liquefacta. Et motu terræ celebre Campaniæ oppidum Pompeii magna ex parte prouit. Ann. l. 15, c. 22.*

^d Pompeios, celebrem Campaniæ urbem — desedisse terræ motu, vexatis quacumque adjacentibus regionibus, Lucili virorum optime, audivimus: et quidem diebus hibernis, quos vacare a tali periculo majores nostri solebant promittere. Nonis Febr. fuit motus hic, Regulo et Virginio Consulibus, qui Campaniam nunquam securam hujus mali, indemnem tamen, et totiens defunctam metu, magna strage vastavit. Nam et Herculaneus oppidi pars ruit, dubieque stant etiam quæ relicta sunt. Et Nucirinorum colonia, ut sine clade, ita

non sine querela est. Neapolis quoque privatim multa, publice nihil amisit, leviter ingenti malo perstricta. Villæ vero præruptæ passim sine injuria tremuere. Adjiciunt his sexcentarum ovium gregem exanimatum, et divisas statuas. &c. Sen. Not. Qu. l. 6, c. 1.

^e Antiq. l. 18, cap. ix. ^f Vid. Usser. A. P. J. 4753. p. 864. Basnag. ann. 40. n. xiii. Tillem. Ruine des Juifs. art. xxviii.

^g Γίνεται δε και περι της εν τη Μεσοποταμια και μαλιστα την Βαβυλωνια οικουτας Ιουδαιας συμφορα δεση, και εδερμιας ης τιος ελασσων, φορος τε αυτων πολυς, και οκοτος εχρησθημενος προτερον. ib. § 1.

^h Ib. § 9.

ⁱ Ant. l. 20. cap. i. 1.

^k Antiq. l. 20. c. v. 3. De B. J. l. 2. c. xiii. 1.

^l Antiq. l. 20. vi. 1. De B. J. l. 2. xii. 3.

ance between the Jews and the Samaritans, in which many were killed on both sides.

Josephus also says that ^m under Cumanus the troubles of the Jewish people began, and that in his time they suffered very much.

These disturbances went on increasing. At Cæsarea there had long been contentions between the Jewish people and the other inhabitants. ‘And,’ as ⁿ Josephus says, ‘in one hour’s time more than twenty thousand Jews were destroyed, and all Cæsarea was at once emptied of its Jewish inhabitants. Some fled, whom Florus caught, and sent them bound to the galleys: at which the whole nation was enraged. They therefore divided themselves into several parties, and laid waste the villages of the Syrians, and their neighbouring cities, Philadelphia, Sebonitis, Gerasa, Pella, and Scythopolis: and after them Gadara and Hippos: and falling upon Gaulanitis, some cities they demolished there, others they set on fire. Then they went to Kedasa, belonging to the Syrians, and to Ptolemais, and Gaba, and Cæsarea. Nor was Sebaste or Ascalon able to withstand the violence with which they were attacked. When they had burnt these to the ground, they demolished Anthedon and Gaza. Many also of the villages round about these cities were plundered; and an immense slaughter was made of the men found in them.’

‘The ^o Syrians destroyed not a less number of the Jews: so that the disorders all over Syria were terrible. For every city was divided into parties armed against each other; and the safety of the one depended upon the destruction of the other. The days were spent in slaughter, and the nights in terrors, which were the worst of the two. It was common to see cities filled with dead bodies, lying unburied, those of old men mixed with infants, all dead, and scattered about promiscuously, and women without covering for their nakedness.’

‘At ^p Scythopolis the contention was carried so far, that above thirteen thousand Jews were killed.’

‘After that ^q other cities also rose up against the Jews that were among them. They of Ascalon slew two thousand and five hundred; they of Ptolemais two thousand, and put many others into prison. The Tyrians acted in the like manner: as did also Hippos and Gadara, and divers other cities of Syria.’

^m — εφ' ἧ θορύβῳ τε πρῆαντο, καὶ φθορὰ πάλιν Ἰουδαίων γένητο. De B. J. l. 2, c. xii. 1.

ⁿ Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας, ὡς περ ἐκ δαιμονικῆς πρῶνοιαις, αὐτοὺς οἱ Καῖσαρες τῆς παρ' αὐτῆς Ἰουδαίας ὡς ὑπὸ μιᾶς ὥρας ἀπὸ-

σφραγίσαι μὲν ὑπὲρ δισμυρίδας, κενώσθαι δὲ πάντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων Καίσαρεϊαν. De B. J. l. 2, cap. xviii. 1.

^p Ib. § 3.

^o Ibid. § 2.

^q Ib. § 5.

‘At^r Alexandria fifty thousand lay dead in heaps: nor would the remainder have been spared if they had not petitioned for mercy.’

Not long after that, the^s men of Damascus having got the Jewish inhabitants into the place of exercise, *εν τῷ γυμνασίῳ*, they came upon them unarmed, and slew ten thousand in an hour’s time.

These are what our Lord calls *the beginning of sorrows*, when there were wars and rumours of wars, one people and nation rising up against another. The end was not yet. Jerusalem was not yet besieged, nor the people in it shut up for universal destruction. But that period was nigh. See Matt. xxiv. 6—8; Mark xiii. 7, 8; Luke xxi. 9, 10.

VII. And now I think it may not be improper for us to take notice of Josephus’s accounts of the occasion of the war.

Giving an account of the contentions of the Jews and Greeks, or Syrians, at Cæsarea, where the latter obtained a decree from Nero that the government of the city belonged to them, he says: ‘And this^t occasioned the war which began in the twelfth year of Nero.’ Soon after which the Jews at Cæsarea were treated very contemptuously and injuriously, till they were all destroyed, as he there proceeds to relate; and we have already in part transcribed from him.

In the last chapter of the Jewish Antiquities he complains much of Albinus, and still more of Florus, who succeeded him, and exceeded him in avarice and cruelty; insomuch, that the Jews were ready to consider Albinus as a benefactor. ‘Finally^u,’ says he, ‘without adding any thing more, it was Florus who compelled us to take up arms against the Romans, thinking it better to be destroyed all at once than by little and little.’

In his own life he says: ‘I^x have mentioned all these things to shew that the Jews’ war with the Romans was not their own choice, but rather that they were compelled by necessity.’

In another place he says: ‘And^y at the temple Eleazar, son of Ananias the high-priest, a young man of a daring temper, and then governor, persuaded those who officiated in the divine service not to accept of the gift or sacrifice of a foreigner.

^r Ibid. § 7, 8.

c. xx. § 2.

^s De B. J. l. 2. ^t Εν δε τῷ τῷ και οι Καισαριανὲς Ἕλληνας νικισάντες παρὰ Νερῶνι τῆς πόλεως ἀρχὴν, τὰ τῆς κρίσεως ἐκομίσαν γράμματα. Καὶ προσελαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πόλεμος δωδεκάτῳ μὲν ἐτὶ τῆς Νερῶνος ηγεμονίας. De B. J. l. 2, c. xiv. 4.

^u Καὶ τί δὲ πλεῖον λέγειν; Τὸν γὰρ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ὁ καταναγκάσας ἡμᾶς ἀρσ-

θαι, Φλωρός ἦν, κριττον ἡγούμενος ἀβροῦς, ἢ κατ’ ὀλίγον ἀπολεσθαι. Antiq. l. 20, xi. 1.

^x — ὅτι ἡ προαιεσις ἐγένετο τῆς πόλεως πρὸς Ῥωμαίους Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεον ἀναγκη. Vit. § 6.

^y — ἀναπειθεῖ, μηδενὸς ἀλλοφυλῆ δῶρον ἢ θυσίαν προσδεχέσθαι. Τὸτο δὲ ἦν τὸ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον καταβῶλη. Τὴν γὰρ ὑπερ τῶν θυσιῶν Καίσαρος ἀπερριψάν. De B. l. 2, xvii. 2.

‘ That was the origin of the war with the Romans: for thus they rejected the sacrifice of Cæsar for them.’ [That is, as I apprehend, they refused to offer prayers and sacrifices, as subjects ought to do, for the emperor, and for the prosperity of the Roman empire.] ‘ And though many of the high-priests, and of the principal men of the nation, earnestly entreated them not to omit the customary respect for their governors, they could not prevail.’

Afterwards, near the conclusion of his History of the Jewish War, when the city was actually taken, he says: ‘ But ² that which principally encouraged them to the war, was an ambiguous oracle, found also in their sacred writings, that about this time some one from their country should obtain the empire of the world. This they understood to belong to themselves; and many of the wise men were mistaken in their judgment about it: for the oracle intended the government of Vespasian, who was proclaimed emperor in Judea.’

That is a very remarkable passage: some farther notice shall be taken of it by and by.

That the Jewish people were uneasy under subjection to the Romans, even in our Saviour’s time, long before the war broke out, appears from many things recorded in the gospels: as their great aversion to the publicans, though Jews, who were employed in collecting the Roman tribute; from the question brought to our Saviour, *whether it was lawful to give tribute to Cæsar, or not*: Matt. xxii. 15—22; Mark xiii. 13—17; Luke xx. 19—26; from the attempt of some who followed our Lord for a time to make him a king: John vi. 15: from their frequent and importunate demands that he would *show them a sign from heaven*, meaning some token that he intended to work out for them a temporal deliverance, *that they might believe in him*, and have full assurance of his being the Christ: Matt. xii. 38; xvi. 1—4; and elsewhere: and from divers other things, which must be obvious to all who have read the gospels with attention.

This uneasiness under the Roman yoke continued and increased. Observable here is the answer which was made by Titus, after the temple was burnt, to the petition of Simon and John, the two great leaders of the factions in Jerusalem: ‘ You ² have never ceased rebelling since Pompey first made a conquest of your country: and at length you have declared open war against the Romans.—Our kindness to you has encouraged your enmity against us; who have let you live in your country in peace and

² De B. J. l. 6, cap. v. 4.

² De B. l. 6, cap. vi. 2.

‘ quietness,

‘ quietness. In the first place we gave you your own country to
 ‘ live in, and set over you kings of your own nation; and farther
 ‘ we preserved to you your own laws: and withal we have per-
 ‘ mitted you to live either by yourselves, or among others, as you
 ‘ liked best. And, which is the greatest favour of all, we have
 ‘ given you leave to gather up that tribute which you pay to
 ‘ God, together with all such other gifts as are dedicated to
 ‘ him. Nor have we called those to account who carried such
 ‘ donations, nor given them any obstruction: till at length you
 ‘ became richer than ourselves, even when you were our enemies,
 ‘ and you have made preparations for the war against us with our
 ‘ own money.’

There are other things likewise in Josephus, which deserve to
 be taken notice of in this place. Giving an account of the as-
 sessment made in Judea after the removal of Archelaus, he says:
 ‘ At ^b the persuasion of Joazar the high-priest, the Jews did ge-
 ‘ nerally acquiesce. However, Judas the Gaulanite, of the town
 ‘ called Gamala, associating to himself Sadduc a pharisee, excited
 ‘ the people to rebellion, telling them that an assessment would
 ‘ bring in downright slavery, and exhorting the whole nation to
 ‘ assert their liberty. The whole nation heard their discourses with
 ‘ incredible pleasure. And it is impossible to represent the evils
 ‘ the nation has suffered, which were owing to these men: for
 ‘ Judas and Sadduc brought in among us this fourth sect: and
 ‘ there being many who embraced their sentiments, they not only
 ‘ caused disturbances in the government at that time, but laid the
 ‘ foundation of those evils which followed: which indeed are
 ‘ owing to this principle, till then unknown among us.’

He then delivers the character and principles of the three
 chief and more ancient sects of the Jews, as he calls them: and
 after that returns again to the men of whom he had been speaking
 before. ‘ Judas ^c the Galilean was the leader of the fourth sect.
 ‘ In all other points they hold the same sentiments with the pha-
 ‘ risees: but they have an invincible affection for liberty, and
 ‘ acknowledge God alone their Lord and governor. From that
 ‘ time the nation became infected with this principle: and Flo-
 ‘ rus, by abusing his power when he was governor, threw them
 ‘ into despair, and provoked them to rebel against the Romans.’

Those two passages were cited by me ^d formerly; and divers
 observations were made upon them, which still appear to me not
 impertinent. But I am unwilling to repeat them here: and I
 think that, in the connection in which they are now cited by me,

^b Antiq. l. 18, c. i. § 1.^c Ibid. § 6.^d Vol. i. p. 217, &c.

it must be apparent from them, without farther remarks, that the nation in general was infected with the doctrine of Judas of Galilee. They had an invincible zeal for liberty, scorned subjection to the Romans their masters, and took up arms against them. As Cappellus says, 'Florus^e, by his exactions, forced them against their consent, or rather drove them who were already disposed to it, and wanted no incitement, to rebel against the Romans.'

I would now take farther notice of the passage above cited, wherein our Jewish historian says, 'what principally encouraged them to the war was an ambiguous oracle, found in their sacred writings, that about that time some one from their own country should obtain the empire of the world.'

The truth and importance of that observation, as I apprehend, may be confirmed and illustrated by the accounts which Josephus has given of numerous impostors, or false prophets, which arose among them about this time, agreeably to our Lord's predictions, as I shall now shew.

'Whilst^f Fadus was procurator of Judea, a certain impostor, called * Theudas, persuaded a very great multitude, taking their effects with them, to follow him to the river Jordan: assuring them that he was a prophet, and that, causing the river to divide at his command, he would give them an easy passage over: by such speeches he deceived many. But Fadus was far from suffering them to go on in their madness; for he sent out a troop of horse, who, coming upon them unexpectedly, slew many, and took many prisoners. Theudas himself was among the last mentioned. They cut off his head and brought it to Jerusalem. These things happened in Judea whilst Cuspius Fadus was procurator.'

Fadus was sent into Judea by the emperor Claudius, after the death of Herod Agrippa. This affair of Theudas therefore must be rightly placed in the year of Christ 45 or 46.

That is transcribed from the twentieth and last book of the Antiquities. In the same book afterwards, in another chapter, in the history of transactions in the time of Nero, Josephus says: 'But^g affairs in Judea went on continually growing worse and worse. The country was again filled with robbers and impos-

^e Florus, pessimus homo, qui modis omnibus Judæos cum vexaret et opprimeret, cogit vel invitos, aut potius ultro ruentes impulit, adversus Romanos rebellare. L. Capp. Hist. Jud. p. 121.

^f Ant. l. 20, cap. v. 1.

* That Theudas is different from him mentioned by Gamaliel, Acts v. 36. as was shewn formerly, Vol. i. p. 405, &c.

^g Antiq. l. 20, cap. viii. 5.

‘tors, who deceived the people; but Felix time after time apprehended and put to death many of them.’ A little lower: ‘And ^b indeed, by means of the crimes committed by the robbers, the city was filled with all sorts of impiety: and impostors and deceivers persuaded the people to follow them into the wilderness; where, as they said, they should see manifest wonders and signs performed by the providence of God. And many hearkening unto them, at length suffered the punishment of their folly: for Felix fetched them back, and punished them. About the same time there came a man out of Egypt to Jerusalem, who said he was a prophet: and, having persuaded a good number of the meaner sort of people to follow him to the mount of Olives, he told them that thence they should see the walls of Jerusalem fall down at his command, and promised through them to give them entrance into the city. But Felix being informed of these things, ordered his soldiers to their arms; and, marching out of Jerusalem with a large body of horse and foot, he fell upon the Egyptian, and killed four hundred of them, and took two hundred prisoners: but the Egyptian getting out of the fight escaped.’

This same story is also in *The War*, with some differences in the numbers, which were considered ⁱ formerly.

There the account concludes in this manner: ‘When ^k they came to engage the Egyptian fled, followed by a few only. A large part of those who were with him were either slain or taken prisoners. The rest of the multitude, being scattered, shifted for themselves as they could.’

This is supposed to have happened in the year of Christ 55.

In *The War*, in the paragraph preceding his account of the Egyptian impostor, having just before related how Judea then abounded with robbers, called Sicarii, he says: ‘Beside ^l them, there was another body of wicked men, whose hands indeed were cleaner, but their intentions were as impious; who disturbed the happy state of the city no less than those murderers. For deceivers and impostors, under a pretence of divine inspiration, aiming at changes and innovations, made the people mad; and induced them to follow them into the wilderness, pretending that God would there give them signs and wonders. Felix judging these proceedings to be no less than the beginning of a revolt, sent out his soldiers, both horse and foot, and destroyed great numbers of them.’

^b Ib. §. 6.

ⁱ Vol. i. p. 414, &c.

^k De B. J. l. 2, c. xiii. 5.

^l Ibid. § 4.

^m Ant. l. 20, cap. viii. § 30.

In the forecited chapter of the twentieth book of the Antiquities, speaking of the robbers in the time of Porcius Festus, about the year of Christ 60, he says that 'he^m also sent out both horse and foot to fall upon those who had been seduced by a certain impostor, who had promised them deliverance and freedom from the miseries under which they laboured, if they would but follow him into the wilderness. The forces destroyed him that had deceived them, and those that followed him.'

Josephus speaks of six thousand who perished in the outer courts of the temple after it had been set on fire. 'Theⁿ soldiers,' says he, 'set fire to the portico; whereupon some threw themselves headlong down the precipice, others perished in the flames: and not one out of so great a number escaped. A false prophet was the occasion of the ruin of those people, who on that very day had made proclamation in the city, assuring them that God commanded them to go up to the temple, where they would receive signs of deliverance. And indeed there were then many prophets suborned by the tyrants to impose upon the people, and telling them that they ought to wait for help from God.'

And presently after, proceeding to relate the omens and prodigies foresignifying the calamities coming upon the Jewish people, and the city of Jerusalem, which shall be recited by and by, he says: 'Impostors, ° who spake lies in the name of God, deceived this miserable people. They neither attended to, nor believed, the manifest signs foresignifying the coming desolation: but like infatuated men, who have neither eyes to see, nor minds to perceive, they neglected the divine denunciations.'

So truly did our Lord say: *I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not. If another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive: John v. 43.*

Our blessed Lord says, Matt. xxiv. 24. *For there will arise false christs, and false prophets, and will shew great signs and wonders, inso-much that (if it were possible) they will deceive the very elect.* But our Lord does not intend to say that any of those false prophets would exhibit or perform great wonders. The original word is *δωσιν*, they will give: the same word that is in the Septuagint version of Deut. xiii. 1. *If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and he giveth thee a sign, or a wonder; και δω σοι σημειον η τερας*, that is, shall propose, or promise, some sign or wonder, as the sequel shews. Parallel with the text just cited from St.

° De B. J. l. 6, cap. v. § 2.

• Ibid. § 3.

Matthew is Mark xiii. 22. *For false christs and false prophets will arise, and will shew signs and wonders*, the same word again, *καὶ δώσουσι σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα*, in order to seduce, if it were possible, even the elect.

The accounts which Josephus has given of the impostors in his time, shew the exact accomplishment of these predictions of our Lord: *They persuaded the people to follow them into the wilderness, where, as they said, they would see manifest signs and wonders performed by the power of God*: or, assuring them, *that God would there give them signs and wonders*: or, *that they should there receive signs of deliverance*, and the like.

The passages of Josephus bear witness to the fulfilment of our Lord's prediction, *that many false prophets would arise, and deceive many*. Matt. xxiv. 11.

Our Lord does also say there, at ver. 5. *And many will come in my name saying, I am Christ: and will deceive many*. And it is easy to believe that ^p some of the many false prophets did expressly take to themselves that title, though Josephus does not say it. But whether they did or not, our Saviour's predictions are verified in the appearance of those false prophets. 'Josephus,' says ^a archbishop Tillotson, 'mentions several of these; of whom, though he does not expressly say that they called themselves the Messias, yet he says that which is equivalent—that they undertook to rescue the people from the Roman yoke. Which was the thing which the Jews expected the Messias would do for them. And therefore we find that the disciples who were going to Emmaus, and knew not that Christ was risen, and were doubtful what to think of him, say: *We hoped this had been he that should have redeemed Israel*: that is, they hoped this had been the Messias; that being, it seems, a common periphrasis of the Messias, that he was *he that was to deliver Israel*.' Which is agreeable to a note of ^r Grotius upon the place. All they therefore, who pretended that they were inspired, and sent by God to deliver the Jewish people, were indeed *false christs*. They took upon themselves the character of the Messiah.

We may now readily admit the truth of what Josephus says in the passage transcribed not long ago: 'That what principally excited the Jewish people, the wise men, as he calls them, as well as others, to the war with the Romans, was the expectation of

^p See Tillemont Ruine des Juifs, art. 36. A. D. 52. ^a Vol. 3, p. 552.

^r Christi nomine populus Judaicus intelligebat vindicem libertatis. Nam illud, *ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐλπίζομεν, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ μέλλων ἀντρεῖν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους*, descriptio est nomi-

nis Christi. Quare quicumque se missos divinitus liberatores populi Judaici dicebant, eo ipso Christos se profitebantur, et erant *ψευδοχριστοί*, &c. Grot. in Matt. xxiv. 5.

‘a great deliverer to arise among them, who should obtain the empire of the world.’ This great deliverer was the Messiah. The numerous *false prophets* and *false christs*, of whom Josephus speaks so frequently and so distinctly, are full proofs of it.

The expectation of the coming of the Messiah, about the time of the appearance of Jesus, was universal, and had been so for some^s while. But with the idea of a prophet, or extraordinary teacher of religion, they had joined also that of a worldly king and conqueror, who should deliver the Jewish people from the burdens under which they laboured, raise them to a state of independence, and bring the nations of the earth into subjection to them, to be ruled and tyrannized over by them; and because our Lord did not perform, nor attempt this, they rejected and crucified him. If he would but have assumed the state and character of an earthly prince, scribes and pharisees, priests and people, would all have joined themselves to him, and have put themselves under his banner. Of this we see many proofs in the gospels. This disposition prevailed to the last. The people therefore, though they had already met with many disappointments, when our Lord entered into Jerusalem, in no greater state than riding upon an ass, accompanied him with loud acclamations, and other tokens of respect, saying: *Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed is the king that cometh in the name of the Lord.* And Jesus, our Lord, not assuming then the character of an earthly prince was a fresh disappointment, and left deep resentments; which rendered them susceptible of the worst impressions from the chief priests, and their other rulers. And at their instigation they desired Pilate, the Roman governor, to set Barabbas at liberty, and crucify Jesus. With which clamorous and importunate demand he at length complied, still bearing testimony to the innocence of him whom he unwillingly condemned. The account of St. Matthew alone, without any other, will suffice for shewing this amazing transaction: *Pilate saith unto them: What shall I do then with Jesus, who is called Christ? They all say unto him: Let him be crucified. The governor said: Why! what evil has he done? But they cried out the more, saying: Let him be crucified. When Pilate saw that he prevailed nothing, and that rather a tumult was made, he took water and washed his hands before the multitude, saying: I am innocent from the blood of this just person: see ye to it. Then answered all the people: His blood be upon us, and upon our children. Then released he Barabbas unto them. And when he had scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified: Matt. xxvii. 22...26.*

^s Proofs of this, together with divers remarks, may be seen in vol. I. p. 132. &c.

The continued expectation of the Messiah, as a worldly king and conqueror, as we have just seen in Josephus, and their uneasiness under the Roman yoke, were the immediate occasions of their rebelling against the authority to which they were then subject. And the same principles that induced them to reject and crucify Jesus, brought upon them their utter and final ruin.

As the sin of the Jewish people in rejecting and crucifying Jesus, after a life of perfect innocence and consummate virtue, after speaking as no man had done before, and doing works which no other man had done, at Jerusalem, and in every part of the land of Israel; after such preparations as had been made for his reception by the prophets, and by the testimony of John the Baptist, his forerunner; was * very great and aggravated: and as they rejected the renewed offers of mercy, and repeated and earnest calls to repentance, made by Christ's apostles, and went on increasing in wickedness; God at length suffered the Romans to come upon them with an armed force, demolished their temple, and made desolate their city, and their whole country, with many circumstances of uncommon and even unparalleled distress. All which, having been foreseen, and often foretold by the Lord Jesus, in his public discourses; the accomplishment of these predictions, in the event, is an argument of great force in favour of his divine mission, and of his being indeed the Messiah, additional to the excellent doctrine and wonderful works of his ministry.

VIII. Having shewn the occasion and causes of the war, and having also observed the several things foretold by the Lord Jesus, as preceding it, I now proceed to The History of the War itself, collecting it from Josephus, and making my extracts in his own words.

The disturbances still increasing at Jerusalem, and the animosity against Florus being very great, ' Cestius Gallus, ' president of Syria, judged it not proper for him to lie still any longer; ' he therefore determined to march into Judea: whereupon he ' took out of Antioch the twelfth legion entire, and out of the rest ' two thousand chosen men, with six cohorts of foot, and four ' troops of horse, beside the auxiliaries which were sent by the ' kings: of which Antiochus sent two thousand horse, and three ' thousand foot, all archers. Agrippa sent a thousand horse and

* If ye were blind, ye should have no sin: I had not done among them the works which but now you say, we see, therefore your sin no other man did, they had not had sin: but remaineth: John ix. 41. If I had not come now have they both seen, and hated, both and spoken to them, they had not had sin: me and my father: John xv. 22...24. but now they have no cloak for their sin. If ' De B. J. l. 2, cap. xviii. § 9.

‘two thousand foot. Sohemus followed with four thousand. He then marched to Ptolemais. Agrippa accompanied Cestius as a guide in the journey, and as capable of being useful to him in other respects. After he was come thither, Cestius took a part of his army and marched hastily to Zabulon, a strong city of Galilee, which separates the country of Ptolemais from our nation: that he found destitute of it’s men, the multitude having fled to the mountains, but full of all good things, which he allowed the foldiers to seize as plunder: and he set fire to the city, though it’s buildings were very beautiful, resembling those of Tyre and Sidon, and Berytus. After that he overran the neighbouring country, seizing whatever came in his way, and setting fire to the villages: and then returned to Ptolemais.’ At this very time, as Josephus adds in the same paragraph, the Jews found means to destroy about two thousand Syrians at Berytus, and near it, Cestius being at a distance.

‘Now ^u Cestius himself marched from Ptolemais, and came to Cæsarea; and then sent part of his army before him to Joppa; who coming suddenly upon that people, who were prepared neither for flight nor for their own defence, slew them all with their families, and then plundered and burnt the city. The number of the slain were eight thousand and four hundred. In like manner he sent a number of horse into the toparchy of Nabata, not far from Cæsarea, who slew many of the inhabitants, plundered their goods, and set fire to the villages.’

‘Now ^x also Cestius sent Gallus, commander of the twelfth legion, into Galilee, where he slew more than two thousand.’

‘Gallus ^y then returned to Cæsarea, and Cestius moved with his whole army and came to Antipatris. Thence he set forward to Lydda, where he found the place empty of men, the people being gone up to Jerusalem upon account of the feast of Tabernacles. However, he found there fifty men, whom he slew, and burnt the city, and then marched onward; and going up by Bethoron, he pitched his camp at Gaba, fifty furlongs from Jerusalem.’

‘The ^z Jews, seeing the war approaching to their metropolis, relying upon their numbers, went out to fight in a hasty and disorderly manner, even in the time of the festival. But the rage which made them forget their religion did also make them superior to their enemies. Cestius with his whole army was in danger. Five hundred and fifteen of the Romans were slain, whilst the Jews lost only two-and-twenty. The most valiant of

^u § 10.^x Ib. § 11,^y Ib. cap. xix. § 1.^z Ib. § 2.

‘ the

‘ the Jews were Monobazus, and Kenedæus, related to Monobazus king of the Adiabenes. Next to them were Niger of Peræa, and Silas of Babylon, who had deserted from king Agrippa to the Jews, and Simon son of Gioras, to be hereafter often mentioned. After that the Jews retired into the city. Cestius staid there three days.’

‘ At ^a this time Agrippa with the consent of Cestius sent to the Jews two ambassadors, Borcæus and Phœbus, men well known to them, with assurances of plenary forgiveness from Cestius if they would lay down their arms and submit. But the Jews would not so much as receive the ambassadors. Phœbus they fell upon, and slew him, before he had spoken a word. Borcæus too was wounded: but he retreated and escaped.’

‘ Soon ^b after that Cestius moved forward with his whole army, and encamped upon an elevated spot of ground called Scopos, [signifying the prospect or watch-tower.] Here he rested three days. On the fourth day, which was the thirtieth of October, he brought his army into the city. The seditious, as Josephus calls them, were much terrified, and retired from the suburbs to the inner part of the city and the temple. Cestius soon set fire to the place called Bezetha, or the new city, and to the wood-market. After which he came forward to the upper part of the city, and pitched his camp over against the royal palace. And if at that time he had attempted to make his way within the walls by force, he would have won the city presently, and put an end to the war at once. But Tyrannus Priscus, a general in the army, and many officers of the horse, who had been corrupted by Florus, diverted him from that design; which was the occasion that this war lasted so long, and the Jews were involved in such grievous calamities.’

So writes Josephus. And afterwards he says: ‘ If ^c Cestius had continued the siege a little longer he had certainly taken the city. But God, as I think, for the wickedness of the people abhorring his own solemnities, suffered not the war to come to an end at that time.’

‘ Cestius ^d then withdrew from the city. The Jews resumed courage, and went after him; and, coming upon his rear, destroyed a good number both of horse and foot. That night Cestius lay at his former camp, Scopos. As he went farther off the next day, he even invited his enemies to pursue him. The Romans suffered greatly. Among the slain were Priscus, commander of the sixth legion, Longinus, a tribune, and Æmilius

^a Ib. § 3.^b Ib. § 4.^c § 6.^d § 7.

‘ Secundus,

‘Secundus, commander of a troop of horse. It was not without a great deal of difficulty that they got to Gabao, their former camp, and leaving behind their baggage. There Cestius staid two days, and was in great perplexity how to proceed. On the third day he judged it expedient to move.’

‘That^e he might march on with the greater expedition, he threw away every thing that might retard his march. He killed the mules, and the other beasts, excepting only such as carried weapons of war; which the Romans kept for their own use, and that they might not fall into the hands of the Jews to be afterwards employed against them. In that march they met with such difficulties that the Jews were near taking the whole army of Cestius prisoners; and would have effected it if night had not come on.’

‘In^f their flight they left behind them many engines for sieges, and for throwing stones, and a great part of their other instruments of war. The Jews pursued them as far as Antipatris, and then returned, taking up the engines, spoiling the dead bodies, and gathering up the prey which the Romans had left behind them. So they came back to their metropolis with great rejoicings. They lost but a few men themselves. But they had slain of the Romans and their auxiliaries five thousand and three hundred foot, and three hundred and eighty-horse. These things happened on the eighth day of November, in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero.’

‘After^g that calamity had befallen Cestius,’ says Josephus, ‘many of the most considerable of the Jewish people forsook the city as men do a sinking ship.’

And it is very likely that at this time many of the Christians also withdrew from Jerusalem and Judea. Eusebius says that^h before the war began the Christians left Jerusalem, and went to a place beyond Jordan called Pella. Epiphaniusⁱ speaks to the like purpose. Eusebius does not quote any ancient author for what he says: but it might be founded upon tradition, and such as could be relied upon. As he resided near the place he might have satisfactory information of it, and receive the account from the descendants of those Jewish believers.

However, some of them may have gone abroad into the other countries. St. John, as is well known, lived for some time in

^e § 8.

^f Ib. § 9.

^g Μετα δε την Κεστη συμφοραν, πολλοι των επιφανων Ιουδαιων, ωσπερ βαπτιζομενης ηως, απεινηχοντο της πολεως. De B. J. l. 2, c. xx. § 1.

^h — προ του πολεμου,

μεταστειλαι της πολεως, και τινα της Περαιας πολιν οικειν — Πελλαν αυτην ονομαζουσιν. H. E. l. 3, c. v, p. 75. A.

ⁱ H. 29, § vii.

Asia. When he came thither we cannot say exactly; but probably in the year of Christ 66, or sooner. Some of the Jewish believers might go with him out of Judea, or come to him into Asia afterwards. St. John, in his third epistle, ver. 6, speaks of *strangers* who were under difficulties. Some learned men have supposed that^k thereby are meant Jewish believers, who had been driven out of Palestine, or had fled from it, induced thereto by the necessity of the times and their fidelity to Christ, and had left their substance behind them.

I think we may reckon it to be certain, or at least highly probable, that none of the faithful disciples of Jesus were shut up in Jerusalem at the siege: and that most of them left it some while before it began, in the year of Christ 66, or thereabouts or sooner.

Our blessed Lord, speaking of the difficulties of these times, and of the declensions of some of his followers, encourages faithfulness in strong terms: Mark xiii. 13. *And ye shall be hated of all men for my namesake; but he that shall endure unto the end shall be saved.* And Luke xxi. 17—19. *And ye shall be hated of all men for my namesake; but there shall not an hair of your head perish. In your patience possess ye your souls.* And compare Matt. x. 21, 22. These gracious assurances were now fulfilled. The difficulties which the followers of Jesus met with were very great; and the love of many waxed cold, and some apostatized to Judaism, to avoid sufferings: nevertheless they gained nothing by it. They joined themselves to the unbelieving part of the nation, and had part with them in the heavy calamities which befel them. But the faithful followers of Jesus, who were steady to their profession, and attended to his predictions concerning coming calamities, and observed the signs of their near approach, escaped, and obtained safety, with only the lesser difficulties of a flight, which was necessary in the time of a general calamity.

The^l Jews, who had defeated Cestius, upon their return to Jerusalem, appointed governors and commanders for several places. Joseph, son of Gorion, and Ananus the high-priest, were chosen to govern the city, and to repair the walls. Josephus, son of Matthias, our historian, was made governor of both the Galilees. Others were sent to other places.

Cestius^m sent messengers to Nero in Achaia, to give him an account of what had happened, and of the state of affairs in Judea, and to lay the blame of all the disturbances upon Florus.

^k See vol. vi. chap. xx. Sect. v.

^l Ib. c. xx. §. 3, 4.

^m Ib. c. xx. §. 1.

Nero, ⁿ as Josephus says, was not a little moved at these things, though he dissembled his concern. However, he chose for a general a man of known valour and experience in war, several of whose important services are here mentioned by Josephus, agreeably to the testimony of the Roman ^o authors, who represent Vespasian to have been chosen for this service out of regard to his merit, when upon some accounts he was disagreeable to Nero.

Vespasian ^p sent his own son Titus from Achaia, where he then was, to Alexandria, to fetch thence the fifth and tenth legions. Himself, having crossed the Hellespont, went by land into Syria, where he gathered together the Roman forces, and a good number of auxiliaries, from the neighbouring princes.

The ^q Jews, elevated by the advantages which they had gained over Cestius, determined to carry the war to a greater distance. Accordingly they marched to Ascalon, a city always at enmity with them, distant from Jerusalem five hundred and fifty furlongs; [more than sixty miles.] Here the Jewish people were defeated in two attacks, losing more than eighteen thousand men, and two of their generals, John the Essene, and Silas the Babylonian. Niger the Peraite, the third general, narrowly escaped with his life.

Vespasian, ^r when he arrived at Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, reckoned the third city of the Roman empire for magnitude and dignity, found there Agrippa waiting for him: and taking the whole army with him he soon marched forward to Ptolemais.

Titus, ^s making greater expedition than could have been expected, especially in the winter season, came to his father at Ptolemais, bringing with him the fifth and tenth legions: to which

ⁿ De B. J. l. 3, c. i. § 1, 2.

^o Missu Neronis, Vespasianus fortuna, fama, et egregiis ministris, &c. Tacit. Hist. L. v. cap. 10.

Claudio principe, Narcissi gratia legatus legionis in Germania missus est; inde in Britanniam translatus, tricies cum hoste conflixit.—Peregrinatione Achaica inter comites Neronis, cum cantante eo aut discederet sapius, aut praesens obdormisceret, gravissimam contraxit offensam. Prohibitique non contubernio modo, sed etiam publica salutatione, secessit in parvam ac deviam civitatem, quoad latenti, etiamque extrema metuenti, provincia cum exercitu oblata est. Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur. Id de Imperatore Romano, quantum eventu postea praedictum patuit. Judæi ad se trahentes rebellant; caesoque praeposito,

legatum insuper Syriae consularem suppeditas ferentem, raptâ aquilâ fugaverunt. Ad hunc motum comprimendum cum exercitu ampliore, et non instrenuo duce, cui tamen tuto tanta res committeretur, opus esset, ipse potissimum delectus est: et ut industriae expertæ, nec metuendus ullo modo ob humilitatem generis ac nominis. Additis igitur ad copias duabus legionibus, octo alis, cohortibus decem, atque inter legatos majore filio assumpto, ut primum provinciam attigit, proximas quoque convertit in se. Correcta statim castrorum disciplina: uno quoque et altero praelio tam constanter inito, ut in oppugnatione castelli lapidis ictum genu, scuto sagittas aliquot exceperit. Sueton. Vespasian. c. iv.

^p De B. J. l. 3, c. i. § 3.

^q Ib. c. ii. § 1, 2, 3.

^r Ib. c. iv. n. 2.

^s Ibid. § 4.

were added the fifteenth legion, and eighteen cohorts. There were also five cohorts from Cæsarea, with one troop of horse, and also five other troops from Syria. There was also a considerable number of auxiliaries from the kings Antiochus [of Comagene] and Agrippa, and Seleucus, and Malchus the Arabian. So that the whole army of Romans and auxiliaries, horse and foot, amounted to about sixty thousand men, beside servants, whom Josephus represents as far from being usefess, according to the Roman discipline.

Thus we have pursued the history to the end of the year 66, and into the beginning of the year 67.

Vespasian ^t staid some while at Ptolemais. However Placidus, who was before sent into Galilee, destroyed many whom he met with in the open countries. He also made an attack upon Jotapata, but was repulsed.

Vespasian ^u leaves Ptolemais, and marcheth with his army in great order into Galilee.

The ^x first place taken by Vespasian was Gadara, which at that time had in it few men of a military age. But he slew all the young people: the Romans, from hatred of the Jews, and resenting the defeat of Cestius, having no mercy on any age. He also set fire to the city, and burnt all the villages and smaller towns round about; making some totally desolate, in others taking some captives.

Josephus ^y leaves Tiberias, and enters Jotapata on the twenty-first day of May.

The ^z next day Vespasian marches to Jotapata, at ^a the siege of which he received a slight wound in one of his feet.

‘ Whilst ^b Vespasian lay with his army before Jotapata, he sent Trajan, commander of the tenth legion, to Japha, not far off. ‘ The place was strong and surrounded by a double wall. A large ‘ number made a sally upon the Romans. Being beaten back they ‘ retired within the outer wall: but when they came to the inner ‘ wall, their fellow-citizens refused to admit them, lest the Romans should also force their way in with them. And ‘ now,’ says Josephus, ‘ it might be seen that God had given up the ‘ Galileans to the Romans, to be destroyed by their cruel enemies. ‘ The number of the slain, in the distress between the two walls, ‘ was twelve thousand. Of this Trajan gave information to Vespasian, desiring him to send his son Titus thither, that he might ‘ have the honour of completing the conquest.’

^t L. 3, c. vi. 1.

^u Ib. n. 2, 3.

^x Cap. vii. 1.

^y § 3.

^z Ib. 4.

^a Ib. § 22.

^b Ib. § 31.

^c Θεός δ' ην αρα, ο Ρωμαίους τα Γαλιλαίων παθη

χαρίζμενος. κ. λ. Ibid.

‘Vespasian, suspecting there might still be some difficulty, sent
 ‘Titus with five hundred horse and a thousand foot. When the
 ‘place was taken all the people, young and old, were destroyed.
 ‘None were saved excepting the male infants and the women,
 ‘who were made slaves. The number of those who were slain
 ‘now, and in the former attack, were fifteen thousand. The
 ‘prisoners were two thousand a hundred and thirty. This ca-
 ‘lamity befel the Galileans on the five-and-twentieth day of
 ‘May.’

At^d the same time the Samaritans got together in a riotous manner at mount Garizim. Whereupon Vespasian sent against them Cerealis, commander of the fifth legion, with six hundred horse, and three thousand foot; who slew them all, to the number of eleven thousand and six hundred. This happened on the twenty-fifth day of the month of June.

Now^e the final attack was made upon Jotapata, which was taken after a siege of forty-seven days. All of every age were slain, except infants and women. The captives were a thousand and two hundred. The number of slain in the last attack, and in the former encounters, was forty thousand. Vespasian ordered the city to be demolished, and set fire to all the castles. Thus Jotapata was taken on the first day of July, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero.

I think it may be worth the while to observe here, for shewing the violent and desperate disposition of the Jewish people at this time, ‘that^f in the distress of the last attack, when the Romans
 ‘were got within the walls of Jotapata, many of the people
 ‘made away with themselves, rather than come into the hands
 ‘of the Romans. Josephus calls them chosen men who were
 ‘near his person: they could not kill the Romans; and they re-
 ‘solved not to be killed by them.’

Undoubtedly my readers recollect here what was taken notice of^g formerly, which happened presently afterwards, in the cave where^h Josephus and forty other persons of distinction had hid themselves. And several other like instances may appear hereafter, as we proceed in this history, which ought not to pass unnoticed.

Josephusⁱ now came into the hands of the Roman general.

^d Ibid. p. 32.

^e § 33—35.

^f Τὸτο πολλὰς καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου ἐπι-
 λεκτῶν, ἐπ’ αὐτοχειρίαν παρῶν. Κατι-
 δόντες γὰρ, ὡς εἶπα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνελ-
 δυνάμει, τογε μὴ πεσεῖν αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων
 πρὸς λαβοῖ, καὶ συνανθροπίνετες ἐπὶ τα κα-

ταλῆγοντα τῆς πόλεως σφας αὐτῆς ἀνιλοῖ.
 § 34. ^g See p. 32. ^h — εἶβα

τεσσαράκοντα μὲν τῶν ἐπιστημῶν ἀνδράς κα-
 ταλαύεαν, λαμβανόντας. Ib. c. viii. 1.

ⁱ Ib. § 9.

He was still a prisoner, and carried a chain: but he had change of apparel given him, and was otherwise well used.

The ^k siege of Jotapata being over, on the fourth of July Vespasian returned to Ptolemais. Thence he went to Cæsarea by the seaside. Here he put two legions, for some while, for their refreshment; but sent the tenth and fifth to Scythopolis, that Cæsarea might not be overburdened.

‘In ^l the mean time he sent some of his soldiers, both horse and foot, to Joppa. Which, though it had been demolished not long since by Cestius, was repeopled by men who had escaped from other cities. Here they built many ships, and exercised a kind of piracy. Upon the approach of the Romans they betook themselves to their ships, which met with a violent storm, and were cast away. The number that perished was computed to be four thousand and two hundred. Here ^m also some, rather than be drowned, or be cast on the shore and then be killed by the Romans, put an end to their own lives. The place was now entirely demolished. However, by Vespasian’s direction, a number of horse and foot were left here, with orders to destroy the neighbouring villages. So those troops overran the country, as they were ordered, and laid waste the whole region.’

In ⁿ a short time Vespasian went from Cæsarea before mentioned, to Cæsarea Philippi, to pay a compliment to king Agrippa, by whom he had been invited, and by whom he was now entertained twenty days.

Hearing ^o of the revolt of Taricheas, Vespasian sent thither his son Titus. Taricheas ^p was a strong place, and had been fortified by Josephus. The number of people who perished in the several attacks, and in taking the city, was six thousand and five hundred.

After ^q which Vespasian sat upon his tribunal, to consider what should be done with the people that remained. And at length by his order all the old men, and other useless people, to the number of twelve hundred, were slain. Out of the young men he chose six thousand of the strongest, whom he sent to Nero to work at the Isthmus. The rest he sold for slaves, who were in number thirty thousand and four hundred. This was done on the eighth day of September.

The place ^r to which Vespasian went next was Gamala. Where he met with great difficulties, and many of the Romans were

^k Ibid. cap. 9. §. 1. ^l §. 2, 3, 4. ^m Τινες δὲ ὡς καὶ ἄλλοι τὴν θάλασσαν ἐφθάνον, τὰ σκάφη σφας αὐτῶν ἀναίρωντες. Ib. §. 3. ⁿ Ibid. §. 7. ^o Ib. §. 7. ^p ... Cap. x. l. ... 10. ^q §. 10. ^r De B. J. l. 4. cap. 1. §. 1 ... 10.

slain. It was taken at last on the twenty-third day of October. When there was no way of escaping left, many Jews threw their children, their wives and themselves, from the hill on which the citadel was built, into the deep valley below. The number of those who thus precipitated themselves was computed to be five thousand. The rest amounted to four thousand. For here the Romans spared none, not even infants. None escaped except two women.

To Gischala ^a Vespasian sent Titus: here about six thousand were slain. But John, son of Levi, who had commanded in the place, escaped and got to Jerusalem, with some others: which, ^t as our historian says, was the work of God, who saved John for the destruction of Jerusalem.

'Thus,' says ^u Josephus, 'was all Galilee subdued, after it had cost the Romans much labour.'

The ^x next chapter of our author contains an account of the state of things in Jerusalem after John came into it. Where he likewise says: 'At ^y the same time there were disturbances and civil wars in every city. And all they who were quiet from the Romans, turned their hands one against another. At this time robbers, and others of the worst characters, came into the city, where it had been long usual to receive all who came: but their numbers consumed those provisions, which might have been of use in a siege.'

They ^z now exercised tyranny over the most considerable men. Antipas, a man of royal lineage, the most potent man in the city, to whom the care of the public treasure had been committed, they laid hold of, and sent to prison: and after him Levias, a man of great distinction, and Sophas, son of Raguel, a man of like eminence, and both of royal lineage. And ^a not thinking themselves safe whilst they were living, they sent some men, of desperate characters, to put them to death in the prison.

Dissensions ^b increasing, there were slain ^c in one night eight thousand and five hundred; and afterwards ^d twelve thousand of the better sort, beside many others. Here also are mentioned by name, as put to death by the zealots, or others, divers men of great eminence, whose deaths our historian laments in pathetic terms: Ananus, ^e the most ancient of the high-priests; Jesus, also high-priest, inferior to Ananus, but yet a person of great emi-

^a Ibid. cap. ii. n. 1... 5. ^t Οὗτος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἀπὸ τῆς σαζόντος τοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμῶν ὀλεθρὸν. § 3.

^u Γαλιλαία μὲν ἡν ὅπως ἐκὼς πάντα, πολλοὺς ῥᾶτως, προσημασάσα Ῥωμαῖος. § 5.

^x Ib. cap. 3. ^y Ib. § 2, 3. ^z § 4. ^a § 5. ^b L. 4, cap. v. Et Conf. cap. iii. § 7. ^c Cap. v. § 1. ^d Μυριοὶ δὲ καὶ δισχιλιοὶ τῶν ευγενῶν ὅτι διεφθάρσαν. § 3. ^e § 2, et 4.

nence;

nence; and Zacharias, son of Baruch; different from Zacharias mentioned in Matt. xxiii. 35, and Luke xi. 51, as was shewn in another ^f place.

Soon^e after this, was put to death by the zealots, Gorion, a man of great eminence for his own virtues, as well as upon account of his family. Nor did Niger, the Peraite, escape their hands, though he had been so serviceable to them in this war. ‘When^h they were killing him, he uttered this imprecation upon them—that, beside the war, they might undergo famine and pestilence, and after that come to the mutual slaughter of each other. All which imprecations God ratified against those wicked men. And most justly did they soon after reap the fruit of their mad-ⁱness in their mutual dissensions.’

Theseⁱ things being heard of in the Roman camp, the commanders were for hastening the attack upon the city: but Vespasian, as Josephus says, answered them, that the Jews were not now making armour, nor building walls; but they are every day tearing themselves to pieces by intestine wars and dissensions, and suffer greater miseries than could be inflicted upon them by us, if they were in our hands. And it was the best way to let the Jews destroy one another.

These things we suppose to have happened at the end of the year 67, and the beginning of 68.

‘However, Vespasian was not inattentive to affairs, and took care to reduce other places, before he went to Jerusalem. He then left Cæsarea for a while, and marched to Gadara, the ‘metropolis of Perea,’ as Josephus says, ‘and entered it on the fourth day of March.’

‘After which he returned to Cæsarea, and left Placidus to carry on the war in those parts; who^k took Abila, Julias, and Besemoth, and other smaller cities and villages, as far as the lake Asphaltites; insomuch that now all Perea was in the hands of the Romans, excepting Macherus. This expedition was very fatal to the Jews. Many of the Jewish people were slain by the sword, others were driven into the river Jordan. The number of the slain was not less than fifteen thousand, beside two thousand and two hundred which were made captives. And Placidus had a rich booty of asses and sheep, camels and oxen. This disaster was equal to any that had yet befallen the Jews.’

In the mean time^l Vespasian with a part of his army went from Cæsarea to Antipatris; where he spent two days in settling the affairs of that city. On the third day he marched on, laying

^f See vol. i. p. 398. &c.

^g Ib. cap. vi. § 1.

^h Ib. § 1.

ⁱ Ib. § 2.

^k L. 4, cap. vii.

^l Ib. Cap. viii. 1.

waste and burning all the villages. And when he had laid waste all the places about the toparchy of Thamnas, he passed on to Lydda and Jamnia; and then came to Ammaus. Thence he went to the toparchy of Bethleptephon; and destroying that, and other neighbouring places, he slew more than ten thousand, and made captives more than a thousand: and on the second day of the month of July he pitched his camp at Corea, not far from Neapolis, called by the people of the country Mabortha: and then went to Jericho.

Not long afterwards he returned to Cæsarea. And ^m now, when he was getting ready all his forces for the siege of Jerusalem, he hears of the death of Nero, which happened on the tenth of June, in the year of our Lord 68. Wherefore Vespasian for a while put off his intended expedition against Jerusalem, waiting to see to whom this empire would be transferred, and expecting to receive orders from him.

During the remaining part of the year 68 and the year 69, little ⁿ was done by the Romans in the war against the Jews. They kept garrisons in the places already conquered, and fortified some places: but they made little progress, and the siege of Jerusalem was deferred. This delay was a favourable opportunity for the Jewish people to consider and relent, and make peace with the Romans their enemies, having first repented of their sins, and humbled themselves before God: but nothing of that kind came to pass. They went on in their old way, quarrelling among themselves, and forming parties, weakening themselves by divisions and contentions, and thereby hastening their ruin.

Our Lord foresaw this, as appears from the terms of all his predictions concerning them. He foresaw that nothing would reclaim them, after his own teachings had failed of the effect. *When he was come near he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying: If thou hadst known, even thou, in this thy day the things that belong to thy peace; but now they are hid from thine eyes: for the days will come upon thee that thy enemies shall compass thee round, and lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation: Luke xix. 41...44.* He would still send among them prophets, wise men, and scribes, his apostles and evangelists; but they would not hearken to them. They would reject their message, and abuse them: Matt. xxiii. 34.

At ^d this time, says Josephus, a new war began at Jerusalem. And Simon, son of Gioras, who for a while had been trouble-

^m Ib. cap. ix. 1, 2.
ann. 69. n. xiii.

ⁿ Nihil hoc anno alicujus momenti in Judæa gestum. Pagi
^d Ἐπαισάται δὲ ἄλλος τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμοῖς πόλεμος. L. 4, c. ix. § 3. in.

some to the people there by his furious attacks upon the place, was admitted ^e into the city, in the month of April, near the end of the third year of the war.

On the third day of July, in the year of our Lord 69, Vespasian was proclaimed emperor ^f by the Roman army in Judea; as he had been proclaimed on the first day of the same month at Alexandria; which day was reckoned the beginning of his reign.

And may we not be allowed to suppose that Vespasian and Titus were thus advanced by way of recompense for their services, as instruments in the hand of Providence for inflicting that punishment upon the Jewish people which their crying sins deserved, and thus accomplishing the predictions concerning it? We cannot say that they were truly virtuous; but they were persons of great eminence, and many abilities: and they had a more social and benevolent disposition than many others. Titus in particular is represented by Roman authors as a man of a very amiable ^h character. And Josephus, who was present with him in the war, often says that he unwillingly treated the Jewish people so severely as he did, and that he often made them offers of mercy, if they would lay down their arms, and accept of reasonable terms.

Vespasian, ⁱ not long after this, went to Alexandria, and thence to Rome, leaving his son Titus to carry on the war in Judea.

Vespasian staid some months at Alexandria, waiting for a fair wind and good weather, or upon account of some political views and considerations. Several extraordinary things are related to have happened during his stay there, which are related very briefly by ^k Dion Cassius, more particularly by ^l Suetonius, and still more prolixly by ^m Tacitus.

Two men of low rank at Alexandria, one of them blind, the other

^e Cap. ix. § 12. ^f Ib. cap. x.

^g Initium ferendi ad Vespasianum Imperii Alexandriae ceptum, festinante Tiberio Alexandro, qui Kal. Jul. sacramento eius legiones adexit. Isteque primus principatus dies in posterum celebratus, quamvis Judaicus exercitus v. nonas Jul. apud ipsum jurasset, eo ardore, ut ne Titus quidem filius expectaretur, Syria remeans, et consiliorum inter Municianum et patrem nuntius. Tacit. Hist. 2, cap. 79. Conf. Sueton. Vespasian. cap. 6. Vid. et pagi, ann. 69. n. vii. et Basnag. ann. 69. n. xxi. ^h Titus, cognomento paterno, amor ac delicæ humani generis. Sueton. Tit. cap. i. ⁱ Jos. De B. J. l. 4. cap. xi. ^k Dio. l. 66, n. 8. p. 1082,

^l Auctoritas et quasi majestas quædam, ut scilicet inopinato et adhuc novo principi, deerat: hæc quoque accessit. E plebe quidam luminibus orbatus, item alius debili crure, sedentem pro tribunali pariter adierunt, orantes opem valetudinis, demonstratam a Serapide per quietem: restitutum oculos, si inspisset: confirmatum crus, si dignaretur calce contingere. Cum vix fides esset rem ullo modo successuram, ideoque ne experiri quidem auderet: extremo hortantibus amicis, palam pro concione utrumque tentavit, nec eventus defuit. Sueton. Vespasi. cap. vii.

^m Per eos menses, qui Vespasianus Alexandriae stans æstivis statibus dies, et certa maris operiebatur, multa miracula evenere,

other lame in one of his hands, came both together to him in a humble manner, saying that they had been in a dream admonished by the god Serapis to apply to him for cure of their disorders; which they were assured might be done for the one, if he would be pleased to anoint his eyes and face with his spittle; and for the other, if he would vouchsafe to tread upon his hand. Vespasian, as is said, hesitated for a while. However, the physicians having been consulted, they gave their opinion that the organs of sight were not destroyed in the blind man, and that sight might be restored if obstacles were removed; and that the other's hand was only disjointed, and with proper remedies might be set right again. At length, moved by the entreaties of the dis-tempered persons, and encouraged by the flatteries of those about him, Vespasian performed what had been desired, and the effect was answerable; one of them presently recovered the use of his hands, and the other his sight.

I do not see reason to believe that any miracle was now wrought. It was a contrivance between Vespasian and his friends and favourites. Nor could it be safe for any to examine and make remarks upon an event, which an emperor and his favourites recommended to public belief.

Suetonius has accounted for these stories in the introduction to his narration, saying that 'somewhat was wanting to give dignity and authority to a new chosen emperor.' And at the beginning of his life of Vespasian, he observes, that 'the Flavian family was not renowned for its antiquity.' And it is easy for any to discern from several things said by Suetonius and

evenere, quis celestis favor et quædam in Vespasianum inclinatio numinum ostenderetur. Ex plebe Alexandrina quidam oculorum tabe notus, genua ejus ad-
volvitur, remedium cæcitatæ exposcens gemitu: monitu Serapidis dei, quem de-
dita superstitionibus gens ante alios colit. Precabaturque principem, ut genas et ocu-
lorum orbes dignaretur respergere oris excremento. Alius manu æger, eodem deo auctore, ut pede ac vestigio Cæsaris calcaretur, orabat. Vespasianus primo ir-
ridere, aspernari: atque illis instantibus, modò famam vanitatis metuere, modò ob-
secratione ipsorum, et vocibus adulantium, in spem induci: postremo æstimari a me-
dicis jubet, an talis cæcitas ac debilitas ope humana superabiles forent. Medici
varie differere: Huic non exesam vim lu-
minis, et redituram, si pellerentur obstan-
tia: illi illos in præyrum artus, si salu-

bris vis adhibeatur, posse integrari. Igi-
tur Vespasianus cuncta fortunæ suæ pa-
rere ratus, nec quidquam ultra incredi-
bile, læto ipse vultu, erecta quæ astabat
multitudine, jussu exsequitur. Statim
conversa ad usum manus, ac cæco reluxit
dies. Utrumque qui interfuere nunc
quoque memorant, postquam nullum
mendacio pretium. Tacit. Hist. 4. cap. 81.

Ad rei ipsius veritatem quod adiinet,
non facile adfirmantibus credere licet, cum
vix tutum esset id negare, quo Impera-
tori obsequentes Ægyptii, et quod pro-
inde intererat Imperatoris, verum videri.
Fraudes ejus retegere, qui fallere vult, et
omnibus Reipublicæ copiis instructus est,
numquam tutum fuit. &c. Cleric. Ann.
138. n. iii. Imperium suscepit, fir-
mavitque tandem gens Flavia: obscura
illa quidem, ac sine ullis majorum imagi-
nibus. Vespasian. cap. i.

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Tacitus, that Vespasian was very willing to encourage the belief of extraordinary things concerning himself.

I think that what Spartian^p writes of some miracles ascribed to Adrian may illustrate this history; and therefore I have transcribed him below very largely. Spartian lets us know that Marius Maximus, who before him had written the life of Adrian, and some other emperors, said those miracles were mere fictions. And says the learned and judicious Reimar, in his notes upon Dion Cassius: 'Nor^q ought we to form any other judgment of 'the miracles ascribed to Vespasian.' And perhaps it may deserve notice, that, notwithstanding such fine things were ascribed to Vespasian, Dion presently afterwards says 'he^r was not at all 'acceptable to the Alexandrians; but they hated him, and ridiculed and reproached him both in public and private.'

However, Crevier's observation is to this effect: 'At^s the 'same time we ought carefully to observe that these disorders, 'which Vespasian cured, were not of an incurable nature: and 'consequently we are at liberty to think that the healing them 'did not exceed the power of the dæmon.' And indeed popish saints and heathen dæmons are much alike: nor is there any great difference between heathen and popish credulity.

I cannot forbear to take notice of one remarkable history in this reign. Sabinus^u in Gaul engaged with some others in a revolt from the Romans, but was soon defeated. He might then have escaped into Germany; but affection for his wife, the best of women, whom he could not carry with him, led him into another scheme, which he communicated to two only of his freedmen, in whom he could confide. His country-house was burnt down, and he was supposed to have perished in the flames: but really he retired into a large subterraneous cavern, which he had

^p Ea tempestate supervenit quædam mulier, quæ diceret, somnio se monitam, ut insinuaret Adriano, ne se occideret, quod esset bene valiturus: quod cum non fecisset esse cæcatam: Jussam tamen iterum Adriano eadem diceret, atque genua eius oscularetur, receptura visum, si id fecisset. Quod cum infomnium impleisset, oculos recepit, quum aqua quæ in fano erat, ex quo venerat, oculos abluisset. Venit et de Pannonia quidam natus cæcus ad febrientem Adrianum, eumque contigit: quo factò et ipso oculos recepit, et Adrianum febris reliquit: quamvis Marius Maximus hæc per simulationem facta commemoret. Spartian. Hadrian. cap. 25.

^q Sed Marius Maximus hæc per simulationem facta commemorat. Ita diserte Spartianus Hadr. c. 25. Neq aliter de Vespasian

pasiani miraculis existimandum. Reimar. in Dion Cass. l. 66. § 50. p. 1083.

^r Το μὲν θεῖον τῶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐστειμένον. Οὐ μὲντοι καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρει ἐχαιρον αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πανυ ἠγρόντο. κ. λ. Dio. p. 1082.

^s Hist. of the Rom. Emp. vol. 6. p. 32.

^t See Tillem. Vespasian. art. vi. et xvii. Crevier's Hist. of the Roman Emperors, vol. vi. p. 103, 104. ^u Fusi Lingones. Sabinus festinatum temere proelium pari formidine deferuit. Utque famam exitii sui faceret, villam, in quam perfugerat, cremavit. Illic voluntaria morte interiisse creditus. Sed quibus artibus latebrisque vitam per novem annos traduxerit, simul amicorum ejus constantiam, et insigne Epponinæ uxoris exemplum, suo loco redemus. Tacit. Hist. 4. cap. 67.

near it. It was universally believed that he had made away with himself; and his wife Epponina abandoned herself to all the excesses of grief, and for three days and three nights refused to take any sustenance. Sabinus, hearing of it, and dreading the consequences, sent one of his freedmen to her, to assure her of his life, and to advise her to keep up the appearance of a mourner, still avoiding extremities. Afterwards she had access to him, and bore two children, of which she delivered herself in the cavern. By various artful pretences, and the faithfulness of friends, the truth was kept secret, and Sabinus lay concealed nine years: in which interval there were once some hopes of obtaining the emperor's pardon; and Epponina had Sabinus to Rome, so disguised that none knew him. But, being disappointed in those expectations, they returned to the place of their retreat. At length ^w Sabinus was discovered. He, and Epponina, and their two sons, were brought before Vespasian. She behaved with becoming firmness, yet endeavoured to move the emperor's pity. Presenting her two sons to him: 'These,' says she, 'Cæsar, I have brought forth, and nursed in the cavern, that I might increase the number of your supplicants.' And, as is said, neither the emperor himself, nor any others with him, could refrain from tears. However, perceiving that he did not yield, she then upbraided him; and told him she had lived more happily in the darkness of a cave than he upon his throne. Sabinus and his wife were condemned, but the children were spared. Plutarch says that 'thereby ^x Vespasian provoked the vengeance of heaven, and brought upon himself the extinction of his family. 'It was,' says he, 'the most tragical action of that reign; a thing which neither gods nor dæmons could bear the sight of.' Indeed, not only he, but Tacitus and Dion shew a dislike of that action. But we have not Tacitus's conclusion of the story, he having deferred it to a following book, which is now wanting. It must appear not a little strange, that a general and his wife should be put to death nine years after a disturbance had been suppressed, and which had no bad consequences. When likewise, of the two miscreant rebels and tyrants at Jerusalem, one only was condemned to death, and the other to perpetual imprisonment. Vespasian did not live long after this. We now proceed in our history.

About ^y this time the Jews became divided into three parties or factions; the leaders of which were John, Eleazar, and Simon; by whom the city, and every part of it, and the temple

^w Dio. l. 66, p. 1090.

^x Erot. sub fin.

^y L. 5. cap. i. sect. 1.

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^z Ibid
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itself, were filled with slaughter and bloodshed. This happened, as ^z Josephus expressly says, whilst Titus was with his father at Alexandria, and must therefore be rightly placed by us in the year 69, and perhaps not far from the end of it. 'So,' as the same writer says, 'one faction fought against the other: which ^a partition in evil cases may be said to be a good thing, and the effect of divine justice.'

Eleazar ^b had the temple, John was below him in the city, Simon ^c had with him ten thousand, beside the Idumeans: his own men had fifty commanders, of which he was supreme. The Idumeans that joined with him were five thousand, and had ten commanders. With Eleazar were two thousand and five hundred of the zealots. John had six thousand armed men under twenty commanders: but soon after the beginning of the siege these two parties united into one; after which there were but two factions, John's and Simon's.

'But before that union, whilst they were in three parties, out of spite to each other, as it seems, they set fire ^d to several storehouses that were full of corn and other provisions; as if they had done it on purpose to serve the Romans: destroying what had been sufficient for a siege of many years. So they were taken with the famine; which could not have been, if they had not by this means brought it upon themselves.' So says our Jewish historian.

Titus ^e now leaves Alexandria, and comes to Cæsarea, designing to move forward to Jerusalem, and lay siege to it, having with him an army of about sixty thousand men, Romans and auxiliaries. He ^f pitched his camp at the place called Scopus; making however two other encampments at a small distance, one of which was on the Mount of Olives. He ^g presented himself before the city about the time of Passover, which was on the fourteenth day of the month of April, in the year of Christ 70: here he met with difficulties at the first, as the Jews made furious sallies upon his army; some of his soldiers were put by them into disorder, and suffered very considerably.

The ^h city of Jerusalem was surrounded by three walls, excepting in such parts where were deep vallies, which rendered

^z Ibid. ^a οπερ αν τις ως εν κακοις αγα-
θον ειποι, και δικης εργον. Ibid. ^b Ib.
sect. 2, 3. ^c L. 5. cap. vi. 1. Vid. et
cap. iii. 1. ^d . . . υπερμπηρα τας οικιας
σιντο μεσας, και παντοδαπων επιτηδειων . . .
κατακαηναι δε πολλην ολιγη παντα τον σιτον,
ε; αι αυτοις εκ επ' ολιγα διηκεσεν ετη πολυ-

ορημενοις. Λιμω γεν εαλωσαν, οπερ ημισα
δυνατοι ην, ει μη τητον εαυτοις προπαρεσκευ-
ασαν. L. 5. cap. i. sect. 4.

^e De B. J. l. 4. cap. xi. n. 5. L. 5. cap.
i. et cap. ii. 1. ^f Cap. ii. sect. 3.
^g Cap. iii. 1.

the place inaccessible: there it had but one wall. On ⁱ the fifteenth day of the siege, which was the seventh day of May, the Romans got possession of the first wall, and demolished a great part of it. Titus ^k then encamped within the city, in a place called the Assyrian's camp. On ^l the fifth day after that, he got possession of the second wall, but was repulsed, and beat out of it again. 'Whereupon those Jews, who were armed, and were 'the fighting men,' as our historian says, 'were much elevated, 'persuading themselves that the Romans could never conquer 'the city: for ^m God had blinded their minds for the transgressions which they had been guilty of, so that they did not 'consider the superior force of the Romans, nor discern how the 'famine was creeping in upon them; for hitherto they had fed 'themselves out of the public distresses, and drank the blood of 'the city. But poverty was now become the lot of many good 'men, and a great many had already perished for want of necessities: but they supposed the destruction of the meaner people 'to be a benefit to them.' However, Titus renewed the attack. The Jews defended themselves resolutely for three days: but on the fourth day he again became master of that wall; and then he demolished all that part which lay to the north, and fortified the south side with towers, and placed soldiers in them; and then considered how he might attack the third and inmost wall.

Now ⁿ Titus thought fit to relax the siege for a while, in order to ease the soldiers, and to pay them subsistence-money, as also to see whether the Jews would relent, and make some proposals for surrendering, that he might shew them mercy.

Moreover Josephus, ^o by order of Titus, took this opportunity to address the Jews in a pathetic discourse: having sought out a place to stand in, where he might be heard, and be in safety. In that speech he entreats the Jews to save themselves, their temple, and their country, and tells them that they were fighting against God.

'Moreover,' says he, 'as for Titus, those springs which were 'almost dried up when they were in your power, since his coming they run more plentifully than they did before: accordingly, you know that Siloam, as well as all the other springs about the city, did so far fail, that water was sold in pitchers; 'whereas they now have such a quantity for your enemies, as is 'sufficient for themselves, and for their cattle, and for wa-

^h L. 5. cap. iv.

ⁱ ... cap. vii. sect. 2.

^k ... ib. sect. 3.

^l cap. viii.

sect. 1, 2.

^m Επισκοπῇ γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰς γυναικας δια τὰς παρανομίας ο Θεός. κ. λ. ib.

ⁿ L. 5. cap. ix. sect. 1.

^o Sect. 3, 4.

'tering

'tering gardens. The same wonderful sign you had experience
'of formerly, when the aforementioned king of Babylon made
'war against us, who took this city, and burnt the temple;
'though^p the men of that time, I believe, were far from being
'such transgressors as you are.'

With regard to that particular, the flowing of the springs
without the city in the time of the king of Babylon, Mr. Whi-
ton says in a marginal note upon the place: 'The history of
'this is now wanting elsewhere.'

Four days were spent in that relaxation. On the fifth day,
when no offers of peace came from the Jews, Titus began to
raise new banks at several places.

'The^q famine now began to be very severe; and with the
'famine increased also the madness of the seditious' [as Josephus
calls them, meaning John and Simon, and the officers under
them]. 'There could no corn appear publicly any where, but
'those robbers came running for it: they also searched private
'houses; if they found any corn, they tormented the people,
'because they had denied it; if they found none, they tormented
'them nevertheless, because they supposed the people had con-
'cealed it.'

Here^r Josephus enlargeth upon the miseries of the people,
and the great wickedness of their present governors. 'But,'
says he, 'it is impossible to enumerate every instance of the ini-
'quity of those men: but, in a word, never did any city suffer
'so great calamities; nor was there ever, from the beginning of
'the world, any time more fruitful of wickedness than that....
'These were the men who overthrew the city, and compelled
'the Romans unwillingly to gain a disagreeable victory. They
'did little less than throw fire upon the temple, and seemed to
'think it came too slowly.'

'At^s this time many came out of the city to seek for food,
'or with a view of making an escape, who were apprehended
'by the Romans, and crucified before the walls; and many of
'them were scourged before they were crucified. This seemed
'to Titus very grievous; for five hundred Jews were taken in a
'day, and sometimes more; nevertheless he allowed of it. To
'dismiss them and let them go off, would not have been safe;
'nor could he spare men enough to keep guard upon so many.
'Moreover, he hoped that the sight of these miserable objects
'might dispose them in the city to think of surrendering. The

^p ... ἡδὲν οἱ μὲν τῶν τότε ἡσιβηκοτῶν τῆλικῶν ἡλικῶν ὄντων. Ib. sect. 4. p. 350. Haverc.

^q L. 5. cap. x. sect. 1, 2.

^r Cap. x. sect. 4. 5.

^s Cap. xi. sect. 1.

'soldiers,

‘soldiers, out of anger, and hatred of the Jews, hung them upon the crosses, some one way, some another, as it were in jest; and so great was the number, that room was wanting for crosses, and crosses were wanting for bodies.’

‘Now also Titus ordered the hands of some of them who had come out of the city to be cut off; and then he sent them back, to let the people within the city know that henceforward he should carry on the siege with vigour; however still wishing them to repent, and not compel him to destroy their city, and their admired temple. But they who stood upon the wall returned reproaches upon him, and upon his father Vespasian, telling him that death was better than slavery, and that so long as they had breath they would do the Romans all the harm they could. As for the temple, they believed it would be preserved by him who inhabited it: having him for their helper, they despised all his threatenings; for the event depended upon God only.’

The ^u Romans were employed in raising batteries: but though they had begun to raise them on the twelfth day of May, they had much ado to finish them by the twenty-ninth day of the same month, after having laboured hard for seventeen days successively: in which time, however, four batteries were completed.

But John found means to undermine them; so that they fell down all at once, causing great confusion among the Romans; and after that, Simon, and his men made a furious sally upon the Romans.

The Roman army was greatly discouraged to see their batteries ruined in one hour, which had cost them so much labour: and many despaired, thinking it impossible to take the city with the usual engines of war.

Titus ^x consulted with his officers what might be fit to be done: at length it was determined to encompass the city with a wall; which was completed in three days, with towers at proper distances to place soldiers in as garrisons.

Our blessed Lord says, Luke xix. 43: *For the days will come upon thee, that thy enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side.* Some think that this prophecy was now particularly fulfilled in the building of the wall here mentioned by Josephus: others may suppose that it had it's accomplishment when the Romans laid siege to the city of Jerusalem and encompassed it with an army.

‘The ^y famine now increasing, it devoured whole houses.

^t Ib. sect. 5.

^u Sect. 4.

^x Cap. xii. sect. 1, 2.

^y Sect. 3.

‘ For

‘ For a while they, who had no relations to take care of them, were buried at the public expence: afterwards the dead were thrown over the wall into the ditch.

‘ When ² Titus, in going his rounds near the vallies below the walls, saw the dead bodies, and the putrefaction issuing from them, he fetched a deep sigh; and, lifting up his hands to heaven, called God to witness that this was not his doing.’ However, he proposed erecting new platforms, which was a difficult work, as all the timber near the city was already consumed, and it was now to be fetched from a great distance.

In the next chapter ^a Josephus relates the death of Matthias, son of Boethus, one of the high-priests, and several other persons of eminence, and divers others, who were slaughtered by order of Simon in a most shameful manner. Matthias was the person who had advised the admitting of Simon into the city, contrary to the inclinations of many others. Matthias had four sons, one of which had saved himself by getting away to Titus; the other three were all put to death together with their father; but with this express order from Simon—that the sons should be first slain before the eyes of their father; nor was burial allowed to them. The execution was committed by Simon to Ananus, son of Bamadus, the most barbarous man of his guards. After them were slain Ananias a priest, and Aristas, scribe of the Sanhedrim, and fifteen other men of eminence among the people. They also slew such as made lamentation for these persons, without farther examination.

‘ Many ^b did still find means to get out of the city: some leaped down from the wall, others went out of the city with stones in their hands, as if they were going to fight with the Romans: but most of them died miserably. Some perished by excessive eating upon empty stomachs. Moreover some of them had swallowed gold, and were detected afterwards in searching for it in their excrements. This having been observed in a few instances excited the avarice of the soldiers, who concluded that all the deserters were full of gold; they therefore cut up their bellies and searched their entrails. In this way,’ as Josephus says, ‘ there perished two thousand in one night. Nor does it seem to me that any misery befel the Jews more terrible than this.’

‘ When Titus heard of it he was greatly displeased; especially when he found that not only the Syrians and Arabians had practised this cruelty, but the Romans likewise: he therefore

² Sect. 4.^a Cap. xiii. sect. 1.^b Sect. 4, 5.

‘gave orders that all, who for the future acted in that manner, should be put to death; but the love of money prevailed against the dread of punishment: and indeed it was God who had condemned the whole nation, and defeated every method taken for their preservation.’

About this time John melted down many of the sacred utensils in the temple to make use of them as instruments of war. He also distributed the sacred wine and oil for common use to persons who, in drinking and anointing themselves, wasted them in a profuse manner.

‘But why do I stay to relate particularly these several calamities? for at this time Mannæus, son of Lazarus, fled out of the city, and came to Titus; and told him that through the one gate, which had been intrusted to his care, there had been no fewer than a hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty dead bodies, from the day that the Romans encamped near the city, the fourteenth day of the month of April, to the first day of July. That was a prodigious number! The man was not a governor at the gate, but he was appointed to pay the public allowance for carrying the bodies out, and therefore was obliged to number them. Others were buried by their relations, though their burial was no other than to bring them and cast them out of the city. After that man there came to Titus several other deserters of good condition, who told him that the whole number of the poor, who had been thrown out at the gates, was not less than six hundred thousand: the number of the rest could not be exactly known. They farther told him that, when they were no longer able to carry out the dead bodies of the poor, they laid them in heaps in large houses, and then shut them up. They likewise said that a measure of wheat had been sold for a talent: and that afterwards, when it had been impossible to come out to gather herbs, because the city was encompassed with a wall, some were driven to such distress, as to search the common shores and old dunghills of cattle, and to eat the dung which they found there; and that what they could not before endure to see, they now made use of for food. When the Romans heard of these things, they commiserated their case: but the seditious, who saw them, did not repent till the same distress reached themselves; for they were blinded by that fate which was coming upon the city and themselves.’

‘Sect. 6. ‘Sect. 7. Ἐπεμψεντο γὰρ ἰσχυροὶ τε χρεῖται, οὗτοι τε πόλιν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ πᾶσι.

There

There ends the fifth book of our author's history of the Jewish war. The sixth book contains the progress of the siege, and the miseries of the people, till the city was taken by Titus.

The ^f Roman batteries are now raised at the end of one-and-twenty days hard labour, and the miseries of the city increase. The Romans begin to batter upon the walls of the tower called Antonia: the Jews make a vigorous defence: but the Romans gained possession of it about the middle of July.

' Titus ^g thereupon ordered his soldiers to dig up the foundations of the tower Antonia, to make way for him to come up with his whole army: and being informed that on that very day, the seventeenth of July, the daily sacrifice had failed, and that it had not been offered up for want of men, and that the people were greatly concerned at it, he sent for Josephus, and commanded him to say to John the same things that had been said before. Accordingly Josephus sought for a proper place to stand in; and in the name of Titus himself earnestly exhorted John, and those that were with him, to spare their own country, and to prevent that fire which was ready to seize upon the temple, and to offer to God therein their usual sacrifices. But John cast many reproaches upon Josephus, with imprecations; adding withal, that ^h he did not fear the city should ever be taken, which was God's own city: after which Josephus went on with a pathetic speech, which, though it did not persuade John and his adherents, was not altogether without effect.'

And ⁱ some, watching for an opportunity, fled to the Romans; of whom were the high priests Joseph and Jesus, and of sons of high-priests three, and four sons of Matthias, as well as one son of the other Matthias, formerly mentioned, who with three of his sons had been killed by order of Simon, son of Gioras; and many others of the nobility: all whom Titus received very kindly, and sent them to Gophna, a small city, where they might live quietly, following their own customs; which offer they cheerfully accepted: but as they did not appear, the seditious within the city gave out that those men had been slain by the Romans. It was in vain therefore, they said, for any to go over to the Romans, unless they were willing to be put to death.

Titus ^k therefore sent for those men from Gophna, and let them go round near the wall with Josephus, to assure the people that they might come over to him with safety.

If all this be true as Josephus writes, it is a proof of the good

^f L. 6. cap. i. sect. 1. . . . 8.
 κλωσει, Θεις γαρ υπαρχειν την πολιν.

^g Cap. ii. sect. 1.

ⁱ Ibid. cap. ii. sect. 2.

^h . . . ως ην αι ποτε δεισισιν

^k Ib. sect. 3.

temper of Titus. Moreover, the Romans were now pushing their conquests upon the Temple itself, which Titus seems unwilling to have destroyed.

‘And,’¹ as Josephus adds, ‘Titus was much affected with the present state of things, and reproached John and those with him: reminding them of the regard which had been shewn to the temple by the Romans, who had allowed them to erect in the courts of it a partition wall, with inscriptions in Greek, forbidding all foreigners to enter within those limits, and allowing them to kill such as did so, though they were Romans. I call to witness,’ says he, ‘the gods of the country, and every god, who ever had a regard to this place; (for I do not now suppose it to be regarded by any of them;) I also call to witness my own army, and the Jews who are with me, and your own selves, that I do not compel you to pollute your sanctuary: and if you will change the place of combat, no Roman shall come near it; for I will endeavour to preserve your temple whether you will or not.’

Such^m things were spoken by Titus, and by Josephus after him in Hebrew, to John and the rest with him; but they perverted it, as if all these fine offers proceeded from fearfulness, and not from any good will to them.

Titusⁿ therefore proceeded in his attacks. His soldiers fought with the Jews at the temple, whilst he continued on the higher ground in Antonia to observe their conduct.

They^o had now made a broad way from the tower Antonia to the temple, and began to play on the temple with their battering engines.

The^p fight was very desperate. A cloister near Antonia was set on fire. On the twenty-fourth day of July the Romans set fire to another cloister, when the fire proceeded fifteen cubits farther.

‘Whilst^q the Jews and Romans were thus fighting at the temple, the famine prevailed in the city, till at length they did not abstain from girdles and shoes. The very leather that belonged to shields they took off and gnawed. Wisps of old straw became food to them.’

At^r this time a woman named Mary, of a good family beyond Jordan, who had fled from her native place to Jerusalem, to avoid the inconveniences of the war in the open country, when all she had brought with her was consumed, or taken from her by the rapaciousness of the tyrants and their adherents, was

¹ Sect. 4.
iii. Sect. 1.

^m Sect. 5.
^r Sect. 4.

ⁿ Sect. 5, 6.

^o Sect. 7.

^p Sect. 8, 9.

^q Cap.

reduced to such extremity that she killed her sucking child, and dressed it for food.

On ^e the eighth day of the month of August the Roman batteries were completed, and Titus ordered the batteries to play upon the temple. The battle between the Jews and Romans was very desperate.

‘ Titus ^t retired to the tower of Antonia, and resolved the next day early in the morning to storm the temple with his whole army, and to encamp about it. But certainly the divine sentence had long since condemned it to the fire: and now the fatal day was come, according to the revolution of ages: it was the tenth day of the month August, the same day upon which it had been formerly burnt by the king of Babylon.’

‘ The ^u temple was now on fire: nevertheless Titus, still desirous to save it, if possible, came near and went into the sanctuary of the temple with his commanders, and saw it, with what was in it: which he found to be far superior to the accounts of foreigners, and not inferior to our boastings and persuasion concerning it.’

As ^x the fire had not yet reached the inner parts of the temple, Titus gave fresh orders for extinguishing the fire, and preserving the temple; but to no purpose: such was the enmity of the soldiers against the Jews; filled also with the hopes of plunder, and now animated with the rage of war.

‘ Nor ^y can we forbear to wonder at the accuracy of the period: for this happened, as before said, in the same month, and day of the month, in which the temple had been burnt by the Babylonians. And the number of years, from it’s first foundation by King Solomon to this it’s destruction in the second year of Vespasian, are collected to be one thousand and thirty, and seven months, and fifteen days. And from it’s second building by Haggai, in the second year of king Cyrus, to it’s destruction by Vespasian, there were six hundred and thirty-nine years, and forty-five days.’

Whilst ^z the temple was burning, every thing was plundered that came to hand and ten thousand of those who were caught; were slain: nor was there any regard had to age or condition; but children and old men, profane persons and priests, were all slain in the same manner.

‘ At ^a this time the treasury chambers were burnt, where was an immense quantity of money, and an immense number of

¹ Cap. iv. Sect. 1. ^t Sect. 5. ^u Sect. 7. ^x Ibid. ^y Sect. 8. ^z Cap. v. Sect. 1. ^a Sect. 2.

‘garments, with other precious things: for there it was that the
 ‘riches of the Jews were heaped up. The soldiers also came to
 ‘the rest of the cloisters in the outer court, where were women
 ‘and children, and a mixed multitude of people, to the number
 ‘of six thousand: and before Cæsar had given any orders about
 ‘it, the soldiers in a rage set fire to the cloister. Nor did any
 ‘one of that multitude escape with his life. A false prophet was
 ‘the occasion of their destruction; who that very day had made
 ‘proclamation in the city that God commanded them to go up
 ‘to the temple, where they would receive signs of deliverance.
 ‘And indeed there was then a great number of false prophets
 ‘suborned by the leaders of the factions to impose upon the peo-
 ‘ple, who told them that they should wait for deliverance from
 ‘God.’

‘Thus ^b,’ as our author goes on in the words next following,
 ‘was this miserable people deceived by impostors, who spoke lies
 ‘in the name of God. But they did not attend nor give credit
 ‘to those prodigies which evidently foretold their future desola-
 ‘tion; but like men infatuated, who have neither eyes to see
 ‘nor minds to consider, they disregarded the divine denunci-
 ‘ations. There ^c was a star, a comet resembling a sword, which
 ‘stood over the city and continued for a year. And before the
 ‘rebellion, and before the war broke out, when the people were
 ‘come together in great multitudes to the feast of unleavened
 ‘bread, on the eighth day of the month of April, at the ninth
 ‘hour of the night, so great a light shone round the altar and the
 ‘temple that it seemed to be bright day: which light continued
 ‘for half an hour. This, to the unskilful, seemed to be a good
 ‘sign; but, by the sacred scribes, it was judged to portend what
 ‘has since happened. And at the same festival a heifer, as she
 ‘was led by the high-priest to be sacrificed, brought forth a
 ‘lamb in the midst of the temple. Moreover, the eastern gate
 ‘of the inner court of the temple, which was of brass, and very
 ‘heavy, which was not without difficulty shut in the evening by
 ‘twenty men, and rested upon a basis armed with iron, and was
 ‘fastened with bolts that went deep into the floor, which was
 ‘made of one entire stone, was seen to open of it’s own accord
 ‘at the sixth hour of the night: whereupon they who kept

^b lb. § 3. ^c Τὸτο μὲν οὐτε ὑπερ τὴν
 σελὴν ἀστὴρ ἐστὶν ῥομφαία παρὰ πλῆθος, καὶ
 παρὰ τρεῖς μῆνας ἐπὶ ἐκκεντρὸν κομῆτης.

Mr. Whiston’s translation is: ‘Thus
 ‘there was a star, resembling a sword,
 ‘which stood over the city: and a comet
 ‘that continued a whole year.’ And he

has a note to this purpose: ‘Whether Jo-
 ‘sephus means that this star was different
 ‘from that comet which lasted a whole
 ‘year, I cannot certainly determine. His
 ‘words most favour their being different
 ‘one from another.’

‘ watch at the temple went to the captain and told him of it.
 ‘ He then came up thither, and not without difficulty had it shut
 ‘ again. This also appeared to the vulgar a good sign; as if
 ‘ thereby God opened to them the gate of happiness. But the
 ‘ wiser men concluded that the security of the temple was gone,
 ‘ and that the gate was opened for the advantage of their enemies:
 ‘ and they said it was a signal of the desolation that was coming
 ‘ upon them. Beside these, a few days after that festival, on the
 ‘ one-and-twentieth day of the month of May, there appeared a
 ‘ wonderful phenomenon, almost exceeding belief; and the ac-
 ‘ count of it might seem fabulous if it had not been related by
 ‘ those who saw it, and if the following events had not been
 ‘ answerable to such signs: for before sunset chariots and troops
 ‘ in armour were seen carried upon the clouds, and surrounding
 ‘ cities. And at the festival, which we call the Pentecost, as
 ‘ the priests were going by night into the inner court of the tem-
 ‘ ple, as the custom was, to perform their ministrations, they first
 ‘ felt, as they said, a shaking, accompanied with a noise, and
 ‘ after that a sound, as of a multitude saying, “Let us remove
 ‘ hence.” But, which is still more awful, there was one Jesus,
 ‘ son of Ananus, of a low condition, and a countryman, who
 ‘ four years before the war began, when the city enjoyed pro-
 ‘ found peace and flowing prosperity, came up to the festival, in
 ‘ which it is the custom for us all to make tabernacles, who on a
 ‘ sudden began to cry out in the temple: “A voice from the east,
 ‘ a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice
 ‘ against Jerusalem and the temple, a voice against the bride-
 ‘ grooms and the brides, a voice against the whole people.”
 ‘ This was his cry, as he went about both by day and by night,
 ‘ in all the lanes of the city. Some of the chief men were of-
 ‘ fended at this ill-boding sound, and, taking him up, laid many
 ‘ stripes upon him, and had him beaten severely. Yet he said
 ‘ not a word for himself, nor made any peculiar complaint to
 ‘ them that beat him; but went on repeating the same words
 ‘ that he had said before. Hereupon the magistrates, thinking
 ‘ it to be somewhat more than ordinary, as indeed it was, bring
 ‘ him before the Roman governor; where he was whipped till
 ‘ his bones were laid bare. All which he bore without shed-
 ‘ ding any tears or making any supplications: but with a mourn-
 ‘ ful voice at every stripe, cried out: “Woe to Jerusalem.”
 ‘ Albinus, the governor, asked him who he was, and whence
 ‘ he came, and why he uttered those words. To all which he
 ‘ made no answer, but continued making his mournful denun-

‘ciations to the city. Albinus, thinking him to be mad, dismissed him. And thenceforward, to the time of the war, he did not go to any of the citizens; nor was he seen speaking to any; but only went on with his mournful denunciation, as if it had been his premeditated vow: “Woe, woe to Jerusalem.” He did not give ill language to those who beat him, as many did frequently: nor did he thank those who gave him food: but went on repeating to all the doleful presage. But especially at festivals his cry was the loudest. And so it continued for seven years and five months, without his growing hoarse, or being tired therewith, till he saw his presage fulfilled in the siege; then he ceased: for going round upon the wall, with his utmost force he cried out: “Woe, woe, once more, to the city, and to the people, and to the temple.” And then at last he added: “Woe, woe to myself also.” At which instant there came a stone out of one of the engines that smote him, and killed him immediately: and whilst he was uttering these mournful presages he gave up the ghost.’

‘If^d any one considers these things,’ adds Josephus, ‘he will be convinced that God takes care of mankind, and by all ways possible foreshews to our race what is for their benefit; and that men perish by those miseries which they madly and voluntarily bring upon themselves.’

Thus I have transcribed this whole article of Josephus at length, and in the place and order in which it stands in his own work. I must be so candid as to take notice of the reflections which some learned men have made upon it.

To this purpose speaks Dr. Willes, in his first^e discourse upon Josephus: ‘The prodigies, that he saith happened before the destruction of Jerusalem, would agree better to Livy or Tacitus, than to a Jewish historian.—The flying open of the great brazen gate of the temple is the same as happened at Thebes just before the great battle of the Lacedemonians at Leuctra, when the great gates of the temple of Hercules opened of themselves, without any one’s touching them. I omit many other things of the like nature; whence it is evident that Josephus endeavoured to Grecise and shape the history of the Jews, as like as he could, to those of the Greeks and Romans.’ So Dr. Willes. And I shall transcribe below the passage of Cicero de Divinatione, ^f to which he refers.

Basnage

^d § 4.

^e Prefixed to L’Estrange’s edition of Josephus, p. 3, 4, 8vo.

^f Quid? Lacedemoniis paullo ante Leuctricam calamitatem, quæ significatio facta est, cum in Herculis fano arma sonuerunt, Herculisque simulachrum multo sudore manavit?

Basnage ^z in his History of the Jews speaks after this manner: ' Besides, deception was easy in many of the things related by him. The bright light round the altar in the night-time. the cow that brought forth a lamb as she was led to the altar: the chariots of fire that were seen in the air, and passed over the city with a frightful noise, are very liable to suspicion: the opening of the temple seems to be rather better attested than the others, because it is said that the magistrate came to shut it. But the meaning was doubtful. To some it seemed to be an assurance that God had opened the treasures of his benediction; whilst others concluded that he had abandoned the protection of his temple. But it is not easy to deny the truth of the history of the man that cried, "A voice from the east, a voice from the west," and every day predicted the ruin of the city: for this man was brought before Albinus, who examined him. He was severely scourged, and he was often beaten by the people, who could not endure so dismal a noise; but he was all along unmoved. His cry continued for the space of seven years. At length he was killed upon the walls of the city at the beginning of the siege. This is not a thing about which men might be deceived. Josephus, who relates it, was at Jerusalem when this preacher, who was treated as a madman, denounced it's desolation: and he might inform himself concerning his death. So that if there are any things to which we ought to attend, it is this, in which we must acknowledge somewhat extraordinary.' So says Basnage.

I am inclined to go over and examine every one of these prodigies.

' There ^h was a star, a comet resembling a sword, which stood over the city, and continued for a year.'

How Mr. Whiston understood this has been seen already. L'Estrange translates thus: 'What shall we say to the comet that hung over Jerusalem, for one whole year together, in the figure of a sword?' Archbishop Tillotson ⁱ in this manner: 'A little before their destruction,' he tells us, 'there hung over their city a fiery sword, which continued for a year together. A little before their rebellion against the Romans there appeared a comet, which shined so clear in the temple, and about the altar, as if it had been day.' It must be confessed that is not exact.

navit? At eodem tempore Thebis, ut ait Callisthenes, in templo Herculis valvæ clausæ repagulis, subito se ipsæ aperuerunt: armaque, quæ fixa in parietibus fuerant, ea sunt humi inventa. De Divin. l. 1, c. 24, n. 74. ^z L. i. ch. viii. § 3, p. 224.
^h Τὸτο μὲν οὔτε ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἄστρον ἐφαρμαφαία παραπλησίον, καὶ παρατείναντες ἐπ' ἐν αὐτὸν κομήτης. ⁱ As before.
P. 554.

Tillemont: 'There^k was also a comet which appeared for a year, and over Jerusalem an extraordinary star, which seemed to be a sword. But Josephus does not say the time.' Neither is this very exact. However, I have also transcribed below the words of Josephus himself.

This is the first prodigy. And indeed it is a wonderful and very awful thing. A star, resembling a sword, hanging over a city, for a whole year.—Upon this we cannot forbear to observe that Josephus has not told us the time when this star or comet appeared. He says, 'it continued for a year.' But does not say when. A very strange omission. I must take the liberty to add, that if, about the time of the siege of Jerusalem, or some period within a few years before, there had been a star resembling a sword, which hung over that city for a year together, I should expect to find it in some author beside Josephus, and an author that does not depend upon him or borrow from him.

Tacitus^l has mentioned several of the prodigies preceding the ruin of the Jewish people, but he does not mention this: however, it must be owned that his omitting it is of no great importance, as he does not appear to have been careful to put down every thing of this kind.

2. It follows: 'And before the rebellion, and before the war broke out, when the people were come together in great multitudes to the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth day of the month of April, at the ninth hour of the night,' or three hours after midnight, 'so great a light shone round the altar, and the temple, that it seemed to be bright day: which light continued for half an hour.' This prodigy is related by Josephus so particularly and circumstantially, as happening too at the time of passover when Jerusalem was full of people, and in the year 65, as it seems, that I am not at all disposed to contest the truth of it. I think it must have so happened. But he design of this appearance is ambiguous. And, as Josephus says, some thought it to portend good, others bad things. But that does not affect the truth of the fact.

3. 'And at the same festival a heifer, as she was led by the high-priest to be sacrificed, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple.' Here again I hesitate. I am surprised to see

^k Il parut aussi une comete pendant un an, et sur Jerusalem un astre extraordinaire, qui sembloit être une épée. Joseph n'en marque pas le temps. Ruine des Juifs. art 41.

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so trifling a story in a grave writer. I think Josephus inserted this to gratify his Greek readers.

4. The next prodigy is the opening of the 'eastern gate of the inner court of the temple at midnight:' which, as before observed by Dr. Willes, has such a resemblance with like stories told by credulous heathen people, that it seems to be only an imitation of them, and has therefore the appearance of a fiction, by way of accommodation to the judgment of heathen readers.

5. 'Beside these, a few days after that festival, on the one-and-twentieth day of the month of May, there appeared a wonderful phenomenon, almost exceeding belief: and the account of it might seem fabulous, if it had not been related by those who saw it, and if the following events had not been answerable to such signs. For before sunset chariots and troops of soldiers in armour were seen carried upon the clouds, and surrounding cities.'

Such seeming appearances have often been the effect only of imagination, without any reality. But this is related by Josephus so particularly, and with so much solemnity, that it is hard to contest the truth. And if it be true, this, and the 'light surrounding the altar and the temple' beforementioned, may be some of those things intended by our Saviour when he said: *And fearful sights, and great signs, shall there be from heaven:* Luke xxi. 11. Of this ^m Crevier speaks in this manner: 'I say nothing of the armed chariots and troops of warriors that were seen fighting in the air. That might be the natural effect of a phenomenon then not understood, but which we are now well acquainted with, and call the Aurora Borealis, or northern light.' A wise observation truly! Who ever before saw or heard of an Aurora Borealis in the day time? Josephus expressly says that these chariots and warriors were seen 'before sunset.'

6. 'And at the festival, which we call the Pentecost, as the priests were going by night into the inner court of the temple, as the custom was, to perform their ministrations, they first felt, as they said, a shaking, accompanied with a noise, and then a sound, as of a multitude, saying, "Let us remove hence."

This passage is quoted by ⁿ Eusebius, and this particular is taken notice of by ^o divers ancient Christian writers: but they do not always quote so accurately as might be wished.

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^m History of the Rom. Emp. vol. vi. p. 240.
^p 8, p. 402. And see the Credib. vol. 4, p. 212.

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I beg leave to observe upon it; First of all, this is said to have happened in the 'night time,' and therefore deserves the less regard. Secondly, I do not know what ministrations the priests had to perform in the inner temple in the night. Doubtless they kept watch at the temple by night as well as by day: but, so far as I can recollect, the ministrations at the temple, which were of divine appointment, were performed by daylight. Thirdly, 'the sound of a multitude, saying, "Let us go hence,"' has much of an heathenish air.

All these signs or prodigies, just mentioned, (excepting the star like a sword, of which before), seem to be placed by Josephus in the year of Christ 65; the year before the war commenced.

7. The seventh and last is that of 'Jesus, son of Ananus, who 'four years before the war began, came up to the festival, 'which we call the feast of tabernacles, and on a sudden began 'to cry out: "A voice from the east—a voice against Jerusalem and the temple." And so it continued for seven years 'and five months, till he saw his presage fulfilled in the siege.' He therefore began this cry near the end of the year 62. This last Josephus calls 'more awful than the rest,' το δε ταυτων φοβερωτατον. And, as Le Clerc ^p observes, 'if it be true, Josephus 'rightly says it was somewhat divine.' I hope we may depend upon the truth of this history, which is related with so many particulars and circumstances.

All these things Josephus has recorded as affecting signs, warnings, and presages of great calamities coming upon the Jewish nation: omitting entirely the warnings, and predictions, and admonitions, of Jesus Christ, and of his apostles after him; and also the three hours darkness over the whole land of Judea, and the rending the veil of the temple, and the earthquake near Jerusalem at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion. And though all these signs and warnings, related by himself, are considered by him as very affecting, he acknowledgeth that they made not any great impression upon his nation. And says: 'But they did 'not attend or give credit to those prodigies, which evidently

γενομενος χρονον, εφη, τινας αγγελων της επι παραμενοντας, ει μη βυληθειεν εκεινοι μετασθηναι, καταλιπειν αυτης. Chr. in Jo. Hom. 64. al. 65. p. 390. T. 8.

Josephus quoque refert, virtutes angelicas, praesides quondam templi, tunc pariter conclamasse: Transeamus ex his sedibus. Hieron. in Matt. xxvii. 51. T. 4. p. 139. Conf. ep. ad Hedib. § viii. T. 4. P. i. p. 176.

Unde et Josephus in sua narrat historia, quod postquam Dominus crucifixus est, et velum templi scissum est, sive liminare templi fractum corruit, audita sit vox in adytis Templi Virtutum coelestium, Transeamus ex his sedibus. Id. in Ezech. c. 47. p. 1058.

P Quae si vera sunt, non immerito Josephus rem divinitus contigisse censuit. Cleric. H. E. An. 62. n. v.

' foretold

foretold their desolation; but like men infatuated, who have
 'neither eyes to see, nor minds to consider, they disregarded
 'the divine denunciations.' And his history verifies the truth
 and justness of this observation.

'Now ^a the Romans brought their ensigns to the temple, and
 'set them over against the eastern gate. There they offered sa-
 'crifices to them, and there they made Titus emperor, with the
 'greatest acclamations of joy. And all the soldiers had such vast
 'quantities of spoils, which they got by plunder, that in Syria a
 'pound weight of gold was sold for half its former value.'

There ^r were some priests, as Josephus says, sitting upon the
 wall of the temple, who continued there till they were pined
 with hunger; then they came down and surrendered themselves.
 When they were brought by the guards to Titus they begged
 for their lives. But Titus answered, that the time of pardon
 was over as to them, that being destroyed, for the sake of which
 alone he should have saved them; and that it was very fit that
 priests should perish with their temple. Whereupon he ordered
 them to be put to death.

Now ^s Simon and John, and they that were with them, desire a
 conference with Titus; which he granted. He placed himself
 on the western side of the outer court of the temple, and there
 was a bridge that parted them. There were great numbers of
 Jews waiting with those two tyrants, and there were also many
 Romans on the side of Titus. He ordered the soldiers to refrain
 their rage, and appointed an interpreter: and, being conqueror,
 he spoke first. He then reproached them in very bitter terms,
 and very justly. And then concluded: 'However, I will not
 'imitate your madness. If you will throw down your arms,
 'and deliver up your bodies to me, I grant you your lives. I
 'will act like a mild father of a family. What cannot be healed
 'shall be destroyed. The rest I will reserve for my own use.'

'They answered, they could not consent to that, because they
 'had sworn never to do it. They asked leave to go through
 'the wall that surrounded them with their wives and children;
 'so they would go into the desert and leave the city to him. At
 'which Titus was greatly provoked, that, when they were now
 'already in the case of men taken captives, they should pretend
 'to make their own terms with him, as if they were conquerors.
 'He then gave orders that proclamation should be made to them,
 'that henceforward none should be allowed to come over to him
 'as deserters, nor hope for security; for that now he would spare

^a L. 6, c. vi. § 1.

^r Ibid.

^s § 2.

'nobody,

‘ nobody, but fight them with his whole army. He therefore
 ‘ gave orders to the soldiers both to burn and to plunder the city.
 ‘ On that day however they did nothing. But the day follow-
 ‘ ing they set fire to the repository of the archives, to the coun-
 ‘ cil houses, to Acra, and to the place called Ophilas: at which
 ‘ time the fire proceeded as far as to the palace of queen Helena,
 ‘ which was in the middle of Acra. The lanes also were burnt
 ‘ down, as were all the houses that were full of the dead bodies
 ‘ of such as had died by the famine.’

‘ On^t the same day the sons and brothers of king Izates,
 ‘ and^u with them many other eminent men of the city, got to-
 ‘ gether, and besought Titus to give them his right hand for their
 ‘ security. Whereupon, though he was now very angry and
 ‘ much displeased with all who were still remaining, he did not
 ‘ depart from his wonted moderation, but received them. How-
 ‘ ever he kept them all in custody. And having bound the
 ‘ king’s sons and kinsmen, he took them with him to Rome, to
 ‘ be kept there as hostages for the fidelity of their country.’

Here, as I apprehend, we see a proof of the zeal of the Jewish
 proselytes at this time. For such were the relations of king Izates.
 These persons had chosen to reside much in the holy city of Je-
 rusalem: or they had come up thither to the feast of the Passover
 this year, notwithstanding the danger it was in from the ap-
 proaches of the Roman army. And it was, as seems to me, a
 remarkable instance of the moderation of this prince, that he now
 shewed mercy to these persons who might have come over to him
 long before, and did not surrender themselves till matters were
 brought to the utmost extremity, and after he had publicly de-
 declared that he would spare none.

Titus^x still had difficulties remaining in taking the rest of the
 city.

‘ Some^y there were who deserted to Titus, notwithstanding
 ‘ the care of the tyrants to prevent it. These were all received
 ‘ by the Romans, because Titus grew negligent as to his former
 ‘ orders, and because the soldiers were weary of killing, and be-
 ‘ cause they hoped to gain money by sparing them. They there-
 ‘ fore sold them with their wives and children, though at a very
 ‘ low price. For there were many to be sold, and but a few
 ‘ purchasers. Indeed the number of those who were sold was
 ‘ prodigious. And^z yet there were forty thousand of the peo-
 ‘ ple saved, whom Titus permitted to go where they pleased.’

^t § 4.

Καίσαρα, κ. λ.

διεσώθησαν ὑπὲρ τετρακισμυρίας, ὡς διαφέρει Καίσαρ, ἢ Φίλων ἢ ἑκάστῳ. Ibid.

^u — πρὸς οἷς πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιστημῶν δημοτῶν ἐκεῖ συνελθόντες, ἀκτεύσαι

^x Cap. vii. et viii.

^y Cap. viii. § 2.

^z Οἱ δημοτικοί

And now were fulfilled those words of Moses: *And ye shall be sold for bondmen and bondwomen; and no man shall buy you:* Deut. xxviii. 68. And likewise those words of our Lord, Luke xxi. 24: *And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations. And Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.*

‘At^a this time one of the priests, son of Thebuthus, whose name was Joshua, upon his having security given him by the oath of Cæsar that he should be preserved, upon condition that he should deliver to him certain of the precious things deposited in the temple, came out and delivered to him from the wall of the temple two candlesticks, like to those that lay in the temple, together with tables and cisterns, and vials, all of solid gold, and very heavy. He also delivered to him the veils, and the garments of the high-priests, with the precious stones, and many other vessels belonging to the sacred ministrations. And now was seized the treasurer of the temple, whose name was Phineas, who discovered to him the coats and girdles of the priests, with a great quantity of purple and scarlet, which were reposed for the use of the veil; as also a great deal of cinnamon and cassia, and other sweet spices, which used to be mixed and offered to God as incense every day. A great many other precious things and ornaments of the temple were delivered by the same person. Which things, so delivered to Titus, obtained for that man the same pardon that was allowed to such as deserted of their own accord.’

‘At^b length, after great labour, and against a furious opposition, the Romans became masters of the rest of the city, and set their ensigns upon the walls in triumph, and with great joy. They then plundered the houses, and killed every one whom they met with in the streets. They set fire to the city, and made the streets run with blood to such a degree, that the fire of many houses was quenched with men’s blood. However it so happened that, when the slayers had left off in the evening, the fire greatly prevailed in the night. As all was burning, the eighth day of the month of September, came on to Jerusalem, a city which had suffered so many calamities during the siege, of which it was upon no account so deserving, as upon account of it’s producing such a generation of men as occasioned it’s overthrow.

‘When^c Titus was come into this upper city, he admired some places of strength in it, and particularly those strong towers

^a viii. § 3.

^b § 4, 5.

^c Cap. ix. § 1.

‘ which

‘ which the tyrants in their madness had relinquished. And he
 ‘ expressed himself in the following manner: “ We ^d have cer-
 ‘ tainly had God for our helper in this war. It is God who has
 ‘ ejected the Jews out of these fortifications. For what could the
 ‘ hands of men, or any machines do, towards throwing down such
 ‘ * fortifications?” At which time he had many like discourses
 ‘ with his friends. He also set at liberty such as had been bound
 ‘ by the tyrants, and were still in the prisons. And when he en-
 ‘ tirely demolished the rest of the city, and overthrew it’s ^e walls,
 ‘ he left those towers to be monuments of his fortune, which had
 ‘ fought with him, and had enabled him to take what otherwise
 ‘ would have been impregnable.’

‘ The ^f soldiers were weary of killing. But there were many
 ‘ still alive. Titus therefore gave orders that none should be
 ‘ killed but such as were in arms or made resistance, and to take
 ‘ the rest captive. Nevertheless the soldiers slew the aged and
 ‘ the infirm: but for those who were in their flourishing age,
 ‘ and might be useful to them, they drove them together into
 ‘ the temple, and shut them up within the walls of the court of
 ‘ the women; over whom Titus set one of his freed men, and
 ‘ Fronto, one of his friends, who was to determine the fate of
 ‘ each one according to his desert. Many were ordered to be
 ‘ slain. But of the young men he chose out the tallest, and the
 ‘ most beautiful, and reserved them for the triumph. Such as
 ‘ were above seventeen years of age he bound, and sent them to
 ‘ work in the mines in Egypt. Titus also sent a great many into

^d Συν Θεῷ γ’ ἐπολεμήσαμεν — κ. λ. ib.

* Undoubtedly Titus, upon entering into that part of the city which was now taken, and so becoming master of the whole city of Jerusalem, had some discourses with his generals suitable to the occasion. But Josephus, in imitation of the Greek and Roman historians, who made speeches for their generals, embellisheth here; and he makes Titus say some things which he did not say. The tyrants, as Josephus calls them, were guilty of mad conduct in their divisions, in destroying, as they had done, many stores proper for sieges, and in other respects. But Titus could not charge them with folly and madness in relinquishing the three towers here referred to. Josephus has given a particular description of them. De B. J. l. 5, c. iv. § 3. They were strong and lofty buildings, raised upon the north wall of the city. Herod had displayed his magnificence in them: but they were not fit for garrisons, or to

be made places of defence. They were rather summer-palaces, fitted for diversion and entertainment, with splendid apartments and sumptuous furniture. The Jews did not relinquish any places of defence. They vigorously defended their several walls, and the tower Antonia, and the temple. They had fully exercised all the military skill and courage of Titus, and his many generals, and tired his soldiers: and induced them more than once to despair of victory, as our historian himself has informed us. It appears however from Josephus, that Simon made use of the tower Phasælus for his own habitation, during a good part of the siege, *Τῆνικαὐτὰ γέμην τυραννίδος ἀπεδείχθη τῷ Σίμωνος.* Ib. § 3, p. 330, in.

^e Αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἀλλήν ἀφανίζων πόλιν, καὶ τείχη κατασκαπτὼν, τῆς τῆς πυργῆς κατελίπε μνημείον ἵνα αὐτῆς τύχης, ἢ συστρατιωτικῇ χρησάμενος ἐκράτησε τῶν ἀλλοίων μὴ δυναμένων. L. 7. c. ix. § 1.

^f Cap. ix. § 2.

the

‘ the provinces, as presents to them, that they might be destroyed
 ‘ in their theatres, either by the sword or by wild beasts. They
 ‘ who were under seventeen years of age were sold for slaves.
 ‘ And during the time that Fronto was determining the fate of
 ‘ these men, there perished eleven thousand for want of food.
 ‘ Some of them had no food through the ill-will of those who
 ‘ guarded them. Others would not take what was given them.
 ‘ And indeed there were so many that there was not food for
 ‘ them.’

Josephus does not here speak of any Jews being crucified at
 this time. Nevertheless, I apprehend that many now suffered in
 that manner. For in ^s one of the last sections of his life, giving
 an account of things presently after the city was taken, he says
 he was sent by Titus with Cerealis, one of his generals, and a
 thousand horse, to a village called Thekoa, to see whether it
 was a place fit for a camp. ‘ As I came back,’ says he, ‘ I
 ‘ saw many of the captives crucified. Among them I discerned
 ‘ three of my former acquaintance, which gave me great con-
 ‘ cern. I thereupon went to Titus with tears in my eyes, and
 ‘ spoke to him; who immediately gave orders to have them taken
 ‘ down, and that the best care should be taken of them for their
 ‘ recovery. However two of them died under cure: the third
 ‘ survived.’

‘ The ^h number of those who were taken captive during the
 ‘ whole war was computed to be ninety and seven thousand :
 ‘ and the number of those who perished during the siege eleven
 ‘ hundred thousand. The greater part of them were indeed of
 ‘ the same nation, but not inhabitants of the city. For they were
 ‘ come up from all the country to the festival of unleavened
 ‘ bread, and were on a sudden shut in by the army; which oc-
 ‘ casioned ⁱ so great a straitness that there came on a pestilential
 ‘ disorder, and then a famine, which was more severe.’

And presently afterwards: ‘ This ^k great multitude was col-
 ‘ lected from other places. The whole nation was shut up as in a
 ‘ prison: and the Roman army encompassed the city, when it
 ‘ was crowded with inhabitants. Accordingly, ^l the multitude of
 ‘ those who perished therein exceeded all the destructions that
 ‘ men or God ever brought on the world.’

‘ As ^m many were hid in caverns, the Romans made searches
 ‘ after them. If any were found alive they were presently slain.

^s De Vit. § 75. ^h § 3. ⁱ ὥστε το πρῶτον αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐννοχῆρας γίνεσθαι
 λιμῶν φθόρον, αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ λαμὸν ὠκυττον. ^k § 4. ^l Πᾶσαι γὰρ ἀνθρώπων
 καὶ δαιμόνων φθορὰν υπερέβαλλεν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολωλῶτων. Ib. ^m § 4.

‘ But beside them they found there more than two thousand; some killed by themselves, and by one another, and more destroyed by famine. The ill favour of the dead bodies was offensive: nevertheless, for the sake of gain, many of the soldiers ventured into the caverns, where was found much treasure.’

‘ John ⁿ and his brethren, who were with him in a cavern, wanted food. Now therefore he begged that the Romans would give him the right hand for security, which he had often rejected before. But Simon struggled hard with the distress he was in, till he was forced to surrender himself, as we shall relate hereafter. So he was reserved for the triumph, and to be then slain. John was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. And ^o now the Romans set fire to the extreme parts of the city, and burnt them down, and demolished the walls to the foundation.’

‘ Thus ^p was Jerusalem taken in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, on the eighth day of the month of September. It had been taken five times before. This is the second time of it’s desolation.’ Josephus then enumerates these several times, and computes how many years it was from the time of it’s being first built, and then adds: ‘ But neither it’s antiquity, nor it’s immense riches, nor the reputation of the nation, celebrated throughout the whole world, nor the great glory of it’s religion, has been sufficient to preserve it from destruction. Such was the end of the siege of Jerusalem.’ These are the last words of his sixth book of the Jewish War.

Then, at the beginning of the seventh book, he says: ‘ And ^q now, when no more were left to be slain, nor any more plunder remained for the soldiers, Cæsar gave orders that they should demolish to the foundation the whole city, and the temple; leaving only the forementioned towers Phasælus, Hippicus, and Mariamne, and so much of the wall as was on the west side of the city: that was spared in order to afford a camp for those who were to lie in garrison; but ^r as for all the rest of the whole circumference of the city, it was so thoroughly laid even with the ground, by those who dug it up to the foundation, that there was nothing left to make those who came thither to believe it had ever been inhabited.’ So said our Lord, Luke xix. 44. *And they shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee: and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.*

The soldiers who were left in garrison near the city must have

ⁿ Ibid. sect. 4. ^o Ρωμαῖοι τὰς τε εἰρηκτὰς τῆ αἰτίας ἐνεπύρηνσαν, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη κατασκαψαν. Ibid. ^p Cap. x. ibid. ^q L. 7, cap. i. sect. 1. ^r Ἄλλοι πάντα τῆς πόλεως περιέχον ὅτως ἐξωμάλισαν οἱ κατασκαπτόντες . . . κ. λ. ib.

been instruments in digging up every part of it to the foundation. For Josephus, afterwards describing the journey of Titus through Palestine to Alexandria, and observing how Titus was affected at the sight of the deplorable condition of the place, has these expressions: 'And^s no small part of it's riches had been found in it's ruins: this the Romans dug up. They found a great deal of gold and silver, and other precious things, which the owners had treasured up under ground against the uncertain fortunes of war; and they were assisted by the captives in the discovery of such things.'

And Eleazar, in one of his speeches at Massada, to be farther taken notice of hereafter, where he persuades the people with him to consent to be put to death, has these expressions: 'Where is now that great city, the metropolis of the whole Jewish nation?.... Where is that city which we believed to have God inhabiting in it? It^u is rooted up to the foundation, and has no other monument left but the army of those who have destroyed it, encamping upon it's ruins.... Who can consider these things and not be sorry that he is still alive? I cannot but wish that we had all died before we had seen that holy city overthrown by it's enemies, and^x the holy temple so profanely dug up to the foundation.'

And Whitby, in his notes upon Matt. xxiv. 2, says: 'The Jewish Talmud and Maimonides add, that Turnus [i. e. Terentius Rufus] captain of the army of Titus, did with a plowshare tear up the foundations of the temple, and thereby signally fulfil those words in Micah iii. 12: *Therefore shall Zion for your sakes be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest.*'

Grotius has well observed upon Matt. xxiv. 1: 'That the temple, which had been repaired, or rebuilt by Herod, was rightly esteemed to be the same temple that had been built by Zerubbabel. So therefore Josephus says that the temple had been twice destroyed; once by the Chaldeans, a second time by Titus. And the Jewish masters call the destruction made by Titus, "the destruction of the second temple." Whilst this temple stood the Messiah was to be expected, not only according to the prophecy of Daniel, but likewise of Haggai, ch. ii. 8, and Malachi, chap. iii. 1.'

'Cæsar' determined to leave there as a guard the tenth legion, with some troops of horse and companies of foot. Having

^s L. 7, cap. v. sect. 2, p. 412. Hav. Et Conf. l. 6. cap. ix. sect. 4. viii. sect. 7, p. 430. Hav.

^u Προφίλος ex βαθρων ανεπασαι...

^t L. 7, cap.

^x ... πριν τον

ναου του αγιου εως ανωσιως εξορμυγμενον. ibid.

^y L. 7, cap. i. sect. 1.

‘ now completed the war, he returned thanks to his whole army, and distributed rewards among them. For this purpose he had a large tribunal erected for him in the place where he formerly encamped. That was a work of three days.’

‘ The^z rest of the army was sent away to several places; but he permitted the tenth legion to stay as a guard upon Jerusalem. Then he went to Cæsarea by the seaside, taking with him two legions, the fifth and the fifteenth, to attend him, till he should go to Egypt. At Cæsarea he laid up the spoils in great quantities, and gave orders that the captives should be kept there.’

‘ From^a that Cæsarea Titus went to Cæsarea Philippi, where he stayed some while, and exhibited all sorts of shews. Here many of the captives were destroyed: some were thrown to wild-beasts, others in great numbers were compelled to fight with each other. Whilst he was there he heard of the seizure of Simon, son of Gioras, who during the siege had commanded in the upper city, and who had concealed himself under ground as long as he could, but now fell into the hands of Terentius Rufus, who had been left to keep guard at the ruins of Jerusalem. When Titus was returned to Cæsarea by the seaside, Simon was brought bound before him, who ordered him to be kept for the triumph at Rome.’

‘ At^b Cæsarea Titus solemnized the birthday of his brother Domitian, on^c the twenty-fourth day of October, in a splendid manner, doing honour to him in the punishment of the Jews; for the number of those were now slain, in fighting with beasts, or were burnt to death, or fought with one another, exceeded two thousand and five hundred: yet did all this seem to the Romans, though they were destroyed ten thousand ways, beneath their deserts. Afterwards Titus went to Berytus, a city in Phœnicia, and a Roman colony; there he stayed a longer time, and exhibited a more pompous solemnity on his father’s birthday, [November 17.] Here a great number of the captives were destroyed in the like manner as before.’

‘ Having^d stayed some while at Berytus, he set forward to Antioch; and as he went exhibited magnificent shews in all the cities of Syria, making use of the captives as public instances of the overthrow of the Jewish nation.’

At^e Antioch he was received with loud acclamations. Thence he went to Zeugma, which lies upon the Euphrates: whither came to him messengers from Vologesus, king of Parthia, who

^z Sect. 2. ^a Cap. ii. sect. 1. ^b Cap. iii. sect. 1. ^c Vid. Pagi ann. 70. n. iii. et Basnag. ann. 70. n. xviii. ^d Cap. v, sect. 1. ^e ... Sect. 2.

brought him a crown of gold, congratulating him upon his victory over the Jews, which he accepted. There he feasted the king's messengers, and then returned to Antioch.

It does not appear that Titus celebrated any shews there; and when the people of that place requested him to expel the Jews out of their city, he refused to comply with them, and confirmed to them all the privileges which they had hitherto enjoyed there.

Having ^f sent away the two beforementioned legions by which he had been attended, one to Mysia, the other to Pannonia, and having given orders for sending Simon and John, and seven hundred of the tallest and handsomest of the captives, to appear in the triumph at Rome, he went to Alexandria, and thence to Rome; and, passing through Palestine, in his way to Egypt, he was much moved, as Josephus says, at the sight of the desolations of that country.

When ^g Titus came near Rome he was received with great rejoicings by the people, who came out to meet him, as also by his father Vespasian: and though the senate had decreed to them two several triumphs, they chose to have but one. Josephus has not informed us exactly concerning the time of it; and learned critics are now of different opinions: some ^h place it near the end of the month of April, in 71: others ⁱ argue that it must have been later.

'Many ^k other spoils,' says Josephus, 'were carried in great abundance; but the most considerable of all were those taken out of the temple at Jerusalem. There was the golden table of many talents; and the candlestick, likewise of gold, with it's seven lamps, a number much respected by the Jews: the last of all the spoils was the law of the Jews: after which were carried images of victory, made of gold or ivory; after which came Vespasian first on horseback, then Titus; Domitian also was there splendidly attired, and riding upon a beautiful horse.'

'The ^l end of this pompous shew was at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. When they came thither they stood still; for it was the ancient custom of the Romans to stay till word was brought that the general of the enemy was slain. This was Simon, the son of Gioras, who had been led in the triumph among the captives. A rope was put about his neck, and he was led to a proper place in the forum, where malefactors were put to death: When tidings of his death were brought, all the people set up the shout of joy, and sacrifices were offered up,

^f Sect. 2, 3.

^g Sect. 3, 4.

^h Vid. Pagi ann. 70. n. vi.

ⁱ Basnag. 71. n. iii.

^k Sect. 5.

^l Sect. 6.

‘with the accustomed prayers. The emperor then went to his palace, and feastings were made every where.’

‘And ^m now Vespasian determined to build a temple to Peace, which was finished in a short time, and in a splendid manner. Here he laid up those golden vessels and instruments, that were taken out of the Jewish temple, as ensigns of his glory: but their law, and the purple veils of the holy place, he ordered to be deposited in his palace.’

‘That ⁿ temple was adorned with paintings and statues. In it were collected and repositied all such curiosities as men are wont to wander all over the world to obtain a sight of.’

The book of the law does not now appear in what is called the triumphal arch of Titus, though the table and the candlestick are very visible.

Josephus, in his Life, says that ‘when the city was taken, Titus gave him leave to ask what he pleased.’ One of his requests ^o was to have the sacred books, which were granted to him. Here, in the history of the war, he seems to say they ^p were deposited in the emperor’s palace: possibly they were placed there: but Josephus was allowed to have the use of them when he desired it.

The temple of Peace, according to the description which Josephus has given of it, appears to have resembled our British Museum, and other like rich cabinets of princes in several parts of Europe.

The temple of Peace was burnt down in the reign of Commodus; but it is likely that many of the curiosities deposited in it were preserved from the flames. And the Jewish spoils were in being in the fifth century, and afterwards, though not at Rome, as we learn from ^q Adrian Reland.

We have seen the overthrow of the city and temple of Jerusalem; but there still remained some strong places in Judea not yet taken by the Romans, of which Josephus has given an account; and it is fit we should trace him to the end of his History of the Jewish War: for, as our Lord said, *Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together*: Matt. xxiv. 28. And see Luke xvii. 37.

Lucilius Bassus ^r was sent into Judea by Vespasian as lieute-

^m Sect. 7. ⁿ Ib. sect. 7. ^o ... και βιβλια των ιερων ελαβον χαρισαμενος Τitus. Vit. sect. 75. ^p Τον δε νομον αυτων, . . . προ-
σταξεν εν τοις βασιλειαις αποθεμενος φυλατ-
την. L. 7, c. v. sect. 7.

^q Imperante Commodo deflagravit hoc templum Pacis, teste Herodiano L. 1. cap.

14. sed cum eo non periisse spolia Hierosolymitana certum est, quoniam seculo quinto a Christo nato ea in Africam delata sunt, ut mox videbimus. &c. Reland. De Spoliis Templi Hieros. cap. 13, p. 133.

^r L. 7. cap. vi. 1.

nant, where he received a sufficient army from Cerealis Vitellianus: he soon took Herodion, and made the garrison prisoners.

He ^s then determined to go to Machærus: by means of an accident, well improved, he became master of it without much loss on either side.

‘ Having ^t settled affairs there, he marched hastily to the forest of Jarden; where, as he was informed, many were gathered together who during the siege had escaped from Jerusalem and Machærus. When they engaged the battle was fierce and obstinate on both sides; nevertheless, of the Romans there were not more than twelve killed, and not many wounded; but of the Jews not one escaped out of the battle, but they were all killed, being not fewer in number than three thousand; and with them their general, Judas, the son of Jairus, who had been captain of a band in the siege of Jerusalem, and by getting out, through a vault under ground, had privately escaped.’

‘ About ^u this time the emperor sent orders to Lucilius Bassus, and Liberius Maximus, that all Judea should be exposed to sale; for he founded not any city there, but reserved the country to himself. However, he assigned a place for eight hundred men, whom he dismissed from the army, which he gave them for their habitation. It is called Ammaus, and is distant from Jerusalem sixty furlongs: he also laid a tribute upon the Jews wherever they were, requiring that every one of them should bring two drachmas [half a shekel] every year to the capitol; the same that they had been used to pay to the temple at Jerusalem.’

Bassus ^x having died in Judea, Flavius Silva was sent to succeed him in the government of that country; who soon made an expedition against Massada, the only remaining fortress: it was in the possession of Eleazar, a commander of the Sicarii: he was a descendant of Judas, who had persuaded many of the Jews, as formerly related, not to submit to the assessment made by Cyrenius when he came into Judea after the removal of Archelaus.

When ^a there was no room left for escaping, Eleazar called together the principal persons, and consulted with them what might be best to be done: at which time he made an oration to them to induce them to kill themselves rather than fall into the hands of the Romans.

That ^b oration had great effect upon many: some however there were who hesitated: he therefore went on, and made another oration to the like purpose: all now were persuaded.

^s Ib. sect. 1...4. ^t Ib. sect. 5. ^u sect. 6. ^x Cap. viii. sect. 1. ^a Sect. 6. ^b Ib. sect. 7.

‘ They ^c then chose ten men of the number by lot to slay all
 ‘ the rest. When these ten men had without fear slain all the rest,
 ‘ men, women, and children, as determined, they cast lots upon
 ‘ themselves, and he who had the first lot killed the other nine,
 ‘ and then himself. These people so died with the intention
 ‘ that they might not leave so much as one man among them to
 ‘ be subject to the Romans. However, there was one ancient
 ‘ woman, and another woman related to Eleazar, who exceeded
 ‘ most women in knowledge and prudence, and five children,
 ‘ who had hid themselves in a cavern under ground: they had
 ‘ carried water with them for their drink, and lay quiet there,
 ‘ whilst the rest were intent upon the slaughter of each other.
 ‘ The whole number of these people, including the just mentioned
 ‘ women and children, was nine hundred and sixty. This
 ‘ slaughter was made on the fifteenth day of the month of April
 ‘ in the year 73, as may be computed.’

When the Romans entered the place the next morning their surprise was very great, as may be well supposed.

Soon ^d after this some turbulent Jews were the occasion of disturbances at Alexandria, where six hundred were slain; and after that in Cyrene, where more than three thousand suffered. The disturbance there was occasioned by the imposture of Jonathan, a weaver, who ^e persuaded many people of the meaner sort to follow him into the wilderness, where he promised to shew them signs and wonders. Moreover Vespasian sent express orders that the Jewish temple of Onias, as it was called, built in the præfecture of Heliopolis in Egypt, should be demolished: which was done in the year of Christ 74, about two hundred and twenty-four years after it had been first built, as ^f Prideaux computes.

We before saw what was the number of those who were computed to have perished in the siege of Jerusalem: but, taking in also those who had suffered in other places out of Jerusalem, these, added to the eleven hundred thousand that perished in the siege, make the whole number thirteen hundred and thirty-seven thousand four hundred and ninety; an innumerable company still being omitted that perished through famine, banishment, and other ^g miseries. Which I think to be no aggravation at all.

IX. Let us now reflect.

1. All these things have we seen in Josephus, who at the be-

^c Cap. ix. sect. 1, 2.

^d Cap. x. et xi.

μενος. cap. xi. sect. 1.

^f See his Con-

^e . . . ὅτι ολίγους τῶν ἀποβῶν ἐπέπεσε προ-
 σέχειν αὐτῶν, καὶ προηγάγεν εἰς τοὺς ἐρημίον,
 σημεῖα καὶ καὶ φασμάτα, δείξειν ὑποσχό-

nexion, &c. year before Christ 149. p. 266.

^g See Usher's Annals, p. 907. in Eng-
 lish, Lond. 1658.

beginning of his work says: 'I^h Josephus, son of Matthias, by birth a Hebrew of Jerusalem, and a priest, who myself at first fought against the Romans, and was afterwards forced to be present at the things that were done, have written this history.'

The conclusion of the whole work, at the end of the seventh and last book of the Jewish War, is to this effect: 'Hereⁱ we put an end to our history, which we promised to deliver with all accuracy to those who are desirous to know how this war of the Romans with the Jews was managed. Concerning the style let the readers judge: concerning the truth, I may boldly say that only has been aimed at throughout the whole work.'

Perhaps likewise it may not be amiss to observe what he says of this work in his first book against Apion, written long afterwards, near the period of his life.

'As^k for myself I have composed a true history of that war, and of all the particulars that occurred therein, as having been concerned in all it's transactions: for I acted as general among those among us who are called Galileans, as long as it was possible for us to make any opposition: and when I was taken captive by the Romans, Vespasian and Titus had me kept under a guard, but obliged me to attend them continually. At first I was in bonds; afterwards I was set at liberty, and was sent to accompany Titus when he came from Alexandria to the siege of Jerusalem; during which time nothing was done which escaped my knowledge. What happened in the Roman camp I saw, and wrote it down carefully; what information the deserters brought out of the city, I was the only man that understood it: afterwards I got leisure at Rome: and when all my materials were prepared I procured the help of one to assist me in writing Greek. Thus I composed the history of those transactions. And I was so well assured of the truth of what I related, that I first appealed to those who had the supreme command in that war, Vespasian and Titus, as witnesses for me; for to them I first presented those books, and after them to many of the Romans who had been in the war. I also communicated them to many of our own men, who understood the Greek philosophy; among whom were Julius Archelaus, and Herod, a person of great gravity, and king Agrippa himself, who deserved the greatest admiration: all these bore testimony to me that I had the strictest regard to truth; who would not have dissembled the matter, nor have been silent, if through

^h De B. Jud. in Pr. sect. 1.ⁱ L. 7. cap. xi. sect. 5.^k Contr. Ap. l. i. sect. 9.

'ignorance,

'ignorance, or out of favour to either side, I had altered or omitted any thing.'

2. Josephus's History of the Jewish War is an ample testimony to the fulfilment of all the predictions of our Lord, concerning the demolition of the temple and city of Jerusalem, and the miseries to be endured by the nation during the siege, which were such as had never before happened to any people, nor were likely to happen again.

3. The sufferers in these calamities were generally men of the worst characters, robbers and Sicarii, and others too much resembling them. It is reasonable to believe that no Christians were then shut up in the city, nor many other good men, to partake in the miseries of that long and grievous siege. As St. Peter says, having instanced in the preservation of *Noah the eighth person, when God brought in the flood upon the world of the ungodly, and then delivering just Lot, when the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah were turned into ashes*, adds; with a view to other like cases, and probably to the destruction of Jerusalem itself: *The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished.* 2 Pet. ii. 5...9.

4. I think it ought to be observed by us that there was not now any pestilence at Jerusalem, but the Jews perished by the calamities of war. It might have been expected that the bad food, which they were forced to make use of in the straits of the siege, and the noisome smell of so many dead bodies lying in heaps in the city itself, and in the vallies or ditches without the walls, should have produced a plague: but nothing of that kind appears * in the History; which must have been owing to the special interposition of Divine Providence. Josephus,¹ in some of the places where he speaks of the putrefaction of the dead bodies, may use expressions equivalent to pestilential; but he never shews that there was an infection: if there had, it would have equally affected the Romans and the Jews, and the siege of the place must have been broken up, and the Romans would have gone off as fast as they could.

5. None can forbear to observe the time when all these things came to pass. Our Lord says, Matt. xxiii. 36. *Verily, I say unto you, all these things shall come upon this generation.* And xxiv. 34. *Verily, I say unto you, This generation shall not pass till all these things*

* Il est difficile que tant de peuples renfermez dans une ville durant les chaleurs de l'été, de si mechants nourritures, et surtout la puanteur de tant de corps morts, n'aient joint la peste à la famine.

Joseph n'en parle néanmoins qu'en un endroit, en passant. Ce qui marque qu'elle ne fut pas considerable. Till. Ruine des Juifs. art. 67. p. 960. ¹ Vid. De B. Jud. l. 5, cap. xii. sect. 4.

be fulfilled. So likewise Mark xiii. 30. and Luke xxi. 32. So it was. All these things foretold by our Lord came to pass before the end of that generation of men. Jerusalem and the temple were no more, before the end of the year 70 of the Christian epoch, and within forty years after his crucifixion.

Concerning the time also our Lord said: *And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness to all nations:* Matt. xxiv. 14. Comp. Mark xiii. 10.

This we know from Christian writings, particularly the books of the New Testament, most of which were written before the destruction of Jerusalem. They bear witness that the gospel had been preached to Jews and Gentiles in Judea, Syria, Asia, Greece, Macedonia and Rome, and other places, and with great success: and the preaching of the gospel throughout the world was a testimony to all nations that the calamities inflicted upon the Jewish people were just and fit. They bear witness that the Jewish nation had been called upon to repent, and were faithfully, and affectionately, and earnestly, warned and admonished; but they refused to hearken. See the Acts of the apostles, and Mark xvi. 20. Rom. x. 18. Col. i. 6, and 23.

Says archbishop Tillotson: 'We ^m have this matter related, not by a Christian (who might be suspected of partiality and a design to have paralleled the event with our Saviour's prediction), but by a Jew, both by nation and religion, who seems designedly to have avoided, as much as possibly he could, the very mention of the Christian name, and all particulars relating to our Saviour, though no historian was ever more punctual in other things.'

Says Mr. Tillemont: ⁿ 'God has been pleased to chuse for our information in this history not an apostle, nor any of the chief men of the church, but an obstinate Jew, whom neither the view of the virtue and miracles of the Christians, nor the knowledge of the law, nor the ruin of his religion and country, could induce to believe in and love the Messiah, who was all the expectation of the nation. God has permitted it so to be, that the testimony which this historian gave to an event, of which he did not comprehend the mystery, might not be rejected neither by Jews nor heathens; and that none might be able to say that he had altered the truth of things to favour Jesus Christ and his disciples.'

Dr. W. Wotton says of Josephus: 'He ^o is certainly an au-

^m Vol. 2, p. 563, serm. 186, the seventh sermon upon 2 Cor. iv. 3, 4.

ⁿ Ruine des Juifs, art. i. p. 722.

^o Preface to his Miscellaneous Discour-

ses relating to the Traditions and Usages of the Scribes and Pharisees, p. xlix. The faults, which he observes in Josephus, may be seen at p. xxxiii. &c.

‘thor very justly to be valued, notwithstanding all his faults.
 ‘His History of the Jewish War is a noble demonstration of the
 ‘truth of the Christian religion; by shewing, in the most lively
 ‘manner, how the prophecies of our blessed Lord, concerning
 ‘the destruction of Jerusalem, were literally fulfilled in their
 ‘fullest extent.’

And Dr. Doddridge, in his notes upon chap. xxiv. of St. Matthew’s gospel, says: ‘Christian writers have always with
 ‘great reason represented Josephus’s History of the Jewish War
 ‘as the best commentary upon this chapter. And many have
 ‘justly remarked it, as a wonderful instance of the care of Providence for the Christian church, that he, an eye-witness, and
 ‘in these things of so great credit, should (especially in so extraordinary a manner) be preserved to transmit to us a collection of important facts which so exactly illustrate this noble prophecy in almost every particular circumstance. But as it would
 ‘swell my notes too much to enter into a particular detail of those circumstances, I must content myself with referring to Dr. Whitby’s excellent notes upon the twenty-fourth of Matthew, and to archbishop Tillotson’s large and accurate discourse on the same subject in the second volume of his posthumous works. Sermon. 183.... 187.’

Isidore of Pelusium, who flourished about the year 412, in one of his epistles has these expressions: ‘If you have a mind to
 ‘know what punishment the wicked Jews underwent, who ill-treated the Christ, read the history of their destruction, written
 ‘by Josephus, a Jew indeed, but a lover of truth, that you may
 ‘see the wonderful story, such as no time ever saw before since the beginning of the world, nor ever shall see. For that none
 ‘might refuse to give credit to the history of their incredible and unparalleled sufferings, truth found out not a stranger, but a
 ‘native, and a man fond of their institutions, to relate them in a doleful strain.’

Eusebius often quotes Josephus, and, in his Ecclesiastical History, has transcribed from him several articles at large. Having rehearsed from the gospels divers of our Lord’s predictions of the evils then coming upon Jerusalem, and the Jewish people, he adds: ‘Whosoever shall compare these words of our Saviour with the history of the whole war, published by the
 ‘abovementioned writer, must admire our Lord’s great wisdom, and acknowledge that his foresight was divine.’

In his Chronicle, as we have it from Jerom in Latin, Euse-

^p The Family Expositor, sect. 169. Vol. 2, p. 373.
 74. ^r H. E. l. 3, cap. 8, p. 81, D.

^q Lib. 4, ep. 75. vid. et ep.

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bis says: 'In subduing Judea, and overthrowing Jerusalem, Titus slew six hundred thousand people: but Josephus writes, that eleven hundred thousand perished by famine and the sword, and that another hundred thousand were publicly sold and carried captives: and he says that the occasion of there being so great a multitude of people at Jerusalem was this, that it was the time of passover; for which reason the Jews, having come up from all parts to worship at the temple, were shut up in the city as in a prison. And indeed it was fit they should be slain at the same time in which they crucified our Saviour.'

It is certainly very fit that Christians should attend to the fulfilment of our Lord's predictions relating to the Jewish people, which are so frequent, so solemn and affectionate. The testimony of Josephus is the most considerable of all: it is the most full, and particular, and exact, of any we have, or have the knowledge of; and he was an eye-witness; and he was manifestly zealous for the honour of his country: he had a great respect for the temple, and its worship, and for all the peculiarities of the Mosaic law; and he continued to have the same to the last, as appears from his own life and his books against Apion.

X. Josephus, in the preface to his own work, intimates that some histories of the war had been before written by others: but he represents them as partial and defective, and composed by men who were not well informed. Undoubtedly none of these remain now: they have been lost long since.

Justus of Tiberias, contemporary with Josephus, between whom there were many differences, also wrote a history of the war. Josephus in his Life chargeth him with falsehood, and blames him for not publishing his work until after the death of Vespasian and Titus, and king Agrippa. Josephus owns 'that Justus was well skilled in Greek learning: and he plainly says that he wrote of the war.

I do not clearly perceive Eusebius ^u to have known any thing of Justus but what he learned from the testimonies of Josephus, above referred to by me.

^s Titus Judæa captâ, et Jerosolymis subversis, DC millia virorum interfecit. Josephus vero scribit undecies centena millia fame et gladio periisse, et alia centum millia captivorum publice venundata. Ut autem tanta multitudo Jerosolymis reperirentur, causam Azymorum fuisse refert: ob quam ex omni genere Judæi ad templum confluentes urbe quasi carcere

sunt reclusi. Oportuit enim in iisdem diebus eos interfici, in quibus Salvatorem crucifixerant. Chron. p. 162.

^t Καὶ γὰρ ἔδ' ἀπείρος ἡ παιδείας τῆς παρ' Ἑλλήνων, ἣ θάρρην ἐπεχειρήσαν καὶ τὰν ἱστορίας τῶν πραγμάτων τότε ἀναγράφων. κ. λ. Joseph. Vit. sect. 9, Vid. et sect. 65.

^u H. E. l. 3. cap. x. p. 86, B.

Justus

Justus * is in Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers. He seems to ascribe to him two books.

Photius † I think speaks of but one work of this author, which he calls a Chronicle. He says it began with Moses and ended at the death of Agrippa. He also takes notice of Josephus's censures both of the author himself and his work.

Stephanus Byzantinus, in his article of Tiberias, says: 'Of this city was Justus, who wrote of the Jewish war in the time of Vespasian.'

Diogenes Laertius, ‡ in his Life of Socrates, quotes a passage from Justus of Tiberias, and seems to quote the same book that was read by Photius.

Several learned moderns § are of opinion that Justus, like Josephus, wrote two books, one of the Jewish War, another of the Jewish Antiquities. Menage, ¶ in his notes upon Diogenes Laertius, ascribes to Justus three books, that is, Memoirs, beside the two before mentioned. I rather think there was but one, and that what Justus wrote of the war was comprised in the Chronicle. Menage's argument from Suidas is of no value; for Suidas expresseth himself inaccurately: nor does he mention more than two works: the Memoirs, *υπομνηματα*, are the same with Jerom's *Commentarioli de Scripturis*. Indeed Suidas only transcribes Jerom, or his interpreter Sophronius, and has done it inaccurately.

Some ¶ learned men lament the loss of this work. Others think it was of little value. I cannot but wish that the work, which was in being in the time of Photius, had also reached us. It must have been of some use. Perhaps the censure passed upon it by Josephus, who was in great credit, has been a prejudice to it.

I have allowed myself to enlarge in my notice of this writer, who lived at the time, and was an actor in the Jewish war with

* Justus Tiberienſis de provincia Galilæa, conatus eſt et ipſe Judaicarum rerum hſtoriam texere, et quosdam commentariolos de Scripturis componere: &c. De V. I. cap. 14. † *Ανεγνώσθη Ιωſηφ Τιβεριεύς χρονικόν. κ. λ. Cod. 33, p. 20.*

‡ *Εκ ταύτης ην Ιωſος, ο τον Ιουδαϊκον πολεμον τον κατα Ουεſπαſιανην ιſορηſας. Steph. Byz. ὁ Φησιν Ιωſος ο Τιβεριεύς εν τῷ ſεμματα. Diog. La. l. 2. ſect. 41.*

§ Unde colligo (ex Hieronymi Catalogo,) ut Josephus, ita et Justum, non modo de Antiquitatibus Judaicis, sed seorsum etiam de Bello Judaico scripsisse. Voss. de H. Gr. Vid. et Valeſ. Ann. in Euseb. l. 3, cap. x. Tillem. Ruine de Juifs, art.

82. ¶ *Scriptit ille Historiam Judaicam, eodem tempore quo Josephus, a quo mendacii arguitur. Scriptit præterea υπομνηματα, quorum meminit Suidas. Scriptit et Chronicon Regum Judæorum, qui coronati fuere: Ut est apud Photium. Quod opus signat hic Laertius. Menag. in. loc. p. 94. ¶ Josephus, in Vita sua, et alibi, quasi parum fido scriptori convitiatur. Sed de inimico, non magis ei crediderim, quam Justo de Josepho crederem, si historia ejus exſtaret, atque in ea æmulo ab eo detractum viderem. Utinam vero, quæcumque fuerit, ad nos usque perveniſſet. Cleric. H. E. A. C. C. cap. vii.*

¶ Tillem. as above, art. 80.

the Romans. Though his work is not extant, he is a witness to that important transaction.

Pausanias, who ^f lived in the second century, and wrote after the year of our Lord 180, speaks ^g of a monument of queen Helena at Jerusalem, which (city) an emperor of the Romans had destroyed to the foundation.

‘Minucius Felix refers ^h the heathen people not only to Josephus, but also to Antonius Julianus, a Roman author, from whom they might learn that the Jews had not been ruined nor abandoned of God till they had first abandoned him: and that their present low condition was owing to their wickedness and obstinacy therein, and that nothing had happened to them but what had been foretold.’

Who that Julianus was cannot be said. There have been several of that name, one ⁱ of whom was procurator of Judea, and was present with Titus at the siege of Jerusalem, as we know from Josephus. Tillemont says that ^k possibly he wrote a history of the siege of Jerusalem. G. Vossius, ^l upon the ground of this passage of Minucius, puts Antonius Julianus among Latin historians who had written a history of the Jews.

Minucius reckons Josephus among Roman writers. Dr. Davis suspects it to be an interpolation, and assigns not improbable reasons in his notes upon the place.

Suetonius ^m has mentioned the occasion of the war, the appointment of Vespasian to be general, his and his son's triumph at ⁿ Rome, and several other material things, which have been already observed, or will in time be observed by us from him.

What ^o Tacitus has written upon this subject, so far as it remains, may be taken notice of hereafter.

Dion Cassius ^p is another witness, whose testimony also may be taken more at large hereafter.

Philostratus says that ‘when ^q Titus had taken Jerusalem, and

^f See Tillem. L'Emp. Marc. Aurele. art. xxxii.

^g Εὐραῖος δὲ ἑλένης γυναικὸς ἐπιγραφὴς ταφῆς εἶναι ἐν πόλει Σολυμοῖς, πρὸς ἐδαφὸς κατεσθλὲν ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς. Pausan. l. 8, cap. 16, p. 633.

^h Scripta eorum relege. Vel si Romanis magis gaudes, ut transeamus veteres, Flavii Josephi, vel Antonii Juliani, de Judæis require. Jam scies, nequitia suâ, hanc eos meruisse fortunam: nec quidquam accidisse, quod non sit his, si in contumaciâ perseverarent, ante prædictum. Ita prius eos deseruisse comprehendens, quam esse desertos: nec, ut impie loqueris,

cum Deo suo esse captos, sed a Deo, ut disciplinæ transfugas deditos. Minuc. c. 33. Conf. c. 10.

ⁱ Καὶ Μάρκος Αντωνίος, ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπὸς. Jos. de B. J. l. 6. cap. iv. 3.

^k Ruine des Juifs, art. 72. ^l Antonius Julianus Judaicam videtur historiam consignasse. &c. De Hist. Lat. l. 3: De Historicis incertæ ætatis

^m Sueton. Vespas. c. 4, 5. ⁿ — ac triumphum utriusque Judæicum, equo albo comitatus est. Domit. c. 2.

^o Vid. Tac. Hist. Lib. v.

^p Dio. l. 66, sub in.

^q Ἐπεὶ δὲ Τίτος ἤρκει τὰ Σολυμα, καὶ νεκρῶν πλεον

‘and filled all about it with dead bodies, and the neighbouring nations offered him crowns, he said he was not worthy of such an honour, nor had he himself, he said, done that great work. He had only lent his hand in the service of God, when he was pleased to shew his displeasure.’ Philostratus says that Apollonius was much pleased with that token of wisdom and humanity. He likewise says that Apollonius wrote a letter to Titus, and sent it by Damis, to this purpose: ‘Apollonius sendeth greeting to Titus emperor of the Romans. Since you refuse to be applauded for bloodshed and victory in war, I send you the crown of moderation. You know for what things crowns are due.’

Hence divers learned men have argued that Titus refused to be crowned for his victory over the Jews. Basnage, ^r and other learned men, on the contrary, are of opinion that we may rely upon the authority of Josephus, who tells us that ‘he went from Antioch to the Zeugma, whither came to him messengers from Vologesus, king of Parthia, and brought him a crown of gold upon the victory obtained by him over the Jews; which he accepted of, and feasted the king’s messengers, and then returned to Antioch.’ Moreover he accepted of a triumph for his victory over the Jews, and all other honours customary upon the like occasions. Nevertheless Olearius, in his notes upon the place, argues that ^s Philostratus needs not to be understood to say that Titus refused the crowns offered him, but only said that he was unworthy of that honour, he having been only an instrument in the hand of God for displaying his just vengeance against guilty men.

And it must be owned that Olearius expresseth himself with great judgment and moderation. Either way those learned men are to be reckoned mistaken, who have maintained that Titus refused to be crowned for his victory over the Jews.

However, we are still to reckon Philostratus, at the beginning of the third century, a good witness to the overthrow of Jerusalem by Titus.

μη παντα, τα ομορα τε εβδη εφεσανν αυτον. Ο δε εκ ης αυτον τωτ μη γαρ αυτον ταυτα εργασθαι, θεω δε οργην φησαντι επιδεδωκεναι τας αυτου χειρας. κ. λ. Philof. de Vit Apol. l. 6. cap. 29.

^r Modestiam Titij laudibus effert Baronius, quod oblatâ sibi coronâ aureâ a provinciis, noluit coronari, testatus se prorsus indignum. Usserius, alique eruditi, illud et ipsum tradunt, freti auctoritate Philostrati. — Basnag. Ann. 70. n. xvi.

^s Quem tamen Josephi locum immerito Philostrato opponi putem. — Neque enim Philostratus repudiâsse coronam Titum ait, atque eâ non acceptâ legatos dimisisse, quod viro docto interpretes persuasere, sed hoc tantum, quod eo honore se indignum dixerit: justitiæ Dei vindicatricis instrumentum, cujus nullæ fuerint in istis patrandis propriæ vires, sese existisse agnoscens, &c. Olear. in loc.

These

These are early heathen authors who have related the destruction of Jerusalem, and thereby bore testimony to the accomplishment of our Lord's predictions concerning it.

Nor can any forget the triumphal arch of Titus, still standing at Rome, of which we before took notice.

There^t is also an ancient inscription to the honour of Titus, 'who, by his father's directions and counsels, had subdued the Jewish nation, and destroyed Jerusalem, which had never been destroyed by any princes or people before.'

Which has occasioned some learned men to say that even inscriptions are not free from flattery. But then it must be owned that^u the genuineness and antiquity of this inscription has been called in question: and there are some reasons to doubt whether this comes from the senate of Rome itself, as is pretended.

CHAP. IV.

Three paragraphs in the works of Josephus concerning John the Baptist, our Saviour, and James, the Lord's brother; and observations upon the writings of Josephus.

I. *Of John the Baptist.* II. *Concerning the Lord Jesus Christ.*
 III. *Concerning James, the Lord's brother.* IV. *Concluding observations upon the writings and testimony of Josephus.*

I. 'ABOUT this time,' says^a Josephus, 'there happened a difference between Aretas king of Petra and Herod upon this oc-

^t Imp. Tito. Cæsari. Divi. Vespasiani. F.
 Vespasiano. Aug. Pontifici. Maximo
 Trib. Pot. x. Imp. xvii. Cos. viii. P. P.
 Principi. suo. S. P. Q. R.
 Quod. Præceptis. Patris. Consiliisque. et
 Auspiciis. Gentem. Judæorum. Domuit. Et
 Urbem. Hierosolymam. Omnibus. Ante. Se
 Ducibus. Regibus. Gentibusque. aut. Frustra
 Petitam. aut. omnino. Intentatam. Delevit.

Ap. Gruter. p. 244.

^u Ubi steterit, ignoratur. Scaliger vult ab Onufrio fictum. Ap. Gruter. Ib.

^a Antiq. l. 18. cap. v. § 1.

‘ cation. Herod the tetrarch had married the daughter of Aretas, and lived a considerable time with her. But, in a journey he took to Rome, he made a visit to * Herod his brother, though not by the same mother.... Here falling in love with Herodias, wife of the same Herod, daughter of their brother Aristobulus, and sister of Agrippa the great, he ventured to make to her proposals of marriage. She not disliking them, they agreed together at that time, that when he was returned from Rome she should go and live with him. And it was one part of the contract, that Aretas’s daughter should be put away. This^b was the beginning of the difference; and there being also some disputes about the limits of their territories, a war arose between Aretas and Herod. And in a battle fought by them Herod’s whole army was defeated.’

‘ But,’ says^c Josephus, ‘ some of the Jews were of opinion that God had suffered Herod’s army to be destroyed as a just punishment on him for the death of John, called the Baptist. For Herod had killed him, who was a just man, and had called upon the Jews to be baptized, and to practise virtue, exercising both justice toward men and piety toward God. For so would baptism be acceptable to God, if they made use of it, not for the expiation of their sins, but for the purity of the body, the mind being first purified by righteousness. And many coming to him (for they were wonderfully taken with his discourses), Herod was seized with apprehensions, lest by his authority they should be led into sedition against him; for they seemed capable of undertaking any thing by his direction. Herod therefore thought it better to take him off before any disturbance happened, than to run the risk of a change of affairs, and of

* Our evangelists call him Philip, Matt. xiv. 3, and elsewhere. That difficulty was considered formerly. Josephus and the evangelists mean the same person, though they call him by different names. See vol. i. p. 390, &c.

^b Ο δε αρχην εχθρας ταυτης ποιησαμενος, περι τε ορων εν τη γη τη Γαμαλιτιδι, και δυναμειως εκατερω συλλεγεισθης, εις πολειμον καθιστανται και μαχης γενομενης, διεφθαρη πας ο Ηρωδης στρατος. κ. λ. ib. § 1.

^c Τισι δε των Ιουδαίων εδοκει, ολωλεναι τον Ηρωδη στρατον υπο τε Θεω, και μαλα δικαιως τιμωμενο κατα ποιην Ιωαννην τε επικαλεσμενον βαπτιστην. Κτεινει γαρ τυτον Ηρωδης, αγαθον ανδρα, και της Ιουδαίας κλεινοτα, αρετην επασκυντας, και τη προς αλληλους δικαιοσυνη και προς τον Θεον ευσεβεια χρωμενης, βαπτισμω συνευχαι· οτι γαρ την βαπτισιν απο-

δεκτην αυτω φανεισθαι, μη επι τινων αμαρταν παραντησει χρωμενων, αλλ’ εφ’ ωνηται το σωματος, ατε δη και της Ψυχης δικαιοσυνη προεκκεκαθαρμενης. Και των αλλων συσχεφόμενων και γαρ ηρθσαν επι πλειους τη ακροασει των λογων· δεισας Ηρωδης το επι τοσονδε πιδανον αυτη τοις ανθρωποις μη επι αποσασει τιμ φερει, παντα γαρ εωκισαι συμβαλη τη εκεινη πραξοντες. πολυ κρεντο ηρειται, πριν τι νεωτερον εξ αυτης γενεσθαι, προλαβων αικαρειν, η μεταβολης γενομενης εις τα τραχηλα εμπεσων μετανοειν. Και ο μιν υποψια τη Ηρωδη δεσμιος εις τον Μακαιρινητα περιφθει, το προειρημενον σφηνισι, ταυτη κτηνυται. Τοις δε Ιουδαίος δοξαν, επι τιωαρια τη εκεινη τον ολεθρον επι τα στρατιματι γενεσθαι, τε Θεω κακως Ηρωδη θελοντος. Ib. § 2.

‘ repenting

‘repenting when it should be too late to remedy disorders. Being taken up upon this suspicion of Herod, and being sent bound to the castle of Machærus, just mentioned, he was slain there. The Jews were of opinion that the destruction of Herod’s army was a punishment upon him for that action, God being displeased with him.’

The genuineness of this passage is generally admitted by learned men; though ^dBlondell hesitated about it. Tanaquil Faber ^ereceived it very readily.

The genuineness of this paragraph may be argued in the following manner.

It is quoted or referred to by Origen in his books against Celsus. ‘Besides,’ ^fsays that ancient writer, ‘I would have Celsus, who personates a Jew, who after a sort admits John the Baptist, and that he baptized Jesus, to consider that an author, who wrote not long after the time of John and Jesus, says that John was a baptist, and that he baptized for the remission of sins. For in the eighteenth book of his Jewish Antiquities Josephus bears witness to John that he was a baptist, and promised purification to those who were baptized.’

Here it may be objected that Origen supposes Josephus to say that John promised purification, or forgiveness of sins, to those who were baptized: whereas Josephus says of John that ‘he taught the people to make use of baptism, not for the expiation of their sins, but for the purity of the body.’

But I do not think that a sufficient reason why we should hesitate to allow that Origen refers to the passage which we now have in Josephus. Certainly Origen did not design to say, or intimate, that John promised to men the forgiveness of their sins barely upon their being baptized; but only upon the condition that they repented, or, as the phrase is in the gospels, that *they brought forth fruits meet for repentance*; or, as in Josephus, ‘the mind being first purified by righteousness.’ I therefore proceed.

This passage of Josephus is distinctly and largely quoted by ^gEusebius in his Ecclesiastical History.

^d Des Sybilles. l. i, c. vii. p. 28, 29.

^e Fab. ap. Haverc. p. 269, 270.

^f Εβδόμη δ' ἂν Κέλσω, προσωποποιήσαντι τὸν Ἰουδαίου παραδεχόμενον πως Ἰωάννην ὡς βαπτιστὴν, βαπτίζοντα τὸν Ἰησοῦν, εἰπεῖν ὅτι τὸ Ἰωάννην γεγονέναι βαπτιστὴν, εἰς ἀφεσὶν ἁμαρτημάτων βαπτίζοντα, ἀνεγράφε τις τῶν

μετ' ἧ πολλῶν τε Ἰωάννη καὶ τῷ Ἰησοῦ γεγονημένων. Ἐν γάρ τῳ οὐκτακείδεκατῳ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀρχαιολογίας ὁ Ἰωσήπος μαρτυρεῖ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ὡς βαπτιστῇ γεγονομένῳ, καὶ καθαρᾶσι τοῖς βαπτισαμένοις ἐπαγγέλλομένῳ. Contr. Cels. l. i. § 47, p. 35.

^g H. E. l. i, cap. xi,

Jerom^h also must be allowed to refer to the same in his book of Illustrious Men, though he does it very inaccurately.

This passage was read in Josephus byⁱ Photius, as is apparent.

I do not think it needful for me to refer to any more ancient authors: but I shall consider some difficulties.

Obj. 1. In the first place, it has been said that this passage interrupts the course of the narration.

In answer to which I must say that I do not perceive it: the connexion is very good in my opinion.

Obj. 2. Secondly, it is objected that in the preceding section Machærus is spoken of as subject to Aretas: therefore John the Baptist could not be sent prisoner thither by Herod the tetrarch.

To which I answer. It is there said to be subject to Aretas, father of Herod's wife: *τοτε πατρι αυτης υποτελην*. But it is also there said to be in the borders of the government of Aretas and Herod: *μεθοριου δε εστι της τε Αρετα και Ηρωδη αρχης*.

The history in that very section does not lead us to think that Machærus was in the possession of Aretas, but of Herod. It is thus: 'Herod's wife, daughter of Aretas, having discovered the agreement he had made with Herodias to come and live with him, and having discovered it before he had notice of her knowledge of the design, she desired him to send her to Machærus, a place in the borders of the dominions of Aretas and Herod, without informing him of her intentions. Accordingly Herod sent her thither, as thinking his wife had not perceived any thing of the affair.'

By that means she got to her father. But hence, I think, it may be collected that Machærus was not then a part of her father's dominions: for, if it had, her request to be sent thither would have occasioned suspicions in Herod's mind. Moreover, it may be argued, from many things in Josephus, that Machærus was now in the possession of Herod the tetrarch. It belonged to his father, Herod the great, who had both adorned it and fortified it: and it was in the hands of the Jewish people during the time of the war, and was^k one of the last places that were taken by the Romans after the siege of Jerusalem was over.

Obj. 3. According to our evangelists, the daughter of Herodias obtained the promise of John the Baptist's head at the time of a public entertainment: and it was delivered to her presently.

^h Hic in decimo octavo Antiquitatum libro manifestissime confitetur, propter magnitudinem signorum Christum a Phariseis interfectum: et Johannem Baptista^m vere prophetam fuisse. De V. I. cap. xiii. ⁱ Cod. 238, p. 972. ^k Vid. De B. J. l. 7, cap. vi.

But how could that be done if John was imprisoned at Machærus, at a great distance from Herod's court?

To which I answer, first, that Herod the tetrarch may have kept his birthday, and made that entertainment at Machærus; for his father, Herod the great, had built a palace there, with large and beautiful¹ apartments. Says Tillemont: 'We^m learn from Josephus that he was beheaded at Machærus, where it is easily supposed that Herod made his feast: [Mald. in Matt. p. 304, a.] for it was a palace as well as a citadel.' Secondly, supposing the entertainment to have been made at the capital city of Galilee, the promise might be made at the time of the entertainment, but the execution might be deferred till the next day, or till several days after.

Obj. 4. Still it may be said that this paragraph contradicts our evangelists: for, according to them, it was at the solicitation of Herodias and her daughter that John was beheaded. But here it is said that Herod put John to death because he feared he might be the cause of a sedition.

But there is no inconsistency in these things; for Herod might, as is said in this paragraph, have apprehensions from John's popularity, and be disposed, upon that account, to take him off. Lesser differences there may be in several historians, who write of the same matter with different views: and some circumstances may be mentioned by one writer which are omitted by others.

I shall give an instance from the writings of the New Testament: Acts ix. 22... 25. *But Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, proving that this is very Christ. And after that many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him; but their lying in wait was known to Saul: and they watched the gates day and night to kill him. Then the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a basket.* So says St. Luke. Let us now observe St. Paul himself. 2 Cor. xi. 31... 33. *The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed for evermore, knoweth that I lie not. In Damascus the governor, under Aretas the king, guarded the city of the Damascenes, desirous to apprehend me; and through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall, and escaped him.* St. Luke and St. Paul write of the same thing, as is apparent, and is allowed by all commentators and ecclesiastical historians: nevertheless, here is a very considerable difference of circumstances. St. Paul says nothing of the Jews,

¹ Μισον δε τε περιβολη βασιλειον οικοδομησατο, μεγαλει τε και καλλει των οικησεων πο-
λυτας. κ. λ. De B. J. l. 7, c. vi. sect. 2. ^m S. Jean Baptiste, art. viii. p. 101.
Mem. Ec. T. i.

and St. Luke says nothing of the governor of Damascus. But we can conclude from St. Paul that the Jews had engaged the governor in their interest, who, with the soldiers, kept strict guard at all the gates of the city: but there was a window or opening in some part of the wall, to which his friends had access; and through that they let him down by the side of the wall, in a basket held by a rope, and he escaped. The danger was very pressing, and the apostle was much affected with it.

So far from contradicting the evangelists, this account in the paragraph greatly confirms them. In the preceding paragraph Josephus assures us of the unlawful contract made by Herod, that Herodias should leave her first husband and come and live with him. In this paragraph he gives an account of John's doctrine, very agreeable to that in the gospels—that he earnestly recommended the practice of righteousness toward men, and piety toward God; that he taught men not to rely on baptism, or any other external rites, for the forgiveness of their sins, unless their minds were also purified by righteousness: and he assures us that John was in great esteem with the Jewish people. The same is also said by our evangelists, who tell us that *all men held John for a prophet*. He likewise says that John, called the Baptist, was imprisoned by Herod, and afterwards put to death by his order.

We may be the more induced to admit the genuineness of this paragraph because there is nothing in it out of character. Josephus did not receive our Jesus as the Christ: nor is there here any mention made of that part of John's character, that he was the forerunner of the Christ, or referred men to him.

There may have been many Jews who had a great regard for John, and yet did not believe in Jesus as the Christ. St. Paul met with twelve Jews of that sort at Ephesus, about the year of our Lord 53, as appears from a history at the beginning of Acts xix. *He said unto them: Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed? They said unto him: We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost. And he said unto them: Unto what then were ye baptized? And they said: Unto John's baptism. Then said Paul: John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people that they should believe on him which should come after him; that is, on Christ Jesus.* These men had received John's baptism, as the baptism of repentance, but they had not attended to that other part of his preaching, that *they should believe on him who came after him*, till they were reminded of it by St. Paul; and then they were presently satisfied. *When they heard this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus.* And what follows.

Possibly

Possibly those men, or most of them, had seen and heard John, and been baptized by him; and left Judea before Jesus had begun his public ministry: and, being at a distance from the land of Judea, had never had any distinct account of the transactions there: but now being informed of them, and being open to conviction, they became disciples of Jesus, and believed in him as the Christ.

But many other Jews, not so well disposed, might stand out. They might retain a great respect for John, as we suppose Josephus to have done, as an holy man, of an austere character, who had recommended the practice of virtue, and had been put to death by the tetrarch of Galilee, without believing in Jesus as the Christ.

Origen was well acquainted with the Jewish sentiments, having often conversed with their learned men. And, in his answer to Celsus, he puts him in mind that 'the ⁿ Jews always make a difference between John and Jesus, and between the death of each of them.'

Indeed both were for a while in great repute with the Jewish people. But Jesus had greatly disappointed them in not assuming the character of a temporal prince, as they expected the Messiah should have done. And John was put to death by a prince not much beloved: but Jesus was crucified at the importunate demand of the Jewish rulers and people in general.

Josippon, in the ninth or tenth century, though he says nothing of Jesus Christ, or James, the Lord's brother, mentions the death of John the Baptist, and more agreeably to the evangelists than this passage of Josephus which we are considering. He represents the tetrarch Herod as a very wicked prince. He says that 'he ^o took to himself, to be his own wife, the wife of his brother Philip, though his brother was still living, and she had children by him. He killed many wise men in Israel: and he killed that great priest John, the baptizer, because he had said to him "It is unlawful for thee to have thy brother's wife." Many Jews, as it seems, have respected John the Baptist as an eminently good man, without allowing him to have any connexions with Jesus Christ.'

ⁿαναγκαιον αυτω παρατησαι, οτι και τυτο εκ οικειως το Ιεδαϊκον προσωπον περιεβλεπει. Ουδε γαρ συναπτει τον Ιωαννην οι Ιουδαιοι τη Ιησω, και την Ιωαννην τη τη Ιησω κλησιν. Contr. Cels. l. i. cap. 48, p. 38.
^o Ipse accepit uxorem Philippi fratris sui adhuc viventis in uxorem, licet illa haberet filios ex fratre eius: eam, inquam,

accepit sibi in uxorem. Occidit autem multos sapientes Israel. Occidit etiam Jochanan Sacerdotem magnum ob id quod dixerat ei: Non licet tibi accipere uxorem fratris tui Philippi in uxorem. Occidit ergo Jochananem Baptistam. Josipp. l. 6. cap. 63, p. 274.

II. In the same eighteenth book of Josephus's Jewish Antiquities, but in a chapter preceding that in which is the account of John the Baptist, just considered, is this paragraph.

'At ^p that time lived Jesus, a wise man, if he may be called a man; for he performed many wonderful works. He was a teacher of such men as received the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him many Jews and Gentiles. This was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the instigation of the chief men among us, had condemned him to the cross, they who before had conceived an affection for him did not cease to adhere to him. For on the third day he appeared to them alive again, the divine prophets having foretold these and many other wonderful things concerning him. And the sect of the Christians, so called from him, subsists to this time.'

This passage is received by many learned men as genuine; by others ^s it is rejected as an interpolation. It is allowed on all hands that it is in all the copies of Josephus's works now extant, both printed and manuscript: nevertheless, it may be for several reasons called in question. They are such as these.

1. This paragraph is not quoted, nor referred to, by any Christian writers before Eusebius, who flourished at the beginning of the fourth century and afterwards.

If it had been originally in the works of Josephus, it would have been highly proper to produce it in their disputes with Jews and Gentiles: but it is never quoted by Justin Martyr, or Clement of Alexandria, nor by Tertullian, or Origen; men of great learning, and well acquainted with the works of Josephus. It was certainly very proper to urge it against the Jews: it might also have been fitly alleged against Gentiles. A testimony so favourable to Jesus in the works of Josephus, who lived so soon after the time of our Saviour, who was so well acquainted with the transactions of his own country, who had received so many favours from Vespasian and Titus, could not be overlooked or neglected by any Christian apologist,

Ἡ Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Χριστῶν ἱστορίαν, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, οὗτος ἀνὴρ αὐτὸν λέγουσιν Χριστὸν. Ἦν γὰρ ἀγαθὸς ἐργῶν ποιητής, διδάσκαλος αἰσθητῶν τῶν ἡδονῶν τῆς ἀληθείας διδασκόμενος. Καὶ πολλὰς μὲν Ἰουδαίους, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ τὰς ἑλληνικὰς ἐκτραχέας. Ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν. Καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνη τὴν πρώτην ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῶν, ταυρῶν πεντηκονταετηρίδος Πιλάτος, ἐκ ἐπαύσαντος οὗτος πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες. Ἐφαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχον ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τὰς θείων προφητῶν ταῦτα τε καὶ ἄλλα μυστὰ βουνοῦσα ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἐμνημόνευσε. Εἰς τοῦτο καὶ Χριστὸς

ἦν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνομομαρτυρουμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φῶς. Antiq. Jud. l. 18, cap. iii. sect. 3.

^r Cav. H. L. in Josepho. Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. iii. p. 32, &c. Fab. Bib. Gr. l. 4, cap. vi. Tom. 3. Whiston in his first dissertation. Spanhem. Opp. T. i. p. 531. Tillem. Ruine des Juifs, art. 81, and note xl. H. E. Tom. i. J. Ittigii Prolegom. ap. Havercamp. p. 89. Blondel des Sibylles. p. 18. Tan. Fabr. ap. Havercamp. p. 267, &c. Cleric. H. E. An. 25. n. iv. et Ars Crit. P. 3, cap. xiv.

If this passage had related only to some one of the first followers of Jesus, the omission had not been so remarkable; but it relates to Jesus himself: it declares his proper character, his miracles, his crucifixion, and resurrection; and that all this was agreeable to the predictions of the prophets.

This passage is not only not quoted by Origen, but we can perceive that he had it not: for in the words next following the notice taken of John the Baptist, as mentioned by Josephus, and before quoted by us, he adds: 'The same writer, though he did not believe Jesus to be the Christ, inquiring into the cause of the overthrow of Jerusalem, and the demolition of the temple, when he ought to have said that their attempt upon Jesus was the cause of the ruin of that people, forasmuch as they had put to death the Christ before prophesied of; he, as it were unwillingly, and not erring far from the truth, says: These things befel the Jews in vindication of James called the just, who was the brother of Jesus called the Christ: forasmuch as they killed him who was a most righteous man. That James is the same whom Paul, that genuine disciple of Jesus, says he had seen, and calls the Lord's brother, [Gal. i. 19] not so much for the sake of consanguinity, as their common education, and agreement in manners and doctrine. If therefore he says the destruction of Jerusalem had befallen the Jews for the sake of James, with how much more reason might he have said that this had happened for the sake of Jesus who was the Christ, to whose divinity so many churches bear witness; who, being now recovered from the pollutions of vice, have given up themselves to the Creator, and endeavour to please him in all things?'

Afterwards, in his second book against Celsus, he argues our Saviour's knowledge of futurities from his predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, which had not been effected till the times of Vespasian and Titus. 'Which,' * as Josephus writes, 'happened upon account of James the just, the brother of Jesus called the Christ; but in truth upon account of Jesus the Christ, the Son of God.'

Origen speaks again to the like purpose in his commentary

Ὁ δ' αὐτός, καίτοιγε ἀπίστων τῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ζητῶν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν Ἱερουσαλὴμ πτώσεως, καὶ τῆς τῆ κατὰ καθαιρέσεως αὐτοῦ ἐπεὶ, ὅτι ἡ τῇ Ἰησοῦ ἐπιβλή τῆς αἰτίας γέγονε τῷ ἁλῶ, ἐπεὶ ἀπεκτείναν τὸν προφητευσάμενον Χριστὸν. κ. λ. Contr. Cels. l. 1. c. 47. p. 35.

ὅτι συμβέβηκεν αἰτίας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐρημώσιν τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, κ. λ. ib.

* ὡς μὲν Ἰωσήπος γράφει, διὰ Ἰακώβου τοῦ δικαίου, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, ὡς δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια παρήκει, διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Contr. Cels. l. 2. sect. 13. p. 69.

upon

upon St. Matthew; and says that 'this' James, the same that is 'mentioned by Paul in his epistle to the Galatians, [i. 19] was 'so respected by the people for his righteousness, that Flavius 'Josephus, who wrote the Jewish Antiquities in twenty books, 'being desirous to assign the cause why that people suffered such 'things, so that even their temple was demolished to the founda- 'tions, says that those things had happened because of the anger 'of God against them, for what they had done to James the bro- 'ther of Jesus called the Christ. And it is wonderful that he 'who did not receive our Jesus as the Christ should ascribe such 'righteousness to James. He says that the people also were of 'opinion that they suffered these things upon account of James.'

After Origen, the same saying of Josephus concerning James is also alleged by ² Eusebius and ^a Jerom; but without saying any more than Origen what work of Josephus, or what book of his works, it was in.

There is not now any thing of that kind in any of his works; nor is it easily conceivable that ^b there ever was. But what I now allege these passages of Origen for, is to shew that it may be hence evidently and certainly concluded that Origen never read in Josephus that testimony to Jesus which we now have in his works.

I have above mentioned no other Latin author but Tertullian, to ^c whom Josephus was well known. But I might have also insisted upon the silence of the other Latin apologists for Christianity of the first three centuries, as Minucius Felix, Cyprian, Arnobius, and Lactantius; to whom so extraordinary a testimony to our Saviour, in so celebrated a Jewish writer, would not have been unknown if it had been in him.

Eusebius then, who flourished about the year of Christ 315, and afterwards, is the first Christian writer in whom this paragraph is found; and by him ^d it is twice quoted at large. After him, as is well known, it is quoted by ^e Jerom, ^f Sozomen, and many other following writers.

^y Comm. in Matt. Tom. x. § 17, p. 463. Bened. T. i. p. 223. Huet.

^z H. E. l. 2, cap. xxiii. p. 65.

^a Tradit idem Josephus, tantæ eum sanctitatis fuisse, et celebritatis in populo, ut propter eius necem creditum sit, subversam esse Hierosolymam. De V. I. cap. 2. vid. et cap. 13.

^b Quod vero attinet ad ista, ταῦτα συνέβηκεν Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ ἐκδίκησιν Ἰακώβου τῆς δικαίας. κ. λ. quæ tanquam a Josepho probata in Antiquitatum libris, assert Origines, — et ex eo, ut puto, Eusebius, aliique, verisimile

est, ea referri debere μεμνημένοις ἀμαρτημάτων Origenis — Certe nullibi, quod sciam, haberi potuerunt in Antiquitatibus, ut quæ non agant de Hierosolymorum excidio. Hudſon. annot. ad Jos. Antiq. l. 20, c. ix. § 1, p. 976, ed. Hav. Vid. et Cleric. Ars Crit. P. 3, c. xiv. § 8, 9, 10.

^c — et qui istos aut probat aut revincit Judæus Josephus, antiquitatum Judaicarum vernaculus vindex. Tert. Ap. c. 19, p. 19.

^d H. E. l. 1, c. xi. Dem. Ev. l. 3, p. 124.

^e De V. I. c. 13.

^f Soz. l. 1, c. 1, p. 399.

But

But it is observable that this paragraph is never quoted by Chrysostom, whom I suspect to have had but little regard for Eusebius of Cæsarea. He several times refers to Josephus as a proper writer, from whom men might learn what miseries the Jewish people had undergone in their war with the Romans; 'he not being a believer, but a Jew, and zealous for the Jewish rites even after the rise of Christianity.' He refers likewise^h to what Josephus says of John the Baptist, though inaccurately, as must be acknowledged: but he never takes any notice of this testimony to Jesus; which surely he would not have omitted, in his many arguments with the Jews, if he had been acquainted with it, and had supposed it to be genuine.

Some have supposed that this testimony of Josephus was alleged by Macarius in the time of Dioclesian. But Fabriciusⁱ has honestly and judiciously observed that there is no reason to take that passage of Macarius for genuine.

2. This paragraph was wanting in the copies of Josephus which were seen by Photius in the ninth century.

I make a distinct article of this writer, because he read and revised the works of Josephus as a critic. He has in his Bibliothec^k no less than three articles concerning Josephus, but takes no notice of this passage. Whence it may be concluded that it was wanting in his copies, or that he did not think it genuine: but the former is the more likely. He refers to the passage concerning John the Baptist in this manner: 'This^l Herod, tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa, son of Herod the great, is he who put to death the great John the forerunner, because, as Josephus says, he was afraid he would stir up the people to rebellion. For all men paid great regard to John upon account of his transcendent virtue. In his time also our Saviour suffered.' How fair an occasion had Photius here to refer also to the testimony given to Jesus, which we now have, if he had

^g — και γαρ Ιουδαίος ην, και σφοδρα Ιουδαίος, και ζηλωτής, και των μετὰ την Χριστ^u παρησιαν. In Matt. hom. 76. al. 77. T. 7. p. 732. Vid. et in Matt. hom. 75. al. 76. p. 727. et in Jo. hom. 64. al. 65. T. 8, p. 390. ^h In Jo. hom. 12, al. 13, T. 8, p. 73. A. ⁱ Hoc Josephi loco non utuntur Justinus, Tertullianus, Chrysostomus, alique complures, quando contra Judæos disputant. Non produxit Origenes, alia Josephi laudans in libris contra Celsum. Nec Photius quidem tanto junior meminit, in cujus Bibl. Antiquitates Josephi bis recensentur. cod. 76, et 238. Ante

Eusebium tamen — allegaverit illum Macarius quidam cubiculi imperatorii præfectus, siquidem genuinus sit hujus ad Diocletianum sermo, qui refertur in Actis Sanctorum Macarii a Cl. viro W. E. Tenselio, primum in Dialogis mensuris Germanice editis, A. 1697. p. 556. Sed merito existimandum, hæc Acta martyriis Macariani, si non longe post Diocletianum plane conficta, saltem interpolata, atque locum Josephi insertum a recentiore manu esse. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 3, p. 237.

^k Cod. 48, 76, et 238. ^l Cod. 238. p. 973.

seen it? Upon this article of Photius the very learned Ittigius in his Prolegomena to Josephus^m has just remarks, invincibly asserting the absolute silence of this great critic concerning this paragraph of Josephus.

And very observable is what Photius says in his article of Justus of Tiberias. 'Thisⁿ writer, labouring under the common 'prejudice of the Jews, and being himself a Jew, makes not any 'the least mention of the coming of Christ, or the things concerning him, or the miracles done by him.' This is very remarkable. This silence of Justus concerning our Saviour was not peculiar to him, but was common to other Jewish writers with him, very probably intending Josephus. If Josephus had been an exception, he would not have been omitted, but would have been expressly mentioned.

3. This paragraph concerning Jesus interrupts the course of the narration; and therefore is not genuine, but is an interpolation.

In the preceding paragraph Josephus gives an account of an attempt of Pilate to bring water from a distant place to Jerusalem with the sacred money; which occasioned a disturbance, in which many Jews were killed, and many others were wounded.

The paragraph next following this, about which we are now speaking, begins thus: 'And^o about the same time another sad 'calamity gave the Jews great uneasiness.' That calamity was no less than banishing the Jews from Rome by order of the emperor Tiberius: 'occasioned,'^p as he says, 'by the misconduct 'of some Jews in that city.'

This paragraph therefore was not originally in Josephus. It does not come from him: but it is an interpolation inserted by somebody afterwards. This argument must be of great weight with all who are well acquainted with the writings of Josephus, who is a cool and sedate writer, very exact in connecting his narrations, and never failing to make transitions where they are proper or needful.

I believe it is not easy to instance in another writer who is so exact in all his pauses and transitions, or so punctual in the notice he gives, when he has done with one thing and goes on to another. That must make this argument the stronger.

Tillemont was very sensible of this difficulty, though he

^m Ap. Havercamp, p. 89.

ⁿ ος δε τα Ιουδαίων νόμων, Ιουδαίος τε και αιτος υπαρχων το γενης της Χριστη παροχιας, και των περι αυτον τελεσθεντων, και των υπ' αυτη τερατεργηθειτων, εδενος ολως μνημην

εποιησατο. Cod. 33, p. 20.

^o Και υπο της αυτης χρονος ετερον τι δεινον εθορειν της Ιουδαίως. L. 18. c. 3, § 4.

^p Και οι μιν δια κακιαν τεσσαρων ανδρων ελαυνοντο της πολεις. § 5. fin.

thinks

thinks that the writers who maintain the genuineness of this passage have made good their point. 'It must be owned, however,' says he, 'that there is one thing embarrassing in this passage, which is, that it interrupts the course of the narration in Josephus. For that which immediately follows begins in these terms: "About the same time there happened another misfortune which disturbed the Jews." For those words, "another misfortune," have no connection with what was just said of Jesus Christ: which is not mentioned as an unhappiness. And, on the contrary, it has a very natural reference to what precedes in that place: which is a sedition, in which many Jews were killed or wounded. Certainly it is not so easy to answer to this difficulty as to the others. I wish that Mr. Huet and Mr. Roie had stated this objection, and given satisfaction upon it. As for myself, I know not what to say to it; but that Josephus himself might insert this passage after his work was finished: and he did not then think of a more proper place for it than this, where he passed from what happened in Judea under Pilate to somewhat that was done at the same time at Rome; and he forgot to alter the transition, which he had made at first.'

Undoubtedly the difficulty presses very hard, which will allow of no better solution.

4. Let us now observe the paragraph itself, and consider whether it be suitable or unsuitable to the general character of Josephus.

'At the same time lived Jesus, a wise man, if he may be called a man; for he performed many wonderful works.'

But why should Josephus scruple to call Jesus 'a man?' Were not Moses, Elijah, Elisha, and other prophets, men? The wonderful works done by them were not done by their own power, but by the power of God, bearing testimony to their commission, or supporting them in the execution of it. Moreover, Moses himself, who is so highly extolled and magnified by Josephus, is often called by him a man. Why then should he scruple to

⁹ Ruine des Juifs. note xl. Hist. des Emp. Tom. i. ^r Sed quo judicio scriptum est quod sequitur: *εἰς ἀνδρα αὐτοῦ λεγέτω Χρῆς*. Quænam, quæso, ratio est? Quia, inquit, *παράδοξον ἔργων ποιητὴς ἦν*. Itaque adeo, quando ita vult, dubitabitur in posterum a nobis, dii an homines appellandi sint Moïses, Elias, Eliseus? Nam et illi fuerunt *παράδοξον ἔργων ποιηταί*. Deinde, cum ait *εἰς ἀνδρα αὐτοῦ λεγέτω Χρῆς*,

quid, quæso, aliud innuere vult, nisi Jesum Dominum esse Deum? In quo graviter errat hic pius impostor. Judæi enim ne suspicabantur quidem, Messiam seu Christum fore Deum, sed præstantissimum aliquem principem ex semine Davidis. Tan. Fab. ap. Havercamp. Joseph. p. 269.

^s Antiq. l. 3, c. xv. l. 4, c. viii. et alibi.

^t *Θαυμάσιος δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁ ἀνὴρ. κ. λ.* Ant. l. 3, c. xv. § 3.

say

say the same of Jesus? However, it should be owned that he has this expression concerning Moses: 'So ^u that his legislation, which was from God, made this man to be thought superior to his own nature.'

'He was a teacher of such men as received the truth with pleasure.'

Very honourable to Jesus and his followers! But would Josephus say this of them? And would he call the Christian religion 'the truth?'

'He drew over to him many Jews and Gentiles.'

That is not true of the Lord Jesus, if intended of his own personal preaching, before his crucifixion. It was done indeed afterwards. But this manner of speaking is more suitable to a writer of the second or third century than to Josephus.

'This was the Christ.'

Jerom in his article of Josephus, in his book of Illustrious Men, quoting this passage, puts it thus: 'And ^x he was believed to be the Christ.' Which is a qualifying expression for which there is no ground. Nor ^y did Sophronius, Jerom's Greek interpreter, follow that translation, but puts it as it is in Eusebius, and other Greek ^z writers: 'This was the Christ.' But it cannot be supposed that Josephus either thought or said that Jesus was the Christ.

It follows: 'And when Pilate, at the instigation of the chief men among us, had condemned him to the cross, they who before had conceived an affection for him did not cease to adhere to him: for on the third day he appeared to them alive again, the divine prophets having foretold these and many other wonderful things concerning him.'

All must be sensible that this could not be said by any man but a professed Christian, which Josephus was not; therefore he could not write this.

'And the sect of the Christians, so called from him, subsists to this day.'

Which Mr. Whiston translates in this manner: 'And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.' But Mr. W——, who thinks this passage to be Josephus's, should not have rendered φυλον tribe; because φυλη is the word always used by Josephus for tribe; and φυλον, which we have

^u Οὕτως η νομοθεσία το Θεο δοκῶσα τον ἀνδρα πεποιθμε της αὐτης φύσεως κρείττονα νομιζεσθαι. Ibid. ^x Et credebatur esse Christus. ^y Ο Χριστος εἶδος ην.

^z See particularly Sozomen, l. 1, cap. i. p. 399.

here, always signifies nation ^a in Josephus: nor were the Christians a nation or political society in the first three centuries.

Here it is put for sect: it cannot signify any thing else in this place. Jesus is called a 'wise man,' and is said to have been 'a teacher of such as received the truth with pleasure.' And though he had been crucified, 'they who had before conceived 'an affection for him did not cease to adhere to him, because 'he appeared to them alive again.'

Here the word denotes sect. But *αἵρεσις* heresy, is the word generally used by Josephus in speaking ^b of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, the three prevailing sects, or different ways of philosophizing among the Jews.

The phrase ^c *Χριστιανων φυλον*, here used, resembles the phrase *Χριστιανων εθνος*, which was in use in the time of Eusebius, at the beginning of the fourth century, and denotes 'the sect of the 'Christians.'

Moreover, the expression 'subsists to this time,' or 'is not 'extinct at this day,' imports a considerable space of time since the crucifixion of Jesus; and does very reasonably lead us to think that the composer of this paragraph lived later than Josephus.

These considerations, as seems to me, are sufficient to determine the point in question, and to satisfy all men that Josephus was not the author of this paragraph. However, I shall add one consideration more.

5. If Josephus were the author of this paragraph, it would be reasonable to expect in him frequent mention of Christ's miracles: whereas he is every where silent about them.

Josephus was a Pharisee: he believed the miracles of Moses and the Jewish prophets: he believed a divine providence superintending human affairs, the immortality of the soul, and the rewards of a future state. And he is willing enough to relate extraordinary things, or such things as had an appearance of being so.

Therefore ^{cc} he tells a story of Eleazar's dispossessing a dæmon by virtue of some incantations, and the use of a certain root called Baanas.

Therefore ^d he relates a dream of Archelaus, and then ano-

^a — οὗτοι καὶ Παρεῖσι, το πολὺ μὲν κατὰ τὸν
φυλόν. De B. J. l. 2, c. 16, § 4, p. 189.
Hav. Παν. ὅμων το φυλόν. Ib. p. 191, et
passim. ^b Vid. De B. J. l. 2, c. viii.
Ant. Jud. l. 13, c. v. § 9, c. x. § 5, l. 14,
c. i. Et passim. ^c — τῶν εἰναι τῶν
Χριστιανῶν αὐτὰς συμμεμιχτάς. Maximin.

ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 9, c. ix. p. 360, C.
— ad Christianorum sectam se appli-
cuisse cernerent. Valef.

^{cc} Vid. de B. J. l. 7, c. vi. Ant. l. 8, c. ii.
§ 5. ^d Antiq. l. 17, c. xiii. § 3, 4,
5. De B. Jud. l. 2, c. vii.

ther of Glaphyra, as very extraordinary, as ^c confirming the doctrine of the immortality of souls, and the belief of a divine providence concerning itself about human affairs. Those dreams are related by him both in the History of the Jewish War, and in his Antiquities: and yet that dream of Glaphyra is now considered ^f by divers learned men as a mere fiction.

I might refer to another silly story of the fulfilment of a prediction of Judas, an Essene: which ^g is related by him also in both those works, the War and the Antiquities.

Would any man please himself with such poor things as these, and relate them to the world as matters of importance, if he had any respect for the doctrine and miracles of Jesus Christ? No. He was either unacquainted with them, or resolutely silent about them; and never can be supposed author of the honourable testimony here borne to Jesus as the Christ.

Supposing these arguments to be of great weight, some may ask how this paragraph came to be in the works of Josephus? In that case I should answer, that probably some learned Christian, who had read the works of Josephus, thinking it strange that this Jewish historian should say nothing of Jesus Christ, wrote this paragraph in the margin of his copy, and thence it came to be afterwards inserted into many copies of the works of Josephus: but for a good while it was not in all: and therefore Photius did not see it in that copy which he made use of.

Who was the first author of this interpolation cannot be said. Tanaquil Faber ^h suspected Eusebius. I do not charge it upon him; but I think it was first made about his time; for, if I am not mistaken, we have seen sufficient reason to believe that this paragraph was not quoted by Origen, nor by any ancient Christian writer before Eusebius, that we have any knowledge of.

Though many learned men have maintained the genuineness of this paragraph, others have rejected it. And for avoiding the charge of singularity, and for giving satisfaction to some scrupulous persons, I shall, beside the authors ⁱ before referred to, transcribe at the bottom of the page ^k the observations of Vitringa.

And

^c τότε ἀμφὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀθανάσι-
ας ἐμφερῆς, καὶ τὴν θεῶν προμνηστὴν τὰ ἀνθρώπι-
να παρελθόντος τῇ αὐτῇ, καλῶς εἶχεν ἐνομιῶσα
εἰπεῖν.

Ant. l. 17, xiii. 5. ^f Vid. No-
ris. Cenotaph. Pis. Diss. 2. cap. xii. p.
238. et le Clerc. Bib. Ch. T. iv. p. 60.

^g De B. J. l. 1. cap. iii. sect. 4, 5. Ant.

l. 13, cap. xi. sect. 2. ^h Itaque constat
necesse est, id intra illud tempus admissum
fuisse, quod ab Origene ad Eusebium flux-

it. Mihi autem imprimis credibile fit,
auctorem hujus τεχνασματος esse Eusebi-
um. Faber ap. Havercamp. p. 272.

ⁱ See p. 120. note ^s. ^k Sed vehe-
menter dubito, post doctissimas etiam
Huetii curas, an non hic foetus Josepho
sit suppositus, et ab aliena manu in textum
intrusus. Utique pro certo et indubio
habeo, totum locum, ut nunc apud Jose-
phum habetur, e calamo Josephi non ef-
fluxisse:

And I add the judgment of Dr. Warburton, now bishop of Gloucester, who has expressed himself upon the subject in very clear and strong terms. 'If a Jew,' says¹ his Lordship, 'owned the truth of Christianity, he must needs embrace it. We, therefore, certainly conclude that the passage, where Josephus, who was as much a Jew as the religion of Moses could make him, is made to acknowledge that Jesus is the Christ, in as strong terms as words could do it, is a rank forgery, and a very stupid one too.'

III. There is yet one passage more in the works of Josephus which ought to be here taken notice of: it is in the twentieth book of his Antiquities, and to this purpose.

'The^m emperor having been informed of the death of Festus, sent Albinus to be præfect in Judea. And the king [meaning Agrippa the younger] took away the high-priesthood from Joseph, and bestowed that dignity upon the son of Ananus, who also was named Ananus..... This younger Ananus, who, as we said just now, was made high-priest, wasⁿ haughty in his behaviour, and very enterprising: and moreover he was of the sect of the Sadducees, who, as we have also observed before, are above all other Jews severe in their judicial sentences. This then being the temper of Ananus, and he thinking he had a fit opportunity because Festus was dead, and Albinus was yet upon the road, calls^o a council of judges: and, bringing before them James the brother of him who is called Christ, and some others, he accused them as transgressors of the laws, and had them stoned to death. But the most moderate men of the city, who also were reckoned most skilful in the laws, were offended at this proceeding. They therefore sent privately to the king, [Agrippa before mentioned,] entreating him to send orders to Ananus no more to attempt such things: and some went away to meet Albinus, who was coming from Alexandria, and put him in mind that

fluxisse: sed si omnino Josephus Christi Jesu hoc in contextu meminerit, locum a manu Christiana esse interpolatum mutatumque. Quod jam si dicamus, ne sic quidem omnis sublata erit difficultas: sed restat longe maxima de coheretia horum verborum Josephi, quibus Christo testimonium perhibet cum sequentibus: 'Circa eadem tempora aliud etiam Judæos turbavit incommodum, &c.' Quæ tamen verba, si testimonium de Christo e contextu Josephi sustuleris, egregie cum præcedentibus conspirabunt. Ad quam difficultatem removendam nuper nihil aliud a doc-

tissimo Tillemontio produci potuit, quam verba Josephi, quæ de Christo agunt, contextui παραδικως inserta esse. In quo tamen dubito, an docti acquiescunt. Vitring. Observ. Sacr. l. 4. cap. 7. sect. xi. p. 971.

¹ See Divine Legation of Moses, B. 2. Sect. 6, p. 295, vol. i.

^m L. 20, cap. viii. sect. 1.

ⁿ θραυς ην τον τροπον, και τολμητης διαφροντως.

^o καθιζει συνεδριον κριτων και παραγαγει εις αυτο τον αδελφον Ιησουν τε λεγομενον Χριστον, Ιακωβος αρχμα αυτου, και τινας ετερους, ως παρενομησαντων κατηγοριαν ποιησαμενος, παρεδωκε λευσθησομενης.

'Ananus had no right to call a council without his leave. Albi-
'nus approving of what they said, wrote to Ananus in much an-
'ger, threatening to punish him for what he had done: and king
'Agrippa took away from him the high-priesthood, after he
'had enjoyed it three months, and put in Jesus the son of Dam-
'næus.'

This passage is cited from Josephus by ^p Eusebius, and from
the twentieth book of his Antiquities. It is also quoted by ^q Je-
rom, but very inaccurately. We perceive likewise that ^r it was
in the copies of Josephus in the time of Photius.

Nevertheless there are learned men, of good judgment, ^s who
think that the words which we now have in Josephus, concerning
James, are an interpolation.

They were in Josephus in the time of Eusebius, and after-
wards; but it does not follow they were always there: in-
deed, there is a good deal of reason to believe that they were not
originally in Josephus.

I have elsewhere ^t carefully examined the most ancient ac-
counts of the death of James, called the just, and the brother of
Jesus: those disquisitions will be of use here. The persons of
whom Josephus speaks, who were tried and condemned by the
Jewish council at the instigation of Ananus, were put to death
by stoning, and probably without the city. But, according to
the history of the death of James, given by Hegesippus, a learned
Jewish believer and writer in the second century, the death of
James was effected in a tumultuous manner: the disturbance
began at the temple, and he died there, or near it. Some flung
him down and threw stones at him: but his death was completed
by a blow on the head with a long pole, such as fullers make use
of in beating wet clothes. This is said by Clement of Alexan-

^p H. E. l. 2. cap. 23, p. 65, 66.

^q De V. I. cap. ii. De Jacobo fratre
Domini.

... αυθιςτας καθιζει συνε-
δριον, και Ιακωβον τον αδελφον τε κυριου, συν-
στεροις, παρνομιαν αυτιασμενος, λιθοις α-
ναιρεθηναι παρασκευαζει. κ. λ. Phot. Cod.
238, p. 977. ^s Facile quidem credide-
rim, Jerosolymitanos proceres graviter tu-
lisse, quod synedrium suâ auctoritate insti-
tuisset, cum dudum jus gladii a Romanis
esset Judæis ademptum: quod iterum in-
consulto Cæsare ab Anano usurpatum ti-
mebant, ne genti suæ gravi fortasse pœnâ
luendum esset. Sed quæ de Jacobo, Je-
su, qui Christus dicebatur, fratre, habentur,
merum adfumentum, male feriat
Christiani, esse videntur. Cleric. H. E.

ann. 62, n. ii. p. 415.

Sunt quoque rationes sat graves, quæ
persuadeant hæc fuisse interpolata, et
scripsisse duntaxat Josephum: και παραγα-
γων εις αυτο τινας, και ως παρανομησαντι
κατηγοριαν ποιησαμενος. κ. λ. Statutosque co-
rameo nonnullos, et accusatos perfractæ le-
gis, tradidit lapidibus obruendos. Id. Ars
Crit. P. 3, cap. 14, sect. 12. Vol. 2, p. 289.

Illa de Jacobo, Jesu, qui Christus dice-
batur, fratre, (licet agnita ab Eusebio,
aliisque eum sequutis, disertimque a Pho-
tio,) pro mero adfumento male feriat
Christiani habentur a nonnullis: quam
recte, κριτικωτερον esto judicium. Hudson.
annot. ad Antiq. l. 20, c. ix. sect. 1.

^t See Vol. vi, Ch. xvi. Sect. iii. v. vi.

dria in his Institutions, as cited by ^u Eusebius, and by ^x Hegesippus, as cited also by him. That therefore is the true and ancient account of the death of James, the Lord's brother: and the Christians of the second century knew nothing of that account of his death which we now have in Josephus: therefore, probably there was then nothing in him about it; for if there had, they would not have been ignorant of it.

Moreover, it is very observable that, according to the long and particular history of the death and martyrdom of James, which we have in Hegesippus, that apostle suffered alone: there was no attempt made upon any others, as the passage now in Josephus intimates. And it is inconsistent with the whole narrative that any others should be joined with him.

And that James suffered martyrdom, not by order of council, as now in Josephus, but in a tumultuous manner at the temple, or near it, and by a blow on the head with a fuller's pole, appears to have been the general and prevailing opinion of Christians in the fourth century, as well as before: for it is mentioned by ^y Jerom, and ^z Epiphanius, very agreeably to Hegesippus.

In this place therefore Josephus gave an account of some who were accused by Ananus, and condemned by his council as transgressors of the Jewish laws: and what Ananus did was upon several accounts disliked by many discreet and moderate men: but there is not sufficient reason to believe that James was particularly mentioned by him as one of them.

It is certain we ought to be very cautious in admitting quotations from Josephus by later Christian writers; for they had a great regard for him, and were fond of having his testimony, whether there was ground for it or not. Theophylact, upon John xiii. 33, and referring also to John vii. 34, says, 'The ^a Jews sought him when their city was taken, and the wrath of God fell upon them on all sides: as also Josephus testifies, that those things happened to them upon account of the death of Jesus.'

^u Δυο δὲ γεγονασιν ιακώβου· εἰς ὁ δίκαιος, ὁ κατὰ τὰ πτερύγῃς βληθείς, καὶ ὑποκναφείας ἔλῳ πλῆγῃς εἰς θάνατον. Clem. A. ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 2. c. i. p. 38. D. Conf. ib. cap. 23. p. 63. C. et 65. C. And see in this work, vol. 6. ch. xvi. num. iii.

^x Καὶ λαβὼν τις ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τῶν γραφῶν τὸ ξύλον ἐν ᾧ ἀπεικάζετο τὰ ἱματῖα, πῆγχε κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὴν δίκαιον. Καὶ ἵστατο μαρτυρήσας. Hegesipp. ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 2, cap. 23, p. 65. B.

^y Qui cum præcipitatus de pinna templi, confractis cruribus, adhuc semivivus....

fullonis fuste quo uda vestimenta extorqueri solent, in cerebro percussus interiit ... et juxta templum, ubi et præcipitatus fuerat, sepultus est. Hier. de V. I. cap. 2.

Qui et ipse postea de Templo a Judæis præcipitatus successorem habuit Simonem, quem et ipsum tradunt pro Domino crucifixum. Id. Comm. in ep. ad Gal. cap. i. T. 4, p. 237. ^z Hær. 78. num. xiv. p. 1046.

^a ὡς καὶ Ἰωσήπος μαρτυρεῖ, διὰ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ ἰσχυτάτου αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι. In Ev. p. 762. A.

So says Theophylact. But from Origen, as before seen, we have good reason to believe that there was no such account in the works of Josephus, and that he never said any such thing.

In Suidas is a long article at the word *JESUS*, where it is said that 'Josephus,^b who is often quoted by Eusebius Pamphili in 'his Ecclesiastical History, expressly says, in his History of the 'Jewish War, that Jesus sacrificed with the priests at the temple.'

There is no such thing there now; and probably never was in any good copies of the works of Josephus: but as he was an author in great repute with Christians, and he was often appealed to, and too often quoted inaccurately, (of which Jerom, in his^c article of St. James, is a remarkable instance,) his works were as likely to suffer some interpolations as any writer's whatever.

Blondel supposed, that to this desire of making an advantage from Josephus we owe the insertion of the remarkable testimony to Jesus which we have above so largely considered. What Blondel says appears to me so judicious, and so apposite to the purpose, that I shall transcribe him below in his^d own words: and let his judgment be added to those of Vitranga, and the bishop of Gloucester above quoted.

IV. Supposing Josephus not to have said any thing of Jesus Christ, some may ask: What could be the reason of it; and how can it be accounted for?

To which I might answer, that such a question is rather more curious than judicious and important; and it may be difficult to propose a solution that shall be generally approved of. However, I shall hazard a few observations upon the point.

It is easy to believe that all Jews who were contemporary with Christ or his apostles, and did not receive Jesus as the Christ, must have been filled with much enmity against him and his followers. We are assured by early Christian writers of good credit, such as^e Justin Martyr, ^f Tertullian, and others, that the

^b Ευρομεν εν Ιωσηφον, τον συγγραφεα της εκκλησιας Ιεροσολιμων, (η μητην πολλων Ευσεβιου ο Παμφιλου εν τη εκκλησιαστικη αυτη ιστορια ποιειται) φανερω λεγοιτα εν τοις της Αιχμαλωσιας αυτου υπομνημασιν, οτι Ιησους εν τω καιρω μετα των ιερων ηγαζε. Suid. V. Ιησους.

^c De V. I. cap. ii. To Jerom might have been added Eusebius, and divers other Christian writers. Concerning Eusebius's inaccurate quotations of Josephus somewhat was said formerly. Vol. IV. p. 211, 212. And they have been observed and censured by Scaliger, and other learned moderns.

^d A mesme dessein, de tirer avantage de Josephus, quelque main hardie a inseré dans ses Antiquitez. lib. 18. c. 4. des pa-

roles qui luy sont d'autant moins convenables, qu'elles contiennent un témoignage honorable, tant de la personne de nostre Seigneur, que de la sainteté et vérité du Christianisme, de la profession duquel cet Auteur a toujours esté tres éloigné: et d'ailleurs qu'elles sont notoirement une piece d'attache sans liaison avec le reste de son discours, tant precedant que suivant, et placée à l'endroit qu'elle occupe par affection de parti plustost que par raison. Blondel Des Sibylles. p. 28.

^e Dial. cum Tryph. p. 234. D. Par. sect. 18. p. 102, Bened. ^f Ad Nat. l. i. cap. 13, p. 59, D. et adv. Marcion. l. 3, cap. 23, p. 498.

ruling part of the Jewish nation industriously spread abroad false and injurious reports among the nations concerning the followers of Jesus. But the polite and learned writers, such as Justus of Tiberias, and Josephus, might think it expedient to be silent. They had nothing to say against Jesus, or the Christians, with any appearance of truth and credibility; they therefore thought it better to be silent, and thereby, if possible, bury them in utter oblivion.

It is not easy to account for the silence of Josephus any other way. Many things are omitted by him of which he could not be ignorant: he must have known of the massacre of the infants at Bethlehem soon after the birth of Jesus. The arrival of the wise men from the East, who were conducted by a star, gave concern not only to Herod, but to all Jerusalem; Matt. ii. 8. Josephus was a priest: he could not but have heard of the vision of Zacharias the father of John the Baptist at the temple, Luke i. and it was a thing very proper to have had a place in his History. The prophecies of Simeon and Anna at the temple, and other things that happened there about that time, as we may think, must have been well known to him: then the preaching and miracles of our Saviour and his apostles at Jerusalem, and in Galilee, and all over Judea; the crucifixion of Jesus at Jerusalem at the time of a passover; the darkness for three hours at Jerusalem, and all over Judea; the death of James the brother of John, at Jerusalem, by Herod Agrippa: all these things must have been well known to him.

Moreover, before Josephus had finished his work of the Jewish Antiquities, or even the History of the Jewish War, Christianity had spread very much in Asia, and in other parts, and at Rome itself, where also many had suffered, and that several years before the final ruin of Jerusalem and the Jewish nation. The progress of the Christian religion was a very considerable event; and it had its rise in Judea.

* Le Cardinal Noris se fâche avec raison contre Joseph, de ce qu'il expédie en dix lignes les neuf années du règne d'Archelaus.... pour raconter au long les deux songes, dont on a parlé ci-dessus. Mais on a encore plus de sujet de se plaindre de la négligence, ou plutôt du silence affecté de cet Historien, touchant le dénombrement, dont S. Luc parle, et touchant le meurtre des enfans de Bethléhem, du tems de la naissance de notre Seigneur: pour ne pas parler de sa vie, et de sa mort, dont

il ne dit rien non plus: car on ne peut guère douter, que le passage, ou il en est parlé, ne soit fourré, par un Chrétien malhabile, dans Joseph. S'il eût dit seulement un mot du dénombrement, et du massacre de Bethléhem, on n'auroit point la peine de chercher le tems de la naissance de Notre Seigneur. Mais ce Juif malicieux a voulu, autant qu'il étoit en lui, ensevelir cette histoire dans un éternel oubli, en haine des Chrétiens. Le Clerc. Bib. Ch. T. 4, Art. i. p. 74, 75.

The sect of the Christians, which had it's rise in Judea, and consisted partly of Jews, partly of men of other nations, was as numerous, or more numerous, in the time of Josephus, than any of the three Jewish sects, the Sadducees, Pharisees, and Essenes, whose principles are particularly described by him in the * War, and in ** the Antiquities; and therefore, as we may think, were deserving of notice: but they were not Jewish enough; they were not entirely Jewish; and they were followers of a leader whom our author did not, and could not, esteem, consistently with his prevailing views and sentiments.

Josephus was well acquainted with affairs at Rome, and in all the settlements of the Jewish people in Asia, and parts adjacent. He is as exact in the account of the several successions in the Roman empire as any Roman historian whatever. What^h a long and particular account has he given of the conspiracy against Caligula, and his death, and the succession of Claudius?

I do not say that Josephus had read the books of the New Testament: he might have come to the knowledge of most of the things just mentioned another way: they are great and remarkable events, about which a contemporary, and a man of good intelligence, engaged in public life, could not be ignorant: his silence therefore about Christian affairs is wilful and affected. It cannot be owing to ignorance, and must therefore be ascribed to some other cause, whatever it may be.

His profound silence, however, concerning the affairs of the Christians in his time, is no objection to their truth and reality. The history of the New Testament has in it all the marks of credibility that any history can have. Heathen historiansⁱ of the best credit have borne witness to the time of the rise of the Christian religion, the country in which it had it's origin, and who was the author of it, and it's swift and early progress in the world.

Of all those things which are recorded in the gospels, and of the progress of Christianity afterwards, we have uncontested evidence from the evangelical writers themselves, and from ancient Christian authors still extant, and from heathen writers concurring with them in many particulars.

And Josephus, the Jewish historian, who believed not in Jesus, has recorded the history of the Jewish people in Judea, and else-

* De B. J. l. 2, cap. viii.

l. 13, cap. v. et l. 18, cap. i.

l. 19, cap. i. ii. iii.

ⁱ quos vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor hujus nominis Christus, qui Tiberio imperante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum sup-

** Antiq.

^h Antiq.

plicio affectus erat. Repressaque in præfens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpibat, non modo per Judæam originem ejus mali, sed per Urbem etiam, &c. Tacit. Ann. l. 15, cap. 44.

where:

where: and particularly the state of things in Judea, with the names of the Jewish princes, and Roman governors, during the ministry of our Saviour and his apostles. Whereby, as ^k formerly shewn at large, he has wonderfully confirmed, though without intending it, the veracity and the ability of the evangelical writers, and the truth of their history. He has also, as we have now seen in this volume, borne testimony to the fulfilment of our Lord's predictions concerning the coming troubles and afflictions of that people; which is more credible, and more valuable, than if given by a believer in Jesus, and a friend and favourer of him: so that, though all the passages in his works which have been doubted of should be rejected, he would be still a very useful writer, and his ^l works very valuable.

Josephus knew how to be silent when he thought fit, and has omitted some things very true and certain, and well known in the world. In the preface to his Jewish Antiquities, he ^m engages to write of things as he found them mentioned in the sacred books, without adding any thing to them, or omitting any thing in them: and ⁿ yet he has said nothing of the golden calf, made by the Jewish people in the wilderness; thus dropping an important narrative, with a variety of incidents recorded in one of the books of Moses himself the Jewish lawgiver, the most sacred of all their scriptures.

The sin of the molten calf is also mentioned in other books of the Old Testament in the confessions of pious Israelites: as Neh. ix. 18, and Ps. cvi. 19. Nevertheless Josephus chose to observe total silence about it.

A learned critic observed some while ago, as somewhat very remarkable, that ^o Josephus has never once mentioned the word

K 4

Sion,

^k See vol. 1. ^l Evangelicam quoque et apostolicam historiam Josephus confirmat in multis, etiamsi vel maxime ponamus dubitandum esse de γνησιότητι locorum de Christo Servatore lib. xviii. Antiq. cap. 4. de Joanne Baptista lib. xviii. cap. 7. de Jacobo. l. 20. c. 8. et quæ de dirutis propter Jacobi necem injustam Hierosolymis... ex iisdem Josephi libris laudant Origenes, 1. contr. Cels. et l. 2, et in Matthæi cap. xiii. Eusebius. l. 2. c. 23. H. E. Hieronymus Catalogo Script. Ec. cap. 2, et 13. Suidas Ιωσηπος, et Ιησους, hodie vero in Josephi libris non reperiuntur. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. vi. T. 3, p. 237, 238. ^m Τὸτο γὰρ διὰ ταύτης παύσειν τῆς πραγμάτων, ἐπηγγειλάμην, εἶδεν προσθεῖς ἢ δ' αὖ παραλείπων. Antiq. Pr.

sect. 3, p. 3. ⁿ Eruditionem, diligentiam, prudentiam, fidem, omnes callaudant, præterquam ubi nimio est in suam gentem affectu. v. gr. in rebus Mosis et Salomonis... silentium nonnunquam affectatum, ut in iis quæ probro cederent suæ genti. Qualis ex. gr. fuit vituli Aurei fabrica, et adoratio, tacita Josepho: ita et in iis quæ faverent Christianæ rei, eruditi passim notarunt, et nos subinde in locis suis. F. Spanhem. H. E. T. i. p. 258. Conf. J. Otton. Animadversiones in Joseph. sect. ii. p. 305. Havercamp.

And by all means see Tillemont's Remarks upon this Author's Antiquities. Ruine des Juifs. art. 81.

^o Sion, Tzion nomen, montem, munimentum semel iterumque apud Josephum quarens,

Sion, or Zion, neither in his Antiquities nor in his Jewish War, though there were so many occasions for it, and though it is so often mentioned in the Old as well as the New Testament: and he suspects that omission to be owing to design and ill-will to the Christian cause.

And, if I was not afraid of offending by too great prolixity, I should now remind my readers of a ^p long argument of old date, relating to the assessment made in Judea by order of Augustus, at the time of our Saviour's nativity, near the end of Herod's reign, recorded by St. Luke, ch. ii. I ⁹ then quoted a passage from the Antiquities of Josephus, whence it appears that there were then great disturbances in Herod's family: and there were some Pharisees who foretold, or gave out, that 'God had decreed to put an end to the government of Herod and his race, and transfer the kingdom to another.' Josephus here takes great liberties: and though he was himself a Pharisee, and at other times speaks honourably of that sect, he now ridicules them. He says 'they were men who valued themselves highly for their exact knowledge of the laws; and talking much of their interest with God, were greatly in favour with the women; who had it in their power to control kings; extremely subtle, and ready to attempt any thing against those whom they did not like.' But it appears that the king, who was then talked of, and who was to be appointed according to the predictions of the Pharisees, was a person of an extraordinary character: for he says that Bagoas, an eunuch in Herod's palace, 'was elevated by them with the prospect of being a father and benefactor to his country, by receiving from him a capacity of marriage, and having children of his own* * *.'

All these particulars, though not expressed with such gravity as is becoming an historian, and is usual in Josephus, cannot but lead us to think that he was not unacquainted with the things related in the second chapter of St. Matthew's gospel. Says the evangelist: *Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod the king, behold there came wise men from the East to Jerusalem, saying: Where is he that is born king of the Jews? For we*

quaerens, nullibi inveni, neque iis etiam in locis, ubi expugnationem arcis Tzion expresse tractat: quum tamen centies et millies ipse occasio data fuerit, ita ut plane sentiam ipsum studio et data opera hoc tam gloriosum pro Novo Testamento nomen pressisse silentio. &c. J. R. Ottii Antiquadversiones in Joseph. ap. Havercamp. T. 2. p. 303.

^p See vol. i. p. 276—

291. ⁹ The quotation is as above, p. 278, 279. taken from the Antiquities. l. 17, cap. 2, sect. 4. p. 831. Havercamp. p. 279.

* * * Whiston translates: And for Bagoas, he had been puffed up by them. For that this king would have all things in his power, and would enable Bagoas to marry, and to have children of his own body begotten,

have

have seen his star in the East, and are come to worship him. When Herod the king had heard these things he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. The word rendered troubled is of a middle meaning. How Herod was moved may be easily guessed, and is well known. The inhabitants of Jerusalem were differently moved and agitated, partly with joyful hopes of seeing their Messiah king of the Jews; partly filled with apprehensions from Herod's jealousy, and the consequences of it.

It seems to me that Josephus had then before him good evidences that the Messiah was at that time born into the world: but he puts all off with a jest. Perhaps there is not any other place in his works where he is so ludicrous. We are not therefore to expect that ever after he should take any notice of the Lord Jesus, or things concerning him, if he can avoid it.

And why should we be much concerned about any defects in this writer's regard for Jesus Christ and his followers; who out of complaisance, or from self-interested views, or from a mistaken judgment, or some other cause, so deviated from the truth as to ascribe the fulfilment of the Jewish ancient prophecies concerning the Messiah to Vespasian, an idolatrous prince; who was not a Jew by descent nor by religion; who was neither of the church, nor of the seed of Israel?

Josephus was a man of great eminence and distinction among his people; but we do not observe in him a seriousness of spirit becoming a Christian, nor that sublimity of virtue which is suited to the principles of the Christian religion; nor do we discern in him such qualities as should induce us to think he was one of those who were well disposed, and were not far from the kingdom of God; Mark xii. 34. He was a priest by descent, and early in the magistracy; then a general, and a courtier; and in all shewing a worldly mind, suited to such stations and employments; insomuch that he appears to be one of those, of whom, and to whom, the best judge of men and things said: *How can ye believe who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only!* John v. 44.

C H A P. V.

The Mishnical and Talmudical writers.

- I. *The age and the authors of the Mishna and the Talmuds.* II. *Extracts from the Mishna, with remarks.* III. *Extracts from the Talmuds.* 1. *Of our Saviour's nativity.* 2. *His journey into Egypt.* 3. *His disciples.* 4. *James in particular.* 5. *His last sufferings.* 6. *The power of miracles in Jesus and his disciples.* 7. *A testimony to the destruction of the temple by Vespasian and Titus, with remarks.*

I. THE word Talmud is used in different senses; sometimes it denotes the Mishna, which is the text; at other times it is used for the commentaries upon the Mishna; at other times it includes both: I shall generally use it as distinct from the Mishna, denoting the commentaries upon it, of which there are two, the Jerusalem and the Babylonian: of all which good accounts may be seen in Wagenfeil's preface to his *Tela Ignea Satanæ*, and in Dr. Wotton's *Discourses upon the Traditions of the Scribes and Pharisees*, and in many other writings. The most authentic account is that of M. Maimonides, in his preface to the *Order of Seeds*, which is the first of the six orders into which the whole work is divided; and may be seen in Pocock's *Porta Mosis*, as it is also prefixed to the first volume of Surenhusius's edition of the Mishna.

The compiler of the Mishna is Rabbi Jehudah Hakkadosch, or the Holy, upon whom the highest commendations are bestowed by Maimonides, ^a as eminent for humility, temperance, and every branch of piety, as also for learning, and eloquence, and likewise for his riches; which are magnified by him, and other Jewish writers, beyond all reasonable bounds of probability.

But it may not be amiss for me to give my readers some farther insight into this work, by reciting an article of Dr. Prideaux in his *Connexion of the History of the Old and New Testament*. He observes how the number of Jewish traditions had increased: 'And ^b thus,' says he, 'it went on to the middle of the second century after Christ, when Antoninus Pius governed the Roman empire, by which time they found it necessary to put all these traditions into writing: for they were then grown to so great a number, and enlarged to so huge a heap, as to exceed the pos-

^a Ap. Poc. *Port. Mosis*. p. 35, 36.

^b The year before Christ 446. p. 326, &c. Vol. i.

'sibility

‘sibility of being any longer preserved by the memory of men.
 ‘And therefore there being danger, that under these disadvantages they might be all forgotten and lost, for the preventing
 ‘hereof it was resolved that they should be all collected and
 ‘put into a book; and Rabbi Judah, the son of Simeon, who,
 ‘from the reputed sanctity of his life, was called Hakkadosh,
 ‘that is, the Holy, and was then rector of the school which they
 ‘had at Tiberias in Galilee, undertook the work, and com-
 ‘piled it in six books, each consisting of several tracts, which all
 ‘together make up the number of sixty-three... This is the
 ‘book called the Mishna; which book was forthwith received
 ‘by the Jews with great veneration throughout all their disper-
 ‘sions, and hath ever since been held in high esteem among
 ‘them... And therefore, as soon as it was published, it became
 ‘the object of the studies of all their learned men; and the chieft
 ‘of them employed themselves to make comments upon it: and
 ‘these with the Mishna make up both their Talmuds, that is, the
 ‘Jerusalem Talmud, and the Babylonish Talmud. These com-
 ‘ments they call the Gemara, that is, the Complement; because
 ‘by them the Mishna is fully explained, and the whole tradi-
 ‘tionary doctrine of their law and their religion completed: for
 ‘the Mishna is the text, and the Gemara the comment, and both
 ‘together is what they call the Talmud. That made by the
 ‘Jews of Judea is called the Jerusalem Talmud, and that
 ‘made by the Jews of Babylonia, the Babylonish Talmud.
 ‘The former was completed about the year of our Lord
 ‘300, and is published in one large folio; the latter was
 ‘published about two hundred years after, in the beginning of
 ‘the sixth century, and hath had several editions since the
 ‘invention of printing: the last, published at Amsterdam, is in
 ‘twelve folios. And in these two Talmuds is contained the
 ‘whole of the Jewish religion that is now professed among
 ‘them: but the Babylonish Talmud is that which they chiefly
 ‘follow.’

The same learned author again afterwards computes that the Mishna was composed about the one hundred and fiftieth year of our Lord, the Jerusalem Talmud about the three hundredth year, and the other Talmud about the five hundredth year of our Lord.

‘Dr. Wotton, as above, p. 22, 23, says: ‘The Jerusalem Talmud wants the ‘impertinences, and, consequently, the ‘authority of the Babylonish Gemara,....

‘It has little of that hyperbolical and fabulous stuff, for which the other is so highly valued by the modern Talmudists.’

And

And Wagenfeil observes that^d Rabbi Jehuda was contemporary with Antoninus the pious. Mr. Lampe,^e speaking of several of the Jewish rabbins celebrated about this time, says that R. Jehuda, author of the Mishna, died about the year of Christ 194, or according to others in the year 230.

Dr. Lightfoot, [Fall of Jerusalem, § vii. Vol. i. p. 369,] says that 'R. Judah outlived both the Antonines, and Commodus also.' And afterwards, in the same page: 'He compiled the Mishnah about the year of Christ 190, in the latter end of the reign of Commodus; or, as some compute, in the year of Christ 220, an hundred and fifty years after the destruction of Jerusalem.'

I do not take upon me to contest at all what Prideaux says of the times of the two Talmuds: but I must say a few things about the time of the Mishna. I allow that Rabbi Jehudah, the composer of it, was contemporary with Antoninus the pious; though the stories told by the Jewish writers, of the favours shewn him by that emperor, must be reckoned partly fabulous. But, allowing him to be contemporary with Antoninus, who died in the year 161, it does not follow that the Mishna was composed so soon as the year of Christ 150. R. Jehudah is supposed to have had a long life; and the compiling the Mishna, which must have been the work of many years, and much leisure and deliberate thought and consideration, may not have been finished before the year 190 or^f later. If therefore I place this work at the year 180, I think I place it soon enough. Besides, it is said that R. Jehudah had several sicknesses, some of long continuance, which are particularly mentioned both in the Jerusalem and the Babylonian Talmud, though with some variations. These must have been obstructions to him in his studies, and must have prolonged the labours of his work. The nature of the work also required time. It is not a speculation which might be spun out of a man's head at once. But it is a collection^g of traditions from all quarters, and from the contributions of other

^d Rabbi Jehudam, qui Sancti cognomen inter suos meruit, et Antonini Pii Imperatoris æqualis fuit, metus invaserat, ne ob tantas gentis suæ misérias, et in remotissimis terris deportationes, Oralís Lex plane in hominum animis oblitteraretur. Wagenf. Pr. p. 55.

^e Sed præcipue eminuit R. Jehuda, quem Sanctum nominant, Mishnæ auctor, qui circa annum 194, aut secundum alios 230 obiisse creditur. Lampe Synopf. H. E. P. 111.

^f Talmudici Operis fundamenta hoc seculo jacta, circa A. C. cxc. Magistri citius, imperante Antonino Pio. Fred.

Spanh. Opp. T. i. p. 687. Vid. et p. 793.

^g Quamobrem, adhibitis in consilium auxiliumque sapientissimis quibusque, sedulo ab iis, quibus licebat, Judæis, voce ac per epistolas sciscitatus est, quænam a parentibus oralis legis scita didicissent, quin et schedas undique conquisivit, quibus hætenus memoriæ causâ traditiones inscriptæ fuerant. Ea omnia, secundum certa doctrinæ capita disposuit, et in unum volumen redegit, cui nomen hoc Mishna, hoc est, *diversarum* imposuit. Wagenfeil Pr. p. 55.

learned men of the nation, who had treasured up these hitherto unwritten traditions in their memories.

One thing more I may premise here, that^h it is the opinion of divers learned men, well skilled in this part of learning, that in the Mishna, which is a collection of Jewish traditions, there is little or nothing concerning our Saviour, or his followers. I allow also that here are none of those open blasphemies which may be found in some other Jewish writings.

II. I shall now make some extracts out of the Mishna.

1. In the tract concerning fasts are these words: 'Fiveⁱ heavy afflictions have befallen our ancestors on the seventeenth day of the month Tammuz [June], and as many on the ninth day of the month Ab [July]: for on the seventeenth day of Tammuz the tables of the law were broken; the perpetual sacrifice ceased; the walls of the city were broke open; the law was burnt by Apostemus; and an idol was set up in the temple. On the ninth day of the month Ab, God determined concerning our fathers, that they should not enter into the promised land; the first and second temple was desolated; the city Bither was taken; the holy city was destroyed: for which reason, as soon as the month Ab begins, rejoicings are abated.' * *

Who

^h Scilicet, si per Talmud solam Mishnam intelligam, vere affirmavero, nullam in toto Talmude reperiri blasphemiam, nihil Christianis adversum, nullam fabulam quoque, immo nec quicquam quod valde a ratione sit alienum. Continet enim meras tantum παραρρησεις et est, ceu diximus, corpus juris Judaici olim non scripti. Rem ita se habere, testem idoneum ac locupletem sistere possumus, virum harum rerum scientissimum, omnique dignum præconio Josephum de Voisin.—Wagenfeil. Præf. p. 57.

Quippe, quod in præfatione hujus voluminis satis dixi, id tamen nunc iterum dico, in universa Mishna, de Jesu servatore, nec vola nec vestigium ullum apparet, immo ne de Christianis quidem, ejus nomen profitentibus. Id. in Confut. Toldos Jesuhu. p. 10, § 4. ⁱ Quinque res luctuosæ patribus nostris acciderunt die septimo decimo mensis Tammuz [sc. Junii.] totidemque die nono mensis Abh [sc. Julii.] Nam. xvii. Tammuz fractæ sunt tabulæ Legis: cessavit juxta sacrificium: Urbis moenia perrupta: Lex ab Apostemo combusta, idolumque in templo statutum. Nono autem die mensis Abh, decrevit Deus de patribus nostris,

non ingressuros eos in terram promissam: desolatum est templum primum et secundum: capta est urbs Bither: diruta urbs sancta. Unde ex quo mensis Abh incipit, lætitiæ imminuunt. Tract. de Jejunijs c. 4. § 7. Pars. 2, p. 382. edit. Surenh.

* * I think it cannot be disagreeable to my readers, if I here transcribe some observations of Dr. Lightfoot, from what he calls a Parergon. Concerning the Fall of Jerusalem. Of his works, Vol. i. p. 362, though they are long: 'The temple was burnt down, as Josephus a spectator setteth the time, "on the tenth day of the month Lous." Which he saith was a fatal day to the temple; for it had been burnt down by the Babylonians before on that day. De Bell. l. 6. c. vii. And yet his countrymen, who write in the Hebrew tongue, fix both these fatalities to the ninth day of that month, which they call the month Ab. And they account that day fatal for three other sad occurrences besides. "On the ninth day of the month Ab," say they, "the decree came out against Israel in the wilderness that they should not enter into the land. On it was the destruction of the first temple, and on it was the destruction

Who is meant by Apostemus, or Appostemus, is not very material, and therefore I do not inquire. I allege this passage as an early Jewish testimony to the destruction of the holy city, or Jerusalem, and the second temple, as it is here called.

2. In the tract concerning the woman suspected of adultery, are these words: 'When^k the war of Vespasian began, the coronets and bells of bridegrooms were forbidden by a public decree. When the war of Titus began, the coronets of brides were forbidden, and that no man should educate his son in Greek learning. Because of the final issue of that war every

"struction of the second. On it the great
"city Bithur was taken, where there were
"thousands and ten thousands of Israel,
"who had a great king over them, [Ben
"Cozba,] whom all Israel, even their
"greatest wife men, thought to have been
"Messias. But he fell into the hands of
"the heathen, and there was great affliction
"as there was at the destruction of
"the sanctuary. And on that day, a day
"allotted for vengeance, the wicked Turnus
"Rufus ploughed up the place of the
"temple, and the places about it, to accomplish
"what is said, Sion shall become
"a ploughed field." Talmud. in Taanith.
"per. 4. halac. 6, Maimon. in Taanith.
"per. 5."

'It is strange, that men of the same nation, and in a thing so signal, and of which both parties were spectators, should be at such a difference: and yet not a difference neither, if we take Josephus's report of the whole story, and the other Jews' construction of the time. He records that the cloister-walks, commonly called the Porticoes of the Temple, were fired on the eighth day, and were burning on the ninth: but that day Titus called a council of war, and carried it by three voices, that the temple should be spared. But a new bustling of the Jews caused it to be fired, though against his will on the next day. Joseph. ubi supr. c. 22, 23, 24. Now their Kalendar reckons from the middle day of the three, that fire was at it as from a centre. And they state the time thus: "It was the time of the evening when fire was put to the temple; and it burnt till the going down of the sun of the next day. And behold what Rabban Jochanan Ben-zaccai saith: If I had not been in that generation, I should not have pitched it upon any other day but the tenth, because the most of the temple was burnt

"that day. And in the Jerusalem Talmud it is related that Rabbi Joshua Ben Levi fasted for it the ninth and tenth days both." Gloss. in Maim. in Taanith. per. 8."

'Such another discrepancy about the time of the firing of the first temple by Nebuchadnezzar, may be observed in 2 Kings xxv. 8, 9, where it is said that 'in the fifth month, on the seventh day of the month, came Nebuzaradan, captain of the guard, and burnt the house of the Lord: and yet in Jer. lii. 12, it is said to have been in the fifth month on the tenth day of the month. Which the Gemarists in the Babylon Talmud reconcile thus: "It cannot be said on the seventh day, because it is said on the tenth. Nor can it be said on the tenth, because it is said on the seventh. How is it then? On the seventh day the aliens came into the temple and ate there, and defiled it the seventh, eighth, and ninth days. And that day, towards night, they set it on fire, and it burnt all the tenth day, as was the case also with the second temple." Taanith. fol. 29."

'The ninth and tenth days of the month Ab, on which the temple was burnt down, was about the two and three-and-twentieth day of our July. And the city was taken and sacked the eighth day of September following. Joseph. supr. c. 47. So Lightfoot.

^k Orto bello Vespasiani, decreto publico abrogatæ sunt coronæ sponforum, et tympana. Orto bello Titi cautum est de coronis sponforum, et ne quis filium in Græcanicis erudiret. Propter postremum belli impetum, prohibebatur sponsa in publicum prodire sub uranisco. Sed magistris nostris visum est, facultatem ejus rei indulgere. Tractat de Uxore Adulterii suspecta. num. 14. P. 3, p. 304. Edit. Surenh.

'bride

‘bride was forbidden to come abroad under an umbrella. Nevertheless, our masters have [since] thought fit to allow of it.’

This also is an early testimony to the war, in which the Jewish people were subdued by those two great generals Vespasian and Titus.

3. I shall now transcribe below another long passage from the same tract: a part of which shall be translated.

‘When ¹ Rabbi Meir died, there were none left to instruct men in wise parables.’—

‘—When Simeon, son of Gamaliel, died, there came locusts, and calamities were increased. When R. Akiba died, the glory of the law vanished away. Upon the death of Gamaliel the aged, the honour of the law vanished, and there was an end to purity and sanctimony. When Rabbi Ishmael, son of Babi, died, the splendour of the priesthood was tarnished. When Rabbi [Judah] died, there was no more any modesty or fear of transgression. Rabbi Pinchas, son of Ishmael, said, ‘When the temple was destroyed all men were covered with shame, both wise men and nobles; and all now cover their heads: the bountiful are reduced to poverty, and the violent and slanderers prevail: nor is there any to explain the law, nor are there any who ask and inquire. What then shall we do?’

¹ Mortuo R. Meir defecere, qui homines erudiebant [doctis] parabolis.—

Mortuo R. Simeone Filio Gamalielis, venerunt locustæ, et auctæ sunt calamitates.

— R. Ahiba mortuo decus legis evanuit.

— Mortuo R. Gamaliele Sene, evanuit

honor legis, simulque mundities et sancti-

monia, intermortuæ. R. Ishmaele filio Babi

defuncto, occubuit splendor sacerdotii.

Mortuo Rabbi [Juda Sancto] cessavit mo-

destia, et timor peccati. R. Pinchas F. J.

ait diruto templo pudore suffusi sunt Sa-

pientes pariter et Nobiles: obnubuntque

capita. Liberales ad pauperiem sunt re-

ducti, contra invaluerunt violenti, et ca-

luminiatores: nec superest explicans, nec

quærens, nec interrogans. Cui ergo in-

nitendum est nobis? Patri nostro celesti.

R. Eliezer, cognomento Magnus, ait: Ex

quo templum devastatum est, coepere Sa-

pientes similes esse Scribis, Scribæ Ædi-

tuis, Æditui vulgo hominum. Vulgus

autem hominum, in pejus in dies ruit: nec

quis rogans, aut quærens superest. Cui

ergo innitendum? Patri nostro celesti.

Paulle ante adventum Messie impudentia

augebitur, et magna erit annonæ caritas.

Vitis proferet fructum, sed vinum nihilo-

minus care vendetur, Summum in orbe

Imperium obruetur opinionibus pravis, et nulli locum habebit correptio. Synagogæ convertentur in lupanaria, limites Judææ desolabuntur, et regio quanta quanta est devastabitur. Viri insignes oppidatim circuibunt, nec ulla humanitatis officia experientur. Fortebit sapientia Magistrorum, a delictis sibi caventes spernentur, et Veritatis magnus erit defectus. Juvenes confundent ora Senum. Senes coram junioribus surgent. Filius irritabit patrem. Nata insurget adversus matrem, nurusque contra socrum. Denique, suos quisque domesticos inimicos habebit. Scilicet seculo isto canina facies erit, nec verebitur filius parentem. Cui ergo confidendum? Patri celesti.—R. Pinchas F. J. ait: Providentia causa alacritatis.—Timor sceleris ducit ad pietatem. Pietas causa est [gratiæ] S. Spiritus. Spiritus S. [fideles] facit participes resurrectionis mortuorum. Resurrectio mortuorum obtinget interuentu Eliæ, cujus memoria sacra esto, et sancta.—Deus æternus benigne concedat ut adventu illius cito salvi sanique fruamur. Amen. Tr. de uxore adulterii suspecta. num. 15. P. 3, p. 308, 309. Surenh.

‘ Let

‘ Let us trust in our heavenly Father. R. Eliezer, surnamed the great, says, From the time that the temple was destroyed the wise men began to be like scribes, the scribes like sextons, and sextons like the vulgar; and the vulgar are continually degenerating from bad to worse: nor are there any who ask and inquire. What then shall we do? Let us trust in our heavenly Father. A short time before the coming of the Messiah impudence will be increased, and great will be the price of provisions. The vine will bear fruit; nevertheless wine will be sold at a high price. The supreme empire of the world will be overwhelmed with bad opinions: nor will there be room for any to correct them. Synagogues will be turned into brothel houses, and the whole land of Judea will be laid waste. Excellent men will wander from town to town, and experience no offices of humanity. The wisdom of the masters will be slighted, and all who strive to avoid transgression will be contemned, and great will be the dearth of truth. Young men will cover the faces of the aged with shame; and the aged will rise before the young. The son will dishonour the father: and the daughter will rise up against her mother: and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. And a man’s enemies will be they of his own household. In a word, that age will have a canine appearance. Nor will the son reverence the father. What then shall we do? Let us trust in our heavenly Father.—May the coming of Elias be hastened. And may the eternal God graciously vouchsafe that we may be preserved to that time.’

This passage may deserve an attentive regard, and will require divers observations. But I shall take no particular notice of what is here said about ‘the coming of Elias,’ that not being reckoned certainly genuine.

1. In the first place, this passage ought to be compared with Jerom’s Commentary upon Is. ch. viii. 14. where¹¹ he mentions divers of the Jewish masters, who flourished and were very eminent about the time of our Saviour, and some while after; Sammai, Hillel, Meir, Akibas, Johanan the son of Zachai, and some

¹¹ *Duas domus Nazaræi*—duas familias interpretantur, Sammai et Hillel: ex quibus orti sunt Scribæ et Pharisei, quorum suscepit scholam Akibas, quem magistrum Aquilæ profelyti autumant: et post eum Meir, cui successit Johanan filius Zachai: et post eum Eliezer, et per ordinem Delphon: et rursus Joseph Galilæus:

et usque ad captivitatem Jerusalem Josue. Saminai igitur et Hillel non multo prius quam Dominus nasceretur, orti sunt in Judæa, quorum prior dissipator interpretatur, sequens *prophanus*: eo quod per traditiones et *deuteronomis* suas legis præcepta dissipaverit, atque maculaverit. &c. In Is. cap. viii. T. 3, p. 79.

others,

others. In ^m another place he censures the numerous traditions, or secondary laws, of the Pharisees. Undoubtedly Jerom was not unacquainted with Jewish traditions. But I cannot say that these passages amount to a proof that he had seen the volume of the Mishna.

2. Here is another testimony to the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem.

3. I suppose likewise that here is a reference to the disasters of the Jews, occasioned by the rebellion of Barchochebas in the time of Adrian. This I suppose to be intended in these words: 'And the whole land of Judea will be laid waste, and excellent men will wander from place to place, and experience no offices of humanity.' Moreover, in the passage first cited, the taking of the city Bithur is mentioned as one of the most remarkable calamities that had befallen the Jewish people. It was the concluding event of the Jewish war with Adrian, about the year 136. Which shews that the Mishna was not composed till some while afterwards.

4. Meir, the first rabbi here mentioned, is said to have been ⁿ one of the principal of the Jewish doctors after the destruction of Jerusalem.

5. Rabbi Akibas ^o was a man upon whose praises the Jewish writers enlarge mightily: and his sayings are often mentioned in the Mishna and the Talmud. He was a zealous follower of the impostor Barchochebas, who took upon him the character of the Messiah, in the time of Adrian, about the year of Christ 132; and he perished with him. This shews the temper of Akibas: and we can hence conclude how he stood affected to the Lord Jesus. The honourable mention here made of him shews also the temper of the compiler of this work, the Mishna.

6. Gamaliel the aged is supposed to be Gamaliel St. Paul's master, mentioned by him Acts xxii. 3, and in ch. v. 34, to be *one of the council, a pharisee, and doctor of the law, had in reputation with all the people*. From what is here said of him, in the passage now before us, he appears to have been in great esteem with the Jewish people; and he is often mentioned in the Mishna. What is here said of him, therefore, confirms the truth of what is said

^m Quantæ traditiones Phariseorum sint, quas hodie vocant *deuterocanonicas*, et quam aniles fabulæ, evolvere nequeo. Neque libri patitur magnitudo: et pleraque tam turpia sunt, ut erubescam dicere. Ad Al-gaf. Qu. x. T. 4. P. i. p. 207.

ⁿ See Bafnag. Hist. des Juifs. l. 6, ch. x. § iv. &c.

^o Of Akibas may be

seen Bafnag. Hist. des Juifs. liv. vi. ch. ix. § 14—25. Vid. et Bafnag. ann. 134. num. iii. Raymund. Martini Pug. Fidei. p. 256—264. Edzardi Avodazara. Vol. i. p. 162, 338. Lightfoot in the Fall of Jerusalem, § iv. vol. i. p. 366, 367. Dr. Sharpe's Argument for Christianity. p. 55.

of him in the book of the Acts. Moreover, we are hereby assured that Gamaliel never was converted to Christianity as some Christians, especially of the church of Rome, have fondly and weakly imagined. And indeed from what St. Paul says, in the text before quoted, it may be argued that Gamaliel was still a firm Jew: otherwise it had not been to the purpose to take notice of his education under him, in the critical circumstance which he was then in.

7. Of Rabbi, [Jehudah], the compiler of the Mishna, here and elsewhere called Rabbi, or the master, without any other distinction, so much has been said already, that little more needs to be added now. It is here said that 'when he died, there remained no longer any modesty or fear of transgression.' Maimonides, in his character of Jehudah the holy, did not omit ^p this particular. But here is somewhat which could not be said by himself: it must have been inserted after his death. Wagenfeil therefore acknowledgeth that ^q there were some additions made to the Mishna. But he says they are not many, and they were soon made, and chiefly regard R. Jehuda himself, which I see no reason to contest. For I am willing to allow this volume to be a work of the second century. Nevertheless this manner of speaking may perhaps induce us to think that more hands than one were employed in compiling it.

8. Once more, in the eighth place. This whole passage appears to me to be a disguised and invidious representation of the state of things under the gospel dispensation since the appearance of Jesus, whom his disciples and followers have received as the Messiah: and especially after the destruction of Jerusalem, when Christianity prevailed and Judaism declined.

For ¹. The destruction of the Jewish temple is acknowledged. Nevertheless here are no tokens of repentance and humiliation, but complaints and reflections upon others. The times were bad. But the blame is all laid upon others.

². The 'supreme empire of the world,' he says, 'will be,' or is 'overwhelmed with bad opinions:' meaning, as I think, the Christian religion, and the several sects and heresies which arose in the second century, and some of them not far from the beginning of it.

3. 'Synagogues will be turned into brothel houses.' He re-

^p In summo etiam pietatis, et humilitatis, et abstinentiæ a voluptatibus gradu: uti etiam dixerunt: Ex quo mortuus est Rabbi, cessavit humilitas, et timor peccati. Maim. Porta Moïsis. p. 35.

^q Accessisse post obitum R. Judæi, quædam interpolationes, non negaverim: sed ex pauca sunt, ac mature fuerunt adjectæ, ipsumque R. Judam potissimum respiciunt. Wag. ib. p. 55.

fers to the common reports among the vulgar, that the Christians practised promiscuous lewdness in their religious assemblies. And he adopts the calumny.

4. In what follows, the author adopts the words of our Lord, recorded Matt. x. 35, 36, and Luke xii. 51—53; which words are also in Micah vii. 6, concerning the dissensions that would be in families; some cheerfully embracing his doctrine, whilst others obstinately rejected it, and were bitter towards those who received it. Which the compiler of this work represents as the utmost distress and misery, and as hitherto unknown and unparalleled wickedness.

5. And what do all the clamours of this paragraph mean concerning the 'failure' or dearth 'of truth, the multiplicity of bad opinions, whilst there was no room left for reproof or correction?' What is intended by the complaints that 'the wisdom of the masters was slighted, that there was an end to purity and sanctimony, to modesty and the fear of transgression, and that the young covered the faces of the aged with shame, and the aged rose up to the young?' and the rest.

All these complaints, as seem to me, refer to the resolution and steadiness of the converts to Christianity from Judaism and Gentilism, who judged for themselves, and admitted the evidences of the truth of the new religion, which overpowered their minds. Of which therefore they made an open profession, notwithstanding the sophistry, the entreaties, and the menaces of the world about them; many of whom were their superiors in age, learning, and outward circumstance and condition. Of all this we have in this passage, as seems to me, a graphical description.

I cannot but understand this passage after this manner. And I refer these thoughts to the consideration of my readers. This paragraph, if my interpretation be right, is very curious.

I am unwilling to enter into a controversy about the Mishnical tract *Avoda zara*, de cultu peregrino, [of strange or idolatrous worship]. I pay a great regard to the judgment of those learned men who say there is in it no reference to the Christians. Nevertheless there seems to me a defect in their reasonings upon that point. I think that when the Mishna was compiled the Christians were more numerous, more considerable, and of more consequence, than those learned men suppose in their argument concerning that tract.

III. I have done with the Mishna. I proceed to the Talmud.

1. The first passage to be taken thence will relate to our Lord's nativity.

‘Upon’ a certain day, when several masters were sitting at the gate of the city, two boys passed by before them; one of whom covered his head, the other had his head uncovered. Concerning him who, contrary to all the rules of modesty, had boldly passed by with his head uncovered, Eliezer said he believed he was spurious: R. Joshua said he believed he was the son of a woman set apart: but R. Akiba said he was both. The others said to Akiba, Why do you differ from the rest of your brethren? He answered that he would prove the truth of what he had said. Accordingly he went to the mother of the boy, whom he found sitting in the market, and selling of herbs. He then says to her, “My daughter, answer me a question which I am going to put to you, and I assure you of a portion of happiness in the world to come.” She answered: “Confirm what you say with an oath.” Akiba then ~~swore~~ with his lips, but at the same time absolved himself in his mind. Then he said to her: “Tell me the origin of this your son?” Which she did, and confessed that it was as he had said. When he returned to his colleagues and told them the discovery he had made, they said: “Great is Akiba, who had corrected the rest of the masters.”

An absolute fiction, the fruit of deep-rooted malice! Though no person is here named, there can be no doubt who is intended. And it is adopted by the author of Toldoth Jeschu.

‘Juramentis vero illorum nihil prorsus est tribuendum, quia in ipso Talmude docentur, posse juramenta, dum præstantur, confestim in mente aboleri, ut non obligent. Exemplo est R. Akifa, de quo Cod. Kolla fol. 18, col. 2, med. sequens refertur historia. Cum aliquando Seniores federent in porta [urbis] præterierunt ante ipsos duo pueri, quorum alter caput texerat, alter retexerat. Et de eo quidem, qui caput [proterve, et contra bonos mores] retexerat, pronunciavit R. Eliezer, quod esset spurius. R. Joshua autem dixit, eum esse a muliere menstruata conceptum. At R. Akifa subiecit, esse illum et spurium et filium menstruatae. Unde ceteri interrogarunt R. Akifam, quomodo tam audacter collegis suis contradiceret. Sed ille regessit, se dicta sua esse confirmaturum. Abiit ergo ad matrem pueri istius, quam cum videret sedentem in foro, et vendentem legumina, dixit ad illam. Filia mea, si tu mihi ingenue indideris id quod sum interrogaturus, efficiam ut potiaris vita seculi futuri. Ipsa autem postulante, ut jurejurando assertum

suum roboraret, juravit R. Akifa labiis suis, sed corde suo jusjurandum hoc statim reddidit irritum. Tum R. Akifa: Dic, inquit, mihi qualis sit hic filius tuus? Ad quæ illa: Quando ego nuptias celebrarem laborabam a menstruis. Ideoque secessit a me maritus, paranympheus autem meus [occasione arrepta] congressus mecum est. Atque ex eo concubitu existitit mihi filius hic. Unde apparuit, puerum istum esse non modo spurium, sed et menstruatae filium. Cumque id percepissent ceteri assessores, dixerunt: Magnus est Akifa, quando correxerat doctores suos. Edzard. Avoda Sara. Tom. i. p. 279. Conf. Wagenfeil. Confut. Tol. Jeschu. p. 14, 15. et Buxtorf. Syn. Jud. c. vii. p. 132, 133.

‘Hæc historia teste videtur loqui de Christo. Buxtorf. ubi supr. p. 133.

Ac de infantia quidem et natalibus Jeschu, credo ego, creduntque Judæi hoc mecum, sermonem esse, quamquam nomine penitus suppresso, in Massechet Calla, quam et ipsum allegare convenit. Wagenf. ut supr. p. 14. ‘Apud Wagenf. p. 5.

2. Upon Matt. ii. 14, Lightfoot observes as follows: "There" are some footsteps in the Talmudists of this journey of our Saviour into Egypt, but so corrupted with venomous blasphemy (as all their writings are,) that they seem only to have confessed the truth that they might have matter more liberally to reproach him: for so they speak [Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 107, a.] "When Jannay the king slew the rabbins, R. Joshua Ben Perachiah and Jesus went away unto Alexandria in Egypt. Simeon Ben Shelah sent thither, speaking thus: "From me Jerusalem, the holy city, to thee, O Alexandria in Egypt, my sister, health. My husband dwells with thee, while I in the mean time sit alone." Therefore he rose up and went. And a little after he brought forth four hundred trumpets, and anathematized" [Jesus.] And a little before that, "Elizæus turned away Gehazi with both his hands, and R. Joshua Ben Perachiah thrust away Jesus with both his hands."

"And [Schabb. fol. 104, 2.] "Did not Ben Satda bring enchantments out of Egypt in the cutting which was in his flesh?" Under Ben Satda they wound our Jesus with their reproaches."

The story of our Lord's journey to Alexandria with Joshua Ben Perachiah, when king Jannay killed the rabbins, may be seen more at large in some other authors * to whom I refer. And I shall transcribe it below, though I do not translate it entire. It is obscure. Nevertheless the folly, the malice, and the falsehood of it, are apparent.

* Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitationes, p. 111, 112. * Vide B. Scheidii. Loca Talmudica, in quibus Jesu et discipulorum ejus fit mentio, p. 6. et Wagenfeil. Confutatio, libr. Toldos Jeschu. p. 15, 16.

† In Tr. Sanhedrin, f. 107, 2. et Sota, f. 47, 1. Quum Jannai Rex interfecit Rabbinos, fugiebat R. Josua filius Perachiae et Jesus Alexandriam Ægypti. Pace reddita, in hæc verba Simeon Schetachides R. Josuæ Perachiae filio scribit. Hierosolymæ civitas sancta, tibi Alexandriæ Ægypti. O soror mea, maritus meus in medio tui degit, at ego sedeo desolata. Surgens ergo ille veniebat eo, et pervenit ad quandam hospitam, quæ omnibus honoris officiis eum prosequabatur. Tum dicebat [Josua], Quam pulchrum est hoc hospitium. Sed discipulus de hospita sermonem excipiens, dicebat ei: Mi magister, oculi ejus sunt teretes. Cui ille respondebat: Imple, taliane tu curas? atque feminas spectas intentius? Nec mora. Pro ductis ergo 400 tubis, proclamari curabat eum [Jesum] esse excommunicatum. Sæ-

penumero adibat [discipulus] magistrum, obsecrans, ut sese denuo reciperet. Verum ipse ejus nullam habuit rationem. Die quodam, cum recitasset [Josua Perachides] lectionem, Audi Israel, Deut. vi. 4. accedit [Jesus] Perachidem. Nam putabat se receptum iri. Indicabat ei R. Josua filius Perachiae manu sua, quod vellet recipere eum. Ipse [Jesus] putabat, quod repellendo repelleret se. Abibat ergo, et suspendens laterem, eam adorabat. Dicebat [Perachides] illi: Respice. Cui ille respondebat: Sic a te ipso didici: Quod nulli, qui peccavit, et ad peccandum multis fuit auctor, facultas agendi penitentiam suppeditetur? Nam dixerat Mar [doctus Talmudicus] Jesus ad magiam seduxit, et crimen, Deut. xiii. 5, 6. impulsionis, vetitum commisit, et Israelitis ad peccandum auctor fuit. Ergo, ceu Gemarici valunt, deserto Perachide præceptore, Jesu totum se deinde magis artibus in Ægypto addixit: cumque bas intus et in cute teneret, in Judæam se contulit. Apud Scheid. et Wagenf. ubi supra.

It should be observed that this story of our Lord's journey into Egypt, with Joshua Ben Perachiah, has little agreement with the true history in Matt. ii. 13—23. For, according to the evangelist, Jesus was carried thither when an infant, and was soon brought back again into Judea. But, according to the Talmudists, Jesus was a young man when he went thither with Joshua Perachides, who is supposed to have been his master or tutor. And according to them, when Perachides and Jesus had been some while in Egypt, they were informed that peace was restored in Judea. As they were returning back they were well received at an inn. Here Perachides and Jesus disagreed, and parted asunder; nor could they ever be reconciled again, though some attempts on both sides were made toward a reconciliation. After that Jesus, as is said, wholly gave up himself to magical practices, and was excommunicated.

If by king Jannai be intended Alexander Jannæus, here is a great anachronism; for he died fourscore years * before the Christian epoch. But I do not insist upon that; for, perhaps, it is owing to design and not to ignorance.

If, in the discourse between Perachides and Jesus at the inn, where they first disagreed, there be an aspersions of our Lord's moral character, as if he too attentively observed the faces of women, it is of a piece with another charge of theirs, that Jesus endeavoured to seduce men to idolatry: which we shall see presently.

I do acknowledge, however, that when I first observed this paragraph, I was not a little surprised. For Origen says that, 'though a innumerable lies and calumnies had been forged against the venerable Jesus, none had dared to charge him with any intemperance whatever.' So says Origen about the middle of the third century. He speaks confidently with full assurance. If he had ever met with such a calumny, he would not have denied it; for he was perfectly honest and sincere. And if such a calumny had appeared he was as likely to know it as any man; for he was acquainted with all sorts of people: and he had often conversed with the learned men of the Jewish nation, as well as others. This story therefore was not in being in his time, nor till after it. But reflections upon a man's character, unknown till long after his departure out of the world, are destitute of autho-

* Prideaux's Connection, year before Christ 79, p. 396, 397.

^a ... προς τοις
συναγωγαις, ου μηδε οι μυρια κατηγορησαντες, και ψευδη οσα περι αυτου λεγοντες, δι-
δυνται κατεπειν, ως ε' αν το τυχον ακολασιας ε' αν επ' ολιγοι γευσαιμεν, Contr. Cell.
l. 3, num. 36. Bened. p. 32, Sperr.

rity, and deserve no regard. They only shew the bad temper of those who receive, or who invent and forge them.

Let me add one thought more here. We may reasonably conclude, and reckon it certain from Origen's work, that Celsus knew nothing of this story; consequently it was not yet invented: for he had conversed with Jews, and made use of them to assist him in his argument against the Christians, and had picked up all the scandal he could get.

I must be allowed to observe yet farther: Celsus had made use of some disparaging expressions concerning our Saviour. Whereupon Origen says: 'If ** Celsus had alleged any kind of infamous actions in the life of Jesus; we would have done our best to answer to every thing that might appear so to him. As to the miserable death of Jesus, the same may be objected to Socrates and Anaxarchus just mentioned.' Celsus therefore knew not of any such thing.

Finally, I do not recollect in the remains of Celsus, who wrote in the second, nor in Origen, who wrote in the third, century, any traces of this journey of our Lord into Egypt with a tutor. This story therefore is a late, as well as a malicious, fiction without ground.

The second quotation in Lightfoot shall now be more distinctly transcribed. 'In ^b the Mishnical tract, called Schabbath, it is said: 'If any one, especially on the sabbath, draws a line, or makes a cut in his flesh, he is obliged to bring a sin-offering: but the wise men absolve him. Upon which words it is remarked in the Gemara; a tradition. R. Eliezer said to the wise men: "But did not the son of Stada bring magical arts out of Egypt, in a cutting in his flesh?" The Gloss says: "the reason of that was that he could not bring them away in writing, because the priests diligently searched all at their going away, that they might not carry out magical arts to teach them to men dwelling in other countries."

This is said, I suppose, to insinuate that all the great works ascribed to our Saviour were performed by virtue of magical

** Εἰ γὰρ τα εἶδη τῆ ἐπισημότητος βίη ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ φαινόμενα αὐτῷ ἐκτιθεμένης ἦν, καὶ ἠγωνισάμεθα πρὸς ἑκάστου τῶν δοκούντων ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπισημότητων. Contr. Cels. l. 7. sect. 56. Ben. p. 369. f. Spere.

^b In tractatu Schabbath, fol. 104. 2. in Mishna dicitur. Si quis [die Sabbathi] lineam ducat, seu incisuram faciat super carnem suam, R. Eliezer eum reum censet sacrificii peccati. Sapientes autem absolvent. Postea in Gemara. ad hæc ver-

ba notatur: Traditio. Dixit R. Eliezer ad Sapientes: At annon Filius Stada extulit magicas artes ex Ægypto, in incisurâ, quæ erat super carne ejus? Glossa. Quia non poterat eas efferre, vel educere, scriptas: quia Magi diligenter inquirebant in omnes qui exhibant, ne efferrent artes magicas, ad docendum eas alios homines alibi terrarum habitantes. Scheid. ib. p. 1. et Wagenfeil. Confut. Told. Jeschu. p. 17.

arts which he had learned in Egypt. This insinuation has been considered, and well confuted, by Grotius, ^c to whom I now refer. Hereafter I shall transcribe his words at length, in the chapter of Celsus, where this charge will come over again.

3. Let us now observe whether Jesus gained any disciples.

Lightfoot, upon Matt. ix. 9, speaks to this purpose: 'Five disciples of Christ are mentioned by the Talmudists, [Bab. Sanhedrim. fol. 43¹] among whom Matthew seems to be named. The rabbins deliver there were five disciples of Jesus, Matthai, Nakai, Nezer, Boni, and Thodah. These they relate were led out and killed. Perhaps five are only mentioned by them, because five of the disciples were chiefly employed among the Jews: namely Matthew, who wrote his gospel in Judea, Peter, James, John, and Judas.'

I shall now transcribe at length the passage of the Babylonian Talmud, to which Lightfoot refers; though it is so silly, that, when produced, some may think it might have been omitted.

'The ^d rabbins have taught that there were five disciples of Jesus, Matthai, Nakai, Nezer, Boni, and Toda. When Matthai was brought forth [to be condemned to death] he said to the judges: Shall Matthai be slain? But it is written: *When shall I come [Mat'ai] and appear before God!* Ps. xlii. 2. But they answered: Yes, Matthai shall be slain. For it is written: *When [Mat'ai] shall he die, and his name perish!* Ps. xli. 5. When Nakai was brought out, he said: Shall Nakai be slain? But it is written: *Thou shalt not kill the innocent [Nakai] and the just:* Ex.

^c De V. R. Chr. l. 5. cap. iii.

^d Sanhedr. cap. vi. fol. 43, fin. Quinque tantum discipuli dicuntur fuisse Jesu Nazareno, quorum nomina, Matthai, sc. Matthæus, Nakai, Nezer, Boni, et Toda, sc. Thaddæus, qui alio nomine Lebbæus fuit appellatus. Matt. x. 3. Verba integre ita habent... Rabbini docuerunt, quinque discipulos fuisse Jesu, Matthai, Nakai, Nezer, Boni, et Toda. Cum adduxissent Matthai, [ut capitis ipsum damnarent,] dixit ille ad Judices: Num Matthai occidetur? Atqui scriptum est. Quando [Mat'ai] veniam, ut compaream coram facie Dei? Ps. xlii. 2. Sed illi regeſſerunt: Omnino, Matthai occidetur, quia scriptum est, Quando [Mat'ai] morietur, ut pereat nomen eius? Ps. xli. 5. Cum adduxissent Nakai, dixit ille: Num Nakai occidetur? Atqui scriptum est. Ex. xxiii. 7. Inſontem [naki] et iustum non occides. Sed illi responderunt: Omnino, Nakai occidetur, sicut scriptum est. Ps. x. 8. In latibulis occidit inſontem. [Naki]. Cum

adduxissent Nezer, dixit ad illos: Num Nezer occidetur? Atqui scriptum est. Es. xi. 1. Nezer e radicibus ejus fructum feret. Sed illi reposuerunt. Omnino Nezer occidetur, quia scriptum est. Es. xiv. 9. Tu autem ejectus es e sepulchro tuo, ut furculus [nezer] abominabilis. Cum adduxerunt Boni, dixit ille: Num Boni occidetur? Atqui scriptum est. Ex. iv. 22. Filius meus [Beni] primogenitus est Israel. Sed illi regeſſerunt: Omnino Boni occidetur, sicut scriptum est. Ex. iv. 23. Ecce Ego occidam filium tuum [bincka] primogenitum. Cum adduxissent Todam, dixit ad illos: Num Toda occidetur? Atqui scriptum exſtat. Ps. c. 1. Psalmus [Lethoda] eucharisticus. Sed illi responderunt: Omnino Toda occidetur, quemadmodum scriptum est. Ps. l. 23. Qui ſacrificat laudem [Toda] is honorabit me. Ap. Edzard Avoda Sara, T. i. p. 298, 299, Conf. B. Scheidii Loca Talmudica de Jesu et Discipulis ejus et Wagenſeil. Confut. T. I. p. 17.

‘xxiii. 7. But they said: Yes, Nakai shall be slain. For it is written: *In the secret places does he murder the innocent.* [Naki.] Ps. x. 8. When they brought forth Nezer, he said to them: And shall Nezer be slain? But it is written: *A branch [Nezer] shall grow out of his roots.* Is. xi. 1. But they answered: Yes, Nezer shall be slain. For it is written: *Thou art cast out of thy grave as an abominable branch.* Is. xiv. 19. When they brought out Boni, he said: And shall Boni be slain? But it is written: *Israel is my son [Beni] even my first born.* Ex. iv. 22. But they said: Yes, Boni shall be slain. For it is written: *Behold, I will slay thy son [bincka.] thy first born.* Ex. iv. 23. When they brought out Toda, he said to them: And shall Toda be slain? It is written: *A psalm to praise [Lethoda.]* Ps. c. But they answered: Yes, Toda shall be slain. For it is written: *Whoso offereth praise [Toda] glorifieth me.*

Here it may be asked: Why do the Talmudists speak only of five disciples of Jesus? Lightfoot, as before seen, supposeth it to be, that these five men were chiefly employed among the Jews. Edzardus says: ‘We hence see how false and fabulous every thing is which the Talmudists say of Christ and his disciples.’ Which surely is not amiss. However, to me it seems that the Jewish rabbins affected silence and reserve about Jesus and his history, and said little about it, the better to keep their own people in ignorance and bondage. Wagenfeil’s reflections upon this passage are somewhat different: I place them^f below, though nothing material can be said upon what is so exceeding trifling.

4. It may be questioned whether James be one of the five disciples there named: I shall therefore allege a passage of the Talmud where he is mentioned.

R. Akiba and Rabbi Elieser are talking together. ‘Elieser :

‘Quod si autem quinque tantum discipuli hi Jesu Nazareno fuerunt, unde ergo sextus, Jacobus Sechanienfis, cujus nomen inter quinque numeratos non apparet? Constat hinc, quam fabulosa sit Talmudistarum narratio de iis quæ contra Christum atque discipulus ejus debaterant. Ut alia confutatione non sit opus, cum se ipsos suis contradictionibus jugulent. Edz. ibid. p. 299.

^f Apparet, ista huc tendere, quasi in viros illos, quorum nomina exprimuntur, ultimis pœnis fuerit animadversum: etsi magis est ut credamus, ab otioso aliquo, et scripturæ dicta, in lufum et jocum sic detorquente, delirantis ingeniosi ostentandi causa, ineptias has esse confectas. Wagenf. ibid. p. 18.

^g In Tr. Avoda Sara, f. 16. 2. Tradi-

derunt Rabbini....Tum P. Eliazar. In memoriam mihi, O Akiba revocasti, aiebat: me aliquando spatium in foro superiori urbis Zipporis, obvium habuisse aliquem ex discipulis Jesu Nazareni, cui nomen erat Jacobus, civis Caphar, vel viri Saccanienfis, qui dicebat mihi. In Lege vestra scribitur: Non afferes mercedem meretricis....Quo audito, nihil prorsus ei respondebam. Illo autem pergente mihi dicere. Sic docuit me Jesus Nazarenus. Si ex mercede meretricia, meretrix quid colligat, usque ad mercedem meretricis revertetur. Ex loco impuro si qua venerint, in locum impurum redibunt. Et profuit mihi verbum hoc opera hujus...ap. Scheid. Loca. Talmud. p. 5. 6. Et conf. Edzardi Avoda Sara, Vol. 1. p. 130.

‘says,

‘says, O Akiba, you have brought something to my mind. As I was walking in the high street of Zipporis, I met one of the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth, whose name is James, a man of the town of Shecaniah. He said to me: In your law it is written, *Thou shalt not bring the hire of a harlot.* Deut. xxiii. 18. I did not make him any answer. But he added, and said to me: Jesus of Nazareth taught me the meaning. *She gathered it of the hire of a harlot; and they shall return to the hire of a harlot.* Mic. i. 7. *From an impure place they came, and to an impure place they shall return.* Which interpretation, (says Elieser,) did not displease me.’

5. We will now observe some passages concerning our Saviour’s last sufferings.

Says Lightfoot upon Matt. xxvii. 31. ‘These things^a are delivered in Sanhedrim [cap. vi. Hal. 4] of one that is guilty of stoning: If there be no defence found for him, they lead him out to be stoned, and a crier went out before him, saying aloud thus: N. N. comes out to be stoned, because he has done so and so. The witnesses against him are N. N. Whosoever can bring any thing in his defence let him come forth and produce it. On which thus the Gemara of Babylon. The tradition is that, on the evening of the Passover, Jesus was hanged, and that a crier went before him for forty days, making this proclamation: This man comes forth to be stoned, because he dealt in sorceries, and persuaded, and seduced Israel. Whosoever knows of any defence for him, let him come forth and produce it: but no defence could be found: therefore they hanged him upon the evening of the Passover. Ulla saith his case seemed not to admit of any defence, since he was a seducer, and of such God has said, *Thou shalt not spare him nor conceal him:* Deut. xiii.

There is another place relating to the same event, the death of

^a I shall here put an exact Latin version of the same. Tr. Sanhedrim. fol. 43. Mishna. Inventa reæ partis innocentia, reus ille liber dimittitur. Sin minus, exit, ut lapidetur. Præco autem exit ante eum, his verbis proclamans: Vir iste N. N. Filius alicujus N. N. exit, ut lapidetur, quia transgressus est talein transgressionem. Cujus rei testes sunt hi, N. N. et N. N. Quicumque noverit aliquid de ejus innocentia, veniat, et doceat de eo. Postea in Gemara ad verba Mishnæ: præco autem exit ante eum, &c. notatur. Atqui traditio est: Die Parasceves Sabbathi suspenderunt Jesum, et præco exibat ante

eum 40 diebus, his verbis prolatis proclamans: Exit ut lapidetur, quia magicas artes exercuit, seduxit, et impulit Israelitas. Quicumque ergo noverit aliquid de ejus innocentia, veniat, et doceat de eo. Cum autem nihil de ejus innocentia comprobanda inveniri potuisset, suspenderunt eum die Parasceves Paschatis. Dixit Ulla: Et putetur, quod filius verforum seu contrariorum innocentie ipse seductor est. Dixit autem Deus, Deut. xiii. 8. Non parces, neque teges super eo. Deut. xiii. 8. et Conf. 5. et 6. Scheid. Loca Talmud. p. 7. 8. Conf. Wag. Confut. T. I. p. 19.

our Saviour, to be taken from the Babylonian Talmud. The Mishna explaining Deut. xiii. and shewing who is the seducer there spoken of, says, Of all that are adjudged to die, to stone of them are snares to be laid, excepting a seducer: for, if he has attempted two, and they bear testimony against him, he is to be stoned. Upon this it is said in the Gemara: Against none are snares to be laid, except against a seducer of the people; [meaning one who seduces to idolatry:] and that is done after this manner. They light a candle in a closet or inner room, and place witnesses in another room, so that they may see him, and hear his voice, but he does not see them: there he, whom some time before he had endeavoured to seduce, (being with him,) says to him: Repeat to me now in private what you before said to me. If he then repeats it, the other says to him: How can we leave our God who is in the heavens, and serve idols? If he then owns his fault and repents, all is well. But if he says: This is our duty, and so we ought to do; the witnesses who are in the outer room carry him to the house of judgment, and stone him. So they did to the son of Stada in Lud, and hanged him on the evening of the Passover. Rabbi Chasda said: The son of Stada is the son of Pandira.... His mother was Stada. She was Mary the plaiter of women's hair; as we say in Pompedita, she departed from her husband. In the Gloss it is said: she was so called because she transgressed the laws of chastity.

This is translated by Lightfoot upon Matt. xxvii. 36, p. 270, after this manner: 'They stoned the son of Sarda in Lydda, and hanged him up on the evening of the Passover. Now this son of Sarda was son of Pandira. Indeed Rabbi Chasda said the husband [of his mother] was Sarda, her husband was Pandira, her husband was Paphus, the son of Juda. But yet I say his

¹ Sanhedrim. f. 67. 1. Mishna, de quo Deut. xiii. 6. Ex omnibus qui morti adjudicantur in Lege, nulli insidiæ collocantur, hoc excepto.... Postea, in Gemara notatur: Ex omnibus, qui morti adjudicantur in Lege, nulli insidiæ collocantur, hoc excepto [seductori, qui aliud ad idololatricam, et cultum alienum cupit seducere.] Quomodo faciunt id ei? Accendunt illi candelam in conclavi interiori, et testes collocant in cubiculo exteriori, ut hi ipsum videre, et vocem ejus audire possint. Sed ipse non videt illos. Tum ille, quem antea conatus erat seducere, dicit ei, Repete, quæso, id quod antehac dixisti hic privatim. Tum, si id dicat, hic regerit ei: Quomodo relinquemus Deum nostrum in Cælis, et serviemus idolis! Ad hoc si

convertatur, poenitentia acta, bene est. Si vero dicat: hoc est officium nostrum, atque ita omnino decet nos facere, testes exterius audientes, eum ad domum judicii abducunt, et lapidant. [Conf. Schabbath. f. 104. 2.] sic fecerunt filio Stadæ, [vel Stadæ] in Lud, et suspenderunt eum in vespere Paschatis, seu pridie diei Paschatis. Filius Stadæ filius Pandiræ est. Dixit R. Chasda: Maritus seu proculus matris ejus fuit Stada, iniens Pandiram.... Maritus Paphus filius Judæ ipse est, mater ejus Stada, mater ejus Maria, plicatrix capillorum mulierum erat: sicut dicimus in Pompedita. Declinavit hæc a marito suo. Glossa: Ideo quia scortata hæc erat, vocabatur ita, Schedui Loca Talmud. p. 1, et 2,

mother

'mother was Satda, namely Mary the plaiter of women's hair; as they say in Pumbeditha, she departed from her husband.'

In several other places of these Talmudical writers Mary is called a 'plaiter of women's hair,' as may be seen in Lightfoot, p. 270^k. And from some things alleged just now it seems that thereby they denote a transgressor of the laws of purity. And we are led to think that by this description they intended to represent not her outward condition, but her moral character.

Upon the two foregoing passages, relating to the event of our Saviour's death, we may now make some remarks.

First, it is here acknowledged that Jesus suffered death as a malefactor; and that he was put to death at the time of a Jewish Passover, or on the evening of it, as the expression is.

Secondly, but here are many great and notorious falsehoods. It is here said that Jesus was put to death at Lud: whereas it is certain that he suffered at Jerusalem. It is insinuated that he endeavoured to persuade men to forsake the true God, and worship false gods, and idols: another abominable falsehood. It is also insinuated that he carried on this evil design of seducing men from the worship of the true God in a clandestine manner; whereas nothing is more certain than that Jesus lived, and acted, and taught, publicly before all the world. Farther, it is intimated that, for many days before his death, proclamation was made, that any who could say any thing in his defence might appear and plead for him: but no defence was made. It is also said that he was put to death by stoning, and then hanged up: (which indeed was the usual method among the Jews, first to put criminals to death, and then hang them up); but Jesus was crucified; and though the Jews were his prosecutors, he was condemned and put to death by a Roman magistrate.

It is truly surprising to see such falsities contrary to well known facts. For the sufferings of Jesus, and the circumstances of them, are recorded in the gospels, well known histories, written in a language which was then almost universal in Europe, Asia, and Africa. That Jesus was crucified at Jerusalem, when Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea, under the emperor Tiberius, was in all Christian creeds, and attested by Roman authors of good credit, and indeed was well known to all Greeks and Romans in general. How then was it possible for the Jewish rabbins, whose testimonies are collected in their Talmuds, to speak in the manner which we have now seen? Perhaps it is not easy to be accounted for; but I apprehend the case to be this:

^k Vid. et Schoid. Loca Talmud. p. 3.

The rabbins taught and wrote in a language little known to any in the fourth and fifth centuries but themselves, and the men of their own nation. Their people were ignorant, and they endeavoured to keep them so. Their people had a great respect for them, and so they presumed to say whatever they pleased.

6. There seems to be in these writings an acknowledgment of the power of miracles in Jesus and his disciples. 'In the Gemara, upon Avoda Sara, in Bereitha, it is said: No man may converse with heretics, nor receive medicines from them, though the disease be mortal and desperate. Of this there is an example in the son of Dama, nephew to R. Ishmael by his sister: When he had been bit by a serpent, James of Shechania [a disciple of Jesus] came to heal him; but R. Ishmael did not allow it to be done. The son of Dama said to R. Ishmael: O Rabbi Ishmael, my uncle, let me be healed by him: I will allege a text out of the law which allows of it. But before he had finished all he would say, he expired. Then Ishmael pronounced this speech over him: Thou art happy, O son of Dama: for thy body has remained pure, and thy soul also has gone pure out of it: and thou hast not transgressed the words of thy brethren.'

This^m is supposed to be an acknowledgment of the power of working miracles in the name of Jesus, at the same time that it shews the virulent temper of the Jewish doctors against him and his disciples.

There is another like instance alleged from the Jerusalem Talmud: 'Aⁿ child of a son of Rabbi Joses, son of Levi, swallowed

¹ Similis locus habetur infra in Gemara fol. 27. col. 2. med. Sed insto ego. In Bereitha docemur. Non conversabitur quisquam cum hæreticis, neque licet medicinam ab illis admittere, et si morbus videatur ita desperatus, ut ægrotus non sit ultra unius horæ spatium superfuturus. Exstat quoque hujus rei exemplum in filio Damæ, nepote R. Ismaelis ex sorore, quem cum momordisset serpens, venit Jacobus Secanienfis ad sanandum ipsum. Sed non permisit ei R. Ismael. Dicebat quidem filius Damæ ad R. Ismael: O Rabbi Ismael frater, [i. e. cognate, avuncule,] mi! Sine ipsum, ut saner ab ipso. Afferam enim textum e Lege, qui id concedat. Sed nondum absolverat omnia, quæ constituerat dicere, cum jam efflaret animam, atque moreretur. Tum R. Ismael sequentem super ipsum conciunculam habuit. Beatus es, o fili Damæ! quod corpus tuum manserit mundum, et

amque anima tuo corpore exierit munda, neque fueris transgressus verba Sociorum tuorum, &c. Edzard. Avoda Sara. Vol. i. p. 312. Conf. Martini Pug. Fidei. P. 2. cap. 8. p. 289.

^m Memorabile hujus rei exemplum occurrit Cod. Abhoda zara f. 27. 2. de R. Ismaele vetante aliquem sanari in nomine Jesu.... Exemplo est B. Dama.... Insignis sane historia, et præclarum veritatis Evangelicæ testimonium, ab ipsis Judæis dictum. J. Rhenferd. Diss. de Redemptione Marciosorum et Heracleonit. sect. L. p. 215.

ⁿ Item in lib. Sabbat Jerosolymitana, distinctione Shemona Scheratzin.... Filius filii R. Jose filii Levi glutiverat toxicum scilicet, vel aliud morbiferum. Venit itaque vir quidam et conjuravit ei in nomine Jesu Panderini, et sanatus est, sive quievi. Cumque exivisset ait, ei, quomodo conjurasti eum? Ait ei, tali verbo. Ait ei: Remissus fuisset ei, si mortuus fuisset, ut non

audivisset

‘ed somewhat poisonous. There came a man who pronounced
 ‘some words to him in the name of Jesus, son of Pandira, and
 ‘he was healed. When he was going away, R. Josès said
 ‘to him: What word did you use? he answered, such a word.
 ‘R. Josès said to him: Better had it been for him to die, than to
 ‘hear such a word. And so it happened, that is, he instantly died.’

Another ° proof this of the power of miracles inherent in the
 disciples of Jesus, and at the same time a mark of the malignity
 of the Jewish rabbins.

That passage I have transcribed as it is in the *Pugio Fidei*: I
 shall now ^p put it down below as it stands in *Edzardi Avoda zara*.

7. It will certainly be worth the while to take a testimony from
 these writers to the destruction of Jerusalem, and the temple
 there. I shall therefore transcribe and translate almost word for
 word a long passage out of the Babylonian Talmud, in the title
Gittin, chapter *Hannisah*.

‘This ° is the tradition. Rabbi Elieser said: Go, and see how
 ‘the blessed and holy God helped Bar-kamtza, and he destroyed
 ‘his

audivisset verbum tale. Et factum est sic
 ei: id est, statim mortuus est. *Pug. Fid.*
 ib. p. 290. ° Si quis diligenter adver-
 sat has duas traditiones, in nomine domi-
 ni nostri Jesu Christi fuisse facta miracula
 Judaicarum scripturarum testimonio com-
 probabit. *Raym. Martin. ib.*

° Similis textus est in Talmude Hiero-
 solymitano *Avoda S. Fol. 40. 4. et Schabb.*
fol. 14. 4. med. Nepos R. Josuæ filii
 Levi laborabat ab aborpto; [id est, diglu-
 tiverat aliquid, quod ipsi in gutture hære-
 bat, et suffocationem minabatur.] Venit-
 que quidam, qui illi clam insusurravit,
 [id est, jussit ipsum convalescere,] in no-
 mine Jesu filii Pandiræ. Unde confestim
 respiravit. Quando autem egressus est
 inde, dixit ad eum R. Josua filius Levi.
 Quid insusurrasti ei? Respondit ille, vo-
 cem hanc [i. e. nomen Jesu.] Tum R. Jo-
 sua: Præstitisset ipsum fuisse mortuum, et
 non audivisset nomen illud. Atque hoc ip-
 sum etiam ei [haud longe post] contigit.
Edzard. Avoda zara. Vol. 2. p. 311, 312.

¶ Traditio est. Dixit R. Elieser: Exi,
 et vide quanta est virtus pudoris, quia
 ecce Deus Sanctus et Benedictus jovit Bar-
 kamtza, et destruxit domum suam, et
 exulsi templum suum, et desolavit Jeru-
 salem.... Ivit Romam, et dixit Neroni
 Cæsari: Judæi rebellant contra te.
 Dixit ei: Quis dicit? Dixit ei mitte
 illis sacrificium. Videbis, si illi offerent.
 Ivit filius Kamtza, et misit per manus
 ejus vitulam trimam. Ipse autem rediens
 impressit in ea maculam in ora labii ejus.

Alii dicunt, quod in pupilla oculi ejus ma-
 culam impressit: secundum aliquorum o-
 pinionem est macula, et secundum opini-
 onem aliorum non est macula. Rabbini
 censebant itaque illam sacrificandam
 propter pacem regni. Dixit eis R. Za-
 charias filius Onkelos: dicetur, Macu-
 lata offeruntur super altare. Volu-
 erunt occidere eum ne iret, et diceret.
 Dixit eis R. Zacharias, dicent: Mittens
 maculam in Sanctuarium occidetur?
 Dixit R. Jochanan: Superstitio R. Za-
 chariæ destruxit domum nostram, et com-
 bustit templum nostrum, et urbem nos-
 tram evertit, et fecit ut nos e terra nostra
 captivi duceremur. Misit itaque Bar-
 Kamtza super his ad Neronem Cæsarem.
 Quando venit, jecit sagittam ad orientem.
 Cecidit ad Jerusalem ad occidentem....
 Dixit puero. Lege mihi versum tuum.
 Dixit ei Ezech. xxv. 14.... Dixit Nero:
 Deus sanctus, benedictus, vult per me
 destruere domum suam. Misitque con-
 tra illos Vespasianum, qui venit, et oble-
 dit Jerusalem tres annos, et dimidium.
 Interim venit nuncius ad eum, dicens illi:
 Surge, quia mortuus est Nero Cæsar, et
 consenserunt tibi optimates Romanorum,
 ut te constituent principem.... Ivit, et mi-
 sit Titum impium filium suum.... Hic est
 Titus impius, qui blasphemavit, et male-
 dixit contra Justum, i. e. Deum. Quid
 fecit? Cepit meretricem in manu sua, et
 ingressus in Sancta Sanctorum stravit li-
 brum legis et transgressus est super illum
 transgressionem.

his house, and burnt up his temple, and made Jerusalem desolate. [Here is inserted an account of a trifling discourse and difference between some rabbins.] Whereupon he [Bar-kamtza] went to Rome, and said to the emperor Nero, The Jews have rebelled against thee. Who says this, said the emperor? Kamtza answered: Send to them a sacrifice; see if they will offer it. Bar-kamtza returned. Nero sent by him an heifer three years old. As he was going he made a blemish in the mouth of it; others say in the pupil of it's eye: according to the opinion of others it was no blemish. The rabbins therefore thought it ought to be offered for preserving the peace of the nation. But Rabbi Zacharias, son of Onkelos, said: Shall blemished sacrifices be offered upon the altar? He that brings blemished sacrifices into the sanctuary ought to be put to death. R. Jochanan said: The superstition of R. Zacharias has destroyed our house, and burnt up our temple, and overthrown our city, and caused us to be led captive out of our land. Bar-kamtza therefore sent an account of these things to Nero.... Nero said: The great and blessed God has determined by me to destroy his house. And he sent against them Vespasian, who came and besieged Jerusalem three years and a half. In the mean time there came a messenger to him, who said: Arise, for the emperor Nero is dead, and the nobles of the Romans have agreed to make thee emperor. He went and sent the impious Titus his son.... This is the impious Titus, who blasphemed the Most High, even God himself. What did he do? He took a harlot into the holy of holies, and there lay with her: and he took a sword and cut the veils; at the same time there was a miracle, for blood burst out: he thought he had killed God himself.... Well, what did he? He took the veils and made a sack of them, and put into it all the vessels of the sanctuary: and then put them in a ship, that he might go and triumph in his city.... There stood against him a dragon, that he might drown him in the sea. He said, I think the God of these men has no power

transgressionem. Et accepit gladium, et dirupit vela, et factum est miraculum. Et fuit sanguis erumpens et exiens. Et putavit occidisse ipsam substantiam Dei sancti benedicti, i. e. ipsum Deum.... Quid fecit? Accepit vela, et fecit illa sicut faccum, et adduxit omnia vasa quæ erant in Sanctuario, et posuit illa in illo. Et collocavit illa in navi, ut iret, et gloriaretur in urbe sua.... Stetit contra Draco, vel tempestas, in mari, ut demergeret illum in mari. Dixit: Puto ego, quod Deus horum nullam habet potentiam nisi in mari: Venit Pharao et submersit eum in mari.

Stat etiam contra me, ut me submergat. Si fortis est, ascendat in siccam, et faciat bellum mecum. Exiit filia vocis, et dixit ei; Impie fili impii, fili filii impii Esau: Creatura vilis est mihi in mundo meo; et culex est nomen ejus. Ascende in siccam, et bellum contra illam geres. Statim innuit Deus mari, et quievit. Ascendit in siccam, et venit culex, et ingressus est in nasum ejus, et perforavit illi cerebrum septem annis, et occidit illum. Ex libro Gittin. capite Hannifakin. ap. R. Martin. Pug. Fid. P. 3. cap. xxi, p. 703, 704.

but

‘but in the sea. Pharaoh arose and he drowned him in the sea. He has a mind to destroy me in the like manner: if he has power, let him come upon the dry land and make war with me. There went forth a voice and said to him: O impious son of the wicked man, O son of the impious son of Esau, there is a contemptible creature in my world, called a gnat: go upon the dry land, and you shall make war against it. God presently rebuked the sea, and it was calm. He went out upon the dry land, and the gnat came, and entered into his nose, and gnawed his brain seven years, and killed him.’

J. De Voisin, in his notes upon this passage, particularly the last words of it, quotes some Jewish authors, who say, ‘the story of the fly is not to be understood literally, but mystically, and allegorically, intending to insinuate in men’s minds a persuasion of the power of God, and that he is able to abase those who rise up against him, and to punish the proudest of men by very contemptible creatures.’ Nor is it any wonder that some should be ashamed of this silly story of the fly getting up a man’s nose, and dwelling there seven years. But men of true wisdom can find out more cleanly allegories than this, when they are disposed to make use of that kind of instruction.

Nor has Voisin alleged any Jewish authors, who condemn the horrible story of Titus defiling the sanctuary of the temple with lewdness: though Martini has alleged another Jewish writing in great repute, where the same story is told with all the same horrible, or yet more horrible, circumstances of filthiness, if such there can be: nor is the concluding part of that narrative of the Talmud there omitted. But I presume the Divine Being never arms his feeble creatures to destroy or annoy men for no fault at all; for none, but such as are only imputed to them by those who

Alii asserunt illud de culice, sive musca ejusmodi, non juxta literalem sensum intelligendum esse, sed sensum habere mysticum.... Itaque poteris de historia Titi libere pronuntiare, quod narratio ejus nihil aliud sit, quam inventio, sive fabula, atque modus doctrinæ usitatus apud eruditos ad stabiliendum in corde plebis, quod magnus est Dominus noster, et potentissimus, ad retribuendum illis qui contra ipsum insurgunt: sed in primis ad puniendum superbos etiam per minimam creaturam. Ap. Pugion. Fid. p. 714.

Hucusque Talmud. Legitur quoque in Midrash Kohelet super illud Eccles. cap. v. 8.... Dixit Deus sanctus benedictus Prophetis: Quid vos putatis, quod si

vos non eatis in missionem meam, non sit mihi alius nuncius? In omni ego do missionem vel legationem meam, etiam per serpentem, vel scorpionem, vel culicem, vel ranam. Titus impius ingressus est in Sancta Sanctorum, quando destruxit domum Sanctuarii, et gladius ejus districtus in manu sua, et dirupit duo vela, et accepit duas meretrices in manu illarum, et coivit cum illis, cum una super altare, cum altera super librum legis, et exivit, et gladius ejus plenus sanguine. Et incepit blasphemare, et execrari. Quid fecit? Collegit omnia vasa Sanctuarii, et posuit illa in saccho, et descendit ad navem. Et reliqua, sicut modo ex Talmude citata sunt. Ibid. p. 704, 705.

give a loose to their tongues, to lie and calumniate as they please: for Titus, when he went into the temple at Jerusalem all in flames, neither committed lewdness there, nor did he blaspheme the Deity.

Behold then the temper, the incorrigible temper, of the Jewish people, and their rabbins, the Talmudical writers. Their temple had been burnt up, their city destroyed, their land laid waste, and they carried into captivity: but, instead of repenting, they revile him who, under God, had been the instrument of their chastisement; a prince, who, as good authority says, was as remarkable for the humanity, the compassion, and equity, in his manner of subduing them, as for his military skill and courage. Who then are the men who exalt themselves against God?

But I may no longer indulge myself in such reflections as these. Let us attend for our own benefit. Here is a testimony to the destruction of Jerusalem from Talmudical writers: they agree very much with Josephus in their account of the origin of the war. He says that 'Eleazar, then captain at the temple, persuaded those who officiated in sacred things, not to accept the gift or sacrifice of a stranger: which was the occasion of the war.' The Talmudists say the same thing in different words, after their manner. According to this account also, the war broke out near the end of the reign of Nero, who sent Vespasian general into Judea. Whilst Vespasian was there, carrying on the war, Nero died, and he was chosen to succeed him. When he was chosen emperor at Rome, he sent Titus to carry on the war in Judea: the issue of which was, that the temple was burnt up, their city destroyed, and their whole government overthrown, and they carried into captivity. Moreover, as they here own, Titus was in possession of the veils, and sacred vessels, of the temple, which he took with him to adorn his triumph at Rome. All this (though they relate not particularly the distresses of the siege of Jerusalem) is said, not very differently from Josephus, and more agreeably to him in some respects, than by Josippon, who afterwards wrote at length the history of the war, as we shall see by and by.

† De B. J. l. 2. cap. 17. sect. 2. p. 192.

C H A P. VI.

JOSEPH BEN GORION, or JOSIPPON.

- I. *His age, work, and character.* II. *Extracts from his work; shewing his history of the Jewish war with the Romans, and the destruction of Jerusalem.* III. *Concluding remarks.*

I. WE are now coming to an author of a very extraordinary, or even a singular, character, writer of ^a *The Jewish History* in six books, who styles himself Josippon, or Joseph Ben Gorion.

He had a very high opinion of himself, and has now been for some while in great reputation with the learned men of the Jewish nation.

At the beginning of the thirty-sixth chapter, which is the first chapter of the fifth book, he writes: ‘ So ^b says Joseph Ben Gorion the priest, who has written the things which have happened to Israel, and his calamities, to be a memorial and instruction to his posterity... From this day, and henceforward, this book is to be a testimony to other writers who shall come after me and attempt to write of the same things, and shall allege proofs of what they write. For they will say: “ So and so has recorded Joseph the priest, who is the prince of all writers, who have published books among the people of Israel, excepting only the writers of the four and twenty sacred books.”

And indeed so it has happened. For Rabbi Tham, who published this work in the Hebrew original at Constantinople in the year 1510, and made another edition of it at Venice in 1544, says of it in his preface: ‘ Although ^c this book resembles other

^a Josippon, five Josephi Ben-Gorionis Historiæ Judaicæ libri sex. Ex Hebræo vertit, Præfatione et Notis illustravit Joannes Gagnier. A. M. Oxon. 1706, 4to.

^b Sic ait Joseph Ben Gorion Sacerdos, qui rerum historiam texuit, quæ contigerunt Israeli, et calamitatem ejus, ut sit memoria earum in documentum, et eruditionem posteris ejus. . . .

Hic autem liber ab hac die, et deinceps futurus est in testimonium cæteris scriptoribus, qui post me venturi sunt, et aggredientur scribere, et testimonia allegare. Dicent enim: ‘ Sic et sic memoriæ prodidit Joseph Sacerdos, qui est princeps scriptorum omnium, qui libros ediderunt quotquot reperti sunt in Israel, exceptis quidem scriptoribus quatuor et viginti libro-

rum Sanctorum. lib. 5, c. 36, p. 170.

^c Quamvis autem hic liber cum cæteris libris in genere conveniat, tamen ratione argumenti plurimum ab eis differt. Differentia autem illa præcipue consistit in veritate aut in falsitate. Porro hujus libri verba omnia sunt justitia et veritas: neque perversitas ulla invenitur in eo. Cujus quidem rei signum est, quod propius accedat ad prophetiam, quam cæteri omnes libri, qui post Scripturas sacras editi sunt. Siquidem ante Misnam et Talmud scriptus fuit. Adde quod super virum illum fuit manus Jehovæ, dum hunc librum componeret: et parum abest, quin ejus verba sint verba viri Dei. Præf. R. Tham. De Scopis Libri.

‘books in some respects, it is very different from them in others. The great difference between books consists in their truth or their falsehood. The words of this book are all justice and truth, nor is there any thing perverse in it. The evidence of it is this, that it approacheth nearer to prophecy than any other book written since the sacred scriptures: for it was written before the Mishna and the Talmud. Upon that man was the hand of the Lord when he wrote this book. And it may be said that his words are well-nigh equal to the words of a man of God.’

This work is not so ancient as the author and his admirers pretend, as will be shewn presently. But from the time that he has begun to be taken notice of, as Mr. Gagnier observes in the preface to his edition of this work, ‘all Jewish writers, whether commentators, or historians, or philologers, continually allege it, and quote authorities and testimonies from it, as an authentic and fundamental book. . . . As for the Greek Josephus, they have little regard for him, or rather none at all; but declaim against him as a lying historian, full of falsehoods and flatteries. But their Josippon they extol and magnify as true and almost divine.’

But Christian critics, of the best credit, have argued that the work is the production of a late age. They shew this from the work itself; in which, as Joseph Scaliger has observed, people and countries are called by modern names, not in use till more than six hundred years after our Saviour’s nativity. And he supposeth him to be a Jew that lived in France. He therefore considers him as an impostor.

Fabricius^f has argued in the like manner. He supposeth him

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to

^d Deinde omnes qui secuti sunt Judæi Scriptores, sive Commentatores, sive Historici, sive Philologi, ubique eum allegant, et tanquam ex libro fundamentalis atque authentici testimonia et auctoritates depromunt. . . . Nam quod ad Josephum, Græcum adinet, illum non in magno solent habere pretio, imo ei nullam habent fidem, et tanquam in Historicum mendacem et adulatorem adversus illum acriter invehuntur. Suum vero Josippon quasi hominem veracem et pene divinum summis laudibus ad sidera evehunt, extollunt, et prædicant. &c. Gagnier in Præf. p. xxix.

^e De Josepho Gorionide satis est, si ostendero cujas fuit, quando vixit, cuiusmodi scriptor est. Gallum Judæum fuisse ex agro Turonensi non difficile est colligere, ut qui plus de illis quam de aliis Galliarum tractibus agat. Recentem admo-

dum fuisse arguunt verba locorum recentia, quibus utitur, Tours, Amboise, Chiron. Quæ loca post DC annos a natali Christi adhuc Turones, Ambasia, Kainon Vocabantur. Quare cum Munsterus videret eum Francorum et Gothorum mentionem facere, et Francos interfuisse exequiis Herodis, quos *Γαλαται* Josephus vocavit, ex eo solo potuit odorari hunc scriptorem recentissimum esse, ac proinde plañum, qui nomen Josephi Historici sibi vindicavit. Jo. Scalig. in Elencho Trihar. Vid. Gagnier. Præf. p. xlviii.

^f Caterum eruditissimus hodie plerisque dubium non est, Josephum huncce Hebræum ex Græco, vel potius ex Latina Josephi versione esse expressum, vel excerptum potius: nec Josephum ipsum auctorem, sed longe recentiore aliquem, qui in Britannia Galliarum Armorica non ante

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to have been a Jew who lived in Bretagne in France, in the ninth or tenth century. The many modern names of people and countries made use of by him plainly declares his late age. His Hebrew history is translated, or more properly extracted, from the Greek of Josephus, or rather from a Latin translation of him; taking from him what he likes, omitting some things, and adding others.

To the like purpose Gagnier, in his preface, already cited more than once. Who also says that 'Rabbi^s Saadias Gaon, who wrote his commentary upon the book of Daniel in the year of Christ 936, is the first author who has mentioned Josippon Ben Gorion. He does not expressly name his work, though probably he refers to it.' Gagnier adds: 'The^h first writer, who has expressly mentioned this work with the name of Josippon Ben Gorion, and quoted authorities from it, is Rabbi Solomon Jarchi, who flourished about the year of Christ 1140.'

I refer likewise toⁱ Ittigius, and Basnage, who in^k his History of the Jews, has a long article concerning this writer and his work. He says Josippon lived in the tenth or eleventh century; which he argues after this manner: 'Solomon Jarchi,^l who wrote in the year 1140, is the first who has quoted this Hebrew Joseph. Abraham Ezra, and Abraham Ben Dion, who by their quotations gave the work credit, lived in the same age. It would be very strange that a work should be unknown for three or four hundred years to the nation for whose sake it was composed. But if it was written near the end of the tenth, or the beginning of the eleventh, century, it is not at all strange that it did not begin to be taken notice of till some while after.'

I say nothing more in the way of introduction. I shall now make such extracts out of this work, as may be sufficient to shew the writer's character, and his testimony to the destruction of the temple and Jerusalem by Vespasian and Titus. I have placed

nonum vel decimum seculum vixit, et pro lubitu digessit, addidit, interpolavit, omisit quaecunque ipsi videbantur addenda esse vel omittenda. . . . Ita recentiora longe Josepho tempora arguit, quod memorat Francos, et Burgundiae populum, et Daniscos, ac Danemanam, et Anglicam gentem, et quae in Irlandia sive Hibernia. Fab. Bib. lib. 4, c. 6. T. 3, p. 249. et apud Havercamp. Joseph. T. 2, p. 68.

^h R. Saadias Gaon, qui scribebat circa annum 696, min. supplul. Christ. 936, in suis commentario in Daniele primus om-

nium Josephi Ben Gorionis meminit. . . . Gagn. Pr. p. xxvii.

^h R. Salomo Jarchi, qui florebat circa annum Christi 1140, primus est, qui disertè citat hunc librum sub nomine Josippon, vel Josephi Ben Gorionis, et auctoritates ex eo adducit, quarum loca habes infra in Testimoniis. Gagn. ib. p. xxviii.

ⁱ Ittigi Prolegom. ap. Joseph. Havercamp. Tom. 2, p. 87.

^k Basnage. Hist. des Juifs. liv. 7, ch. vi. p. 1539. . . . 1570.

^l Ib. sect. xxv. p. 1564.

him

him in the tenth century, not very far from the beginning of it, in the year of Christ 930.

II. The work is divided into six books and ninety-seven chapters. The sixth and last of which books consists of five and fifty chapters.

The forty-third chapter, which is the first of the sixth book, begins in this manner. 'Thus ^m says Joseph Ben Gorion the priest, the same who is also called Josippon. . . This is the book which I have entitled The Wars of Jehovah, because it contains the history of the calamities of the house of our sanctuary, and of our land, and our glory.'

My readers cannot but remember that our Greek ⁿ Josephus, when he gives an account of the determination of the Jewish people to go to war with the Romans, informs us that they appointed Joseph Gorion, and Ananus the high-priest, to preside at Jerusalem. Others were sent as generals into several parts of the country; and himself, Joseph son of Matthias, was appointed governor of the two Galilees, together with the præfecture of Gamala annexed to them.

Our author's account of the same determination is to this purpose: 'The ^o Jews, out of their generals which were at Jerusalem, chose three princes valiant for war; me, Joseph the priest, valiant for war with the help of Jehovah, and Ananus the priest, and Eleazar his son, priests also, and by lot they divided to them the several parts of the country in which they should carry on the war. The third part, which was the first lot, containing the land of Galilee and Napthali, came out to Joseph Ben Gorion the priest; and they called him Josippon by way of praise and honour; forasmuch as he was then anointed with the military ointment for the war. The second lot came out to Ananus the high priest, to govern at Jerusalem and the adjoining country. The third lot came out to Eleazar, son of

^m Sic dicit Joseph Ben Gorion sacerdos. Ipse est Josippon, nomine quidem diminutivo Josippon. . . Hic est liber ille, quem appellavi titulo, Bella Jehovah, eo quod continet historiam calamitatum desolationis Domus Sanctuarii nostri, et terræ nostræ, et gloriæ nostræ. Lib. 6, c. 43, p. 189.

ⁿ D. B. J. l. 2, cap. 20.

^o Quæ omnia cum audissent Judæi, elegerunt e duobus, qui erant in Juda et Jerusalem tres principes fortissimos bello, Me scilicet, Joseph Sacerdotem fortissimum bello cum auxilio Jehovah, et Anani Sacerdotem, et Eleazar Sacerdotem filium ejus, et præfecerunt illos super terram, et

partiti sunt terram Judæ inter illos per sortem, dederuntque illis præsidio manum Judæorum ad bellum gerendum. Et obtigit tertia pars terræ per primam sortem scilicet, omnis terra Galileæ a terra Nephthali, et deinceps, Josepho filio Gorionis Sacerdoti, in honorem et gloriam. Et appellaverunt illum Josippon in titulum dignitatis et laudis: quia tunc unctus fuit unctione militari. Deinde fors secunda exiit pro Anano Sacerdote magno, Jerusalem scilicet, et omnia circum vicina loca, . . . Fors denique tertia egressa est Eleazaro filio Anani, &c. Josipp. c. 67, p. 293.

'Ananus, and what follows.' This should be compared with what is written by ^p Josephus.

Thus he adopts the appellation of Joseph son of Gorion * *; but personates Joseph son of Matthias; and like him he is appointed governor of Galilee; and all along he will be Josephus in the main, and another person when he pleaseth. He will also transcribe the Greek Josephus, and copy a large part of his history of the Jewish war without taking any notice of him. If he differs from him, and adds to him, it is not taken out of any other writers better informed, but from his own invention only.

Being come into Galilee he there orders things very agreeably to what we have formerly seen in our Greek Josephus. At length he ^q flies from Vespasian and Titus and the Roman army, and shuts himself up in Jotapata. Vespasian ^r with his army comes before Jotapata. The ^s city is taken after a siege of eight-and-forty days. Joseph ^t himself, and with him forty more, go out of the city and hide themselves in a cave. Vespasian sends Nicanor to Joseph with offers of peace and safety if he would surrender. But ^u the forty men who were with him chose rather to die by their own hands. After long arguing Joseph proposeth that they should cast lots till they were all killed. Which being done, there were none left alive but Joseph and one more, who at length consented to surrender. Joseph ^x then calls to Nicanor, and they yield up themselves to him. Vespasian, when Joseph was brought before him, treated him kindly, and carried him about with him from place to place, together with ^y Agrippa.

So far there is a great agreement between our Josephus and Joseph Ben Gorion. But now they differ. For Josippon entirely omits the compliments which our Josephus paid to Vespasian.

^p De B. Jud. lib. 2, c. 20, sect. 1, 2, 3.

* * Gagnier, in his notes upon this place, p. 293, assigns some reasons why this writer chose to be thought the son of Gorion, rather than the son of Matthias. Cur autem hic noster Gorionis filius quam Matthiae esse voluerit, ratio videtur fuisse, quod cum nomen Gorionis cujusdam insignis viri mentio aliquando in Talmude occurrat, atque etiam Nicodemi filii Gorionis, in eam familiam ipsi se adoptare visum est, ut prodiret in lucem gratior contribulibus suis, eisque facilius imponeret. Vid. reliqua ibid. Et Conf. not. P, ap. Jos. Havercamp. p. 207.

^q At vero ut audivit Josephus, quod venit Vespasianus, et cum eo filius ejus Titus, omnisque exercitus ejus, ut praelium committeret, fugit Josephus a facie eorum in Jotapatam urbem magnam, quae est in

Galilaea: et inclusit se Josephus et omnis exercitus intra illam. c. 68, p. 299.

^r Cap. 69, p. 300, et cap. 70, p. 301, &c.

^s Cap. 71, p. 307.

^t Tunc surrexit Josephus ipse, et quadraginta viri ex militibus, qui residui erant cum illo, et egressi sunt ex urbe, fugeruntque in sylvam, ubi inventa caverna illuc intraverunt, delitueruntque omnes in illa caverna. &c. Cap. 71, p. 307.

^u Cap. 72, p. 315. . . 319.

^x Cap. 73, p. 319, &c.

^y Cum ergo audivisset Vespasianus Titum filium suum, recta visa sunt verba illius in oculis ejus, et clementia usus est erga Josephum sacerdotem, et prohibuit, quo minus moreretur gladio, et constituit eum principem, et magnum inter principes suos, et secum ducebat de urbe in urbem cum Agrippa rege. c. 73, p. 321.

Upon ^a the death of Nero, and after the short reigns of Galba and Vitellius, Vespasian is declared emperor by the soldiers in Judea; and, after some hesitation, he is persuaded to accept of the diadem from them.

Some while ^a after that, Vespasian takes part of the army, and goes to Rome: but leaves the other part with Titus to carry on the siege of Jerusalem. However, he orders Titus to stay at Alexandria till he shall send to him from Rome.

‘When ^b Vespasian left Judea to go to Rome he took with him Agrippa, and his son Monbaz, lest they should rebel against him. With himself and them he also took me Joseph the priest, bound with iron chains.’ And when Vespasian was come to Rome he ordered that ^c Joseph should be sent to prison and kept bound there.

Vespasian upon his arrival at Rome was received joyfully by the senators and all the people in general. And ^d in a short time he is inaugurated with great solemnity. Agrippa and his son are allowed to be with the senators; and Joseph himself, though a prisoner, is allowed by the keeper of the prison to have a place where he may see all.

The ^e coronation is then described by him in a pompous manner; seven electors of the empire attending, agreeably to the coronations of the emperors in late ages, a good while after the time of Charles the great, as ^f Gagnier observes in a note which I shall place below. Basnage thinks that ^g this Hebrew Joseph intends the coronation of Otho the first, or his son, Otho the se-

^a Cap. 75, p. 333, 334.

^b Cap. 77, p. 340.

^c Abiit itaque Vespasianus Romam. Cumque pergeret, ut iterum acciperet illic coronam regni, duxit secum Agrippam regem, et Monbaz filium ejus. Dixerat enim, ne forte rebellet contra me. Duxit præterea cum eis, et secum, meipsum Josephum sacerdotem vinctum catenis ferreis. Cap. 77, p. 340.

^d Tunc jussit, et vinxerunt me in domo carceris. Agrippam vero et filium ejus ipsorum arbitrio reliquit. Ib. p. 341.

^e Postridie illius diei congregati sunt omnes Senatores Romani, ut Vespasianum Cæsarem crearent, secundum jus Cæsareæ dignitatis pro consuetudine Romana. Porro Agrippa et filius ejus erant cum illis. At ego supplex rogavi principem domus carceris. . . Et inveni gratiam in oculis ejus, et introduxit me in confessum regni, ubi fieri debebat inauguratio Cæsaris: attamen vinctum catenis ferreis, et collocavit juxta se in loco,

unde vidi omnia quæ facta sunt. Ib. p. 341.

^f Cum itaque perventum est ad illum locum, accedunt ad eum septem Reges coronis suis insignes, quas acceperunt de manu Cæsaris. Electi vero jussu Senatus Romani. &c. Ibid.

^g Fingit hic fabulator Josephum, id est, seipsum a Vespasiano Romam perductum fuisse, ut ibi spectator adesset ejus coronationis, quam describit cum omni illa ceremonia inaugurationis Cæsaris, qualis longe post tempora Caroli Magni, sub Romanis Pontificibus instituta fuit, præsentibus nempe et ministrantibus Septem Imperii Electoribus, cum toto illo apparatu, quem fusc et lepide narrat. Gagn. p. 341.

^h Tous ces caractères nous font croire, que le Joseph Hebreu n'a vécu qu'à la fin de dixième, ou plutôt dans l'onzième siècle, et que le couronnement, dont il a laissé la description, est celui d'Othon I. ou de son fils Othon II. Basnag. ut supr. § xxiv. p. 1563.

cond. And he considers this article as a proof that Josippon lived in the tenth, or rather in the eleventh, century.

‘ Soon after his coronation,’ as this author says, ‘ Vespasian^h was offended with Agrippa upon account of some calumnies cast upon him, which he had received from wicked men of the Jewish nation: whereupon he slew Agrippa, and his son Monbaz, with the sword. Which was done three years and a half before the desolation of the house.’

So writes this author. Supposing Agrippa to have been put to death at this time, I do not conceive how it could be done three years and a half before the destruction of the temple. Besides, Agrippa survived the Jewish war and the destruction of Jerusalem many years: as is attested not only by Josephus, but also by ancient medalsⁱ still extant.

Rabbi Isaac, in his *Munimen Fidei*, written in the^k sixteenth century, has quoted this passage of our author. And I have put down his words in the margin: though, perhaps, they may be taken notice of again hereafter.

In^l the same year and month that Agrippa and his son were put to death, Vespasian sent for Joseph, and spake comfortably to him, and released him from his bonds. Joseph complained of the death of Agrippa; but Vespasian assured him he had good reason for so doing. And now Vespasian sent Joseph to Titus at Alexandria, with a letter of recommendation. Joseph goes to Alexandria. Titus^m and all his counsellors rejoiced at the arrival of Joseph: ‘ For he was full of the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and valour, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord.’ *Ih. xi. 1, 2.* Afterⁿ some consultation it was determined to go up to Jerusalem and besiege it. ‘ For

^h Post aliquot autem dies, ex quo Vespasianus Cæsar factus fuit, indignatus est adversus Agrippam, quia calumniati sunt eum impii Israel, dicentes eum cogitasse perfide agere in illum, et idcirco misisse literas in Jerusalem ea de re. Interfecit itaque illum et filium ejus Monbaz gladio. Quod quidem contigit tribus annis cum dimidio ante desolationem domus. &c. c. 77, p. 344. ⁱ Vid. Gagnier in loc.

^k Verba, *Væ pastori meo nibili delinquenti gregem.* [*Zach. xi. 17.*] Agrippam respiciunt, qui Romam se contulit, atque inde evocavit Vespasianum, hujusque privignum Titum, adversus Hierosolymas, tandem autem irasci illi cœpit Vespasianus, eumque una cum Monbaso filio securi percussit tribus et dimidio annis ante templi desolationem. Cæterum ob illam, quæ

inter regem Agrippam et improbos duces factiosorum exorta fuerat contentionem, denique desolatum fuit templum, uti ex Josepho constat. *Munimen Fidei*. p. 417.

^l Cap. 78, p. 344.

^m Postea Profectus Josephus Româ venit Alexandriam. Cumque audisset Titus de adventu Josephi, lætatus est plurimum ipse, et omnes seniores et sapientes, qui cum illo erant. Josephus enim plenus erat spiritu sapientiæ et intelligentiæ, spiritu consilii et fortitudinis, spiritu scientiæ, et timoris Jehovæ. cap. 78, p. 346.

ⁿ Postea consilium inierunt inter se, ut ascenderent in Jerusalem, et obsiderent eam. Sciebat enim Josephus a Jehova hoc esse, neque possibile esse, ut verbum Jehovæ convertatur retrorsum. *Ib.* p. 347.

‘ Joseph

‘ Joseph knew that it was of the Lord, and that it was not possible that the word of the Lord should be turned back.’ Titus therefore went from Alexandria to Judea.

In ° the first year of the reign of Vespasian, in the tenth month, and the seventh day of the month, came Titus with Joseph, and all his forces, and his army, to the delightful city of Cæsarea; where he was employed in collecting his forces from all parts, till he had completed his army for besieging Jerusalem. There ° he stayed all the winter till the month of Abib, or March. During this whole year, the first year of the reign of Vespasian, were grievous wars and fightings in the midst of Jerusalem. From the time that Vespasian left Judea to go to Rome, there to receive the confirmation of the empire, in summer and winter were perpetual quarrels and contentions between the three parties, into which the people of Jerusalem were divided, and headed by three leaders, Simon, John, and Eleazar. ‘ For ° at that time God poured out a spirit of insensibility in the midst of Jerusalem:’ If. xxix. 10. And they destroyed, as ° this writer says, a thousand and four hundred garners, filled with things that might have been useful in a siege; for there were in them provisions sufficient to maintain two hundred thousand people for twenty years. But by the madness of these robbers all was consumed by fire: which brought on the famine in Jerusalem.

And now this writer makes a long and grievous lamentation over ° Jerusalem: which in the Hebrew original, as ° Gagnier observes, is a sort of metrical composition, not in use among the Jews, till long after the supposed time of the author.

° Anno primo regni Vespasiani, mense decimo, die septimo mensis venit Titus cum Josepho, et cum omnibus copiis suis, et exercitu suo in urbem Cæsareæ gratissimam et desideratissimam omnibus, qui illam viderunt. cap. 79, p. 347.

° Mansitque illic, donec complerentur dies brumæ, et dies hiemis, et donec venirent dies Abib. Toto autem hoc anno primo regni Vespasiani, quo erectus est super regnum Romanorum, . . . ingruerunt prælia durissima in medio Jerusalem inter habitatores ejus per crudelitatem iræ et furoris, et percutiebant unusquisque proximum suum, nulla interposita quiete aut mora. Quinetiam nulla cessatio belli fuit inter illos tota hieme, ut post est universæ terræ, sed et æstate et hieme duraverunt prælia Simonem inter et Jehochananem. Porro tertius fuit Eleazarus. Atque hoc ab ipso die, quo proficiscens Vespasianus de terra Juda abiit Romam, ut illic de novo susciperet regnum Cæsareæ

dignitatis, secundum jus consuetudinis Romanæ. Ibid. ° Eo anno effudit

Jehova spiritum vertiginis in medium Jerusalem. . . . p. 348.

° Porro numerus horreorum illorum in Jerusalem erat mille et quadringentorum: et omnia plene commeatibus victus pro tempore obsidionis. Tempore autem, quo Vespasianus venit in urbes Galileæ, Seniores et viri fide digni, qui æstimaverunt quantitatem proventus horreorum illorum, invenerunt in illis esse commeatus et victus pro ducentis mille animabus per viginti annos. Et tunc in bello latronum, hæc omnia cremata sunt. Cæpitque fames in Jerusalem. p. 350.

° Lamentatus est itaque Josephus lamentationem hanc super Jerusalem, et dixit. . . c. 80, p. 350 . . . 355.

° Lamentatio Josephi. In Hebræo est carmen rithmicum. Quod genus poëseos multis post seculis a recentioribus Judæis, Arabum exemplo usurpatum est. Gagn. not. p. 350.

Titus

Titus^u draws out his numerous forces, and reviews them in a plain near Cæsarea, and then moves toward Jerusalem.

It is not my intention to relate particularly from this writer, as I have done from Josephus, the attacks of Titus, and the defences of the people in the city. I shall pass over a great deal.

‘Whilst^x they were hard pressed by the Romans, the three parties within agreed, and joined together, in opposing the common enemy. But, as soon as the Romans gave them any respite, the three rulers of the robbers within exercised a cruel war with one another; insomuch that the blood of the citizens ran like a torrent out of the gates of Jerusalem in the fight of the Romans, who could not forbear to pity them.’ Those expressions are extravagant. But what is here said may be compared with Josephus de B. J. l. 5, cap. vi. § 1. Upon this occasion our author made another lamentation.

After^y having carried on the siege for some while, Titus draws off from the city, and for several days ceaseth to make any attacks. And by Joseph, who addresseth them in a very long speech, in their own language, he makes them offers of peace, that he might preserve their temple and city. But they hardened their necks, and would not hear. In^z this speech he tells them, not disagreeably to what the Greek Josephus says [de B. J. l. 5, cap. ix. p. 350.] that, for their sins, the waters of Siloam had before failed on a sudden; but now they flowed plentifully in the camp of the Gentiles fighting against them. In this speech he goes on and says: ‘though^a I am in the camp of the Romans,

^u Postea Titus venit in planitiem Cæsareæ cum exercitu, et recensuit exercitum suum. &c. cap. 81, p. 355.

^x Quando instabat prælium Romanorum, omnes ad invicem coalescebant, tanquam unus vir ad pugnam, et pugnabant contra Romanos, fugabantque illos a se. Et postquam fugaverant a se Romanos, revertebantur ad se, et incipiebant pugnare unusquisque in fratrem suum. Tuncque fiebat prælium magnum et durum inter tres principes latronum crudelium, donec egrederetur sanguis extra portas Jerusalem, tanquam torrens scaturiens de scaturigine aquarum. Videbantque Romani sanguinem egredientem de portis Jerusalem. Et contrebatur cor eorum in medio ipsorum, et flebant, et dolebant ea de re. Josephus autem sacerdos stabat cum eis. Tunc lamentatus est Josephus lamentationem hanc iterum super Jerusalem. Et prolocutus est Josephus alte proferens vocem lamentationis, et dixit, &c. c. 82, p. 362, &c.

^y Tunc temporis iussit populum suum discedere a muro extra urbem, et cessare a bello per aliquot dies, ut clamaret pacem in auribus Judæorum. cap. 84, p. 369... 377, et cap. 85, p. 378... 385.

^z Nunc autem videte malum vestrum esse maximum, et quod Jehova non sit in medio vestri, quia propter bella, quæ geritis unusquisque cum fratre suo mox brevi siccatae sunt apud vos aquæ Siloe. At vero in castris Gentium, quando congregatae sunt contra vos, ecce aquæ Siloe redundant, et fluunt instar torrentis, et fluvii magni pleni super omnes margines suos. cap. 85, p. 383, m.

^a Porro, quamvis ego sim in castris Romanorum, tamen reputor idem, ac si essem vobiscum: quia ecce nunc uxor mea dilectissima, carissima, vobiscum est, uxor nempe juventutis meæ. Neque respicio illam, et licet filii ex ea non sint mihi, nihilominus illam diligo plurimum, cum sit ex familiis nobilissimis et optimis populi Dei,

'mans, I am still considered as one of you. For with you is
'my dear wife, the wife of my youth, whom I still embrace,
'though I have had no children by her. With you also are my
'father and mother. He is now an hundred and three years
'old, and my mother eighty-five. I am sixty-four years of age,
'and have not yet attained to the term of human life.'

Many, he^b says, wept at hearing him; and many people of
meaner rank would willingly have gone out of the city to sur-
render themselves to Titus; but the three leaders of the factions,
Simon, and Eleazar, and John, prevented them by their severe
threatenings, and the strict guard they kept over them.

In^c the mean time the famine increased, and was very griev-
ous. The people ate mice, spiders, weasels, serpents, toads:
and if the carcase of a horse or other beast was found, in any of
the streets of Jerusalem, multitudes contended for it.

Titus^d continues his attacks, but the Jews gain great advan-
tages over him. They killed a great number of his men, and
destroyed his platforms, which gave him^e great concern.

Soon after that, 'Titus, as this author says, received numerous
recruits from all nations and countries subject to the Roman em-
pire. At their arrival, Titus represents to their generals and chief
men the state of things, and how the Jews had prevailed, and
still had great strength remaining. These recruits, however, are
very willing to engage with the Jews: and^f out of the vast
numbers

Dei, et populi virorum. Quin et pater
meus et mater mea, infelices, pauperes,
sancti, senes, proventi in diebus apud vos
sunt. Nam et pater meus est centum et
trium annorum hodie. Mater vero mea
octoginta et quinque annorum est hodie.
Ego vero paucos et malos, et per varias
tribulationes et ærumnas sexaginta et qua-
tuor annos exegi, ac nondum attigi ter-
minum, qui postulet mortem juxta viam
naturæ. &c. cap. 85, p. 383, fin.

^b Cum ergo audivisset populus verba Jo-
sephi sacerdotis, fleverunt plurimum. . . .
Et quidem summopere optabat plebs infima
exire ad Titum, et pacem inire cum illo
juxta consilium Josephi. Sed astabant Si-
mon, Eleazarus, et Jochanan, principes
latronum, et præposuerunt viros fortissimos
ad portas. . . . &c. c. 86, p. 385.

^c Interea fames ingravescbat in Jerusa-
lem. . . . Crescebat autem malum eo us-
que, ut populus comederet omne genus
reptilium terræ a mure usque ad araneam,
et ad serpentem, et mustellam, et bufonem.
. . . Si forte inveniretur in Jerusalem ca-
daver equi, aut cadaver cujuslibet bestię,

multi ex Israel inter se pugnabant, et mor-
tui corruerant, dum pugnarent super ca-
daver bestię, aut super cadaver feræ. . . .
cap. 86, p. 385, 386.

^d Cap. 87,
p. 388. . . . 391. ^e Cap. 88, p. 391, 392.

^f Eo tempore congregatæ sunt innu-
meræ turbæ ex omnibus gentibus, et ve-
nerunt contra Jerusalem in auxilium Ro-
manorum ex omnibus dominiis Cæsareæ
dignitatis ad Romam pertinentibus. . . .
Narravit autem Titus senioribus gentium,
quæ sibi venerant in auxilium, ea omnia,
quæ sibi contigerant dum oppugnavit Je-
rusalem. . . . Narravit etiam, quomodo per-
diderant milites suos, et principes suos, . . .
omnesque machinas suas dirutrices, et om-
nia instrumenta belli, quæ secum habebat,
corruerant. cap. 88, p. 393, 394.

^g Electi sunt itaque ex turmis nationum
illarum octoginta millia virorum, scilicet
decem millia Macedonum, viginta millia
virovum Britaniæ, quinque millia Syro-
rum, decem millia virorum Africæ, decem
millia fortissimorum ex viris Borgoniæ,
quinque millia de filiis Cedar, decem millia
militum ex fortissimis Persarum et Chal-
dæorum.

numbers of fresh men, supposed to be capable of doing more than the Romans, who were fatigued and worn out, and discouraged with the fatigues of a long siege, were selected eighty thousand men, Macedonians, Britans, Syrians, Africans, Burgundians, Persians, Chaldeans. All these, without any Romans joined with them, marched in order toward Jerusalem, and encamped near it. And then they began to attack the wall, and to fight with the Jews that were upon it.

‘Now ^h the three leaders within the city, John, and Simon, and Eleazar, consult together between themselves, and with their friends, what was best to be done. It was agreed that two should go out of the city, and the other abide within. John then and Eleazar went out, having with them fifteen hundred of the most valiant of their men. They prevailed and slew their enemies with the edge of the sword from morning to evening. The day on which this battle was fought,’ he says, ‘was the ninth day of the month Thebet, which was the tenth month from the arrival of Titus before Jerusalem. And they slew of the hosts of the Gentiles, seven-and-fifty thousand and five hundred. They took captive three thousand of their chiefs, putting the rest to flight. Of the Jews there fell on that day seven men. And they brought off their dead and their wounded to Jerusalem: where they buried their dead, that the uncircumcised might not insult them.’

‘Whereupon ⁱ John and Eleazar returned to Jerusalem with their brethren, singing a hymn of triumph, and offering praises to Jehovah. The rest of those nations returned to the camp of Titus in shame and confusion. . . The day after, the robbers took the three thousand chiefs, whom they had brought captives, and put out an eye of every one of them, and also cut off

daorum. Et progressi sunt eo ordine, quo venerunt: neque unus Romanus ex illis. Abierunt autem in planitiem, quæ erat e regione Sepulchri Jehochanan sacerdotis magni. Et coeperunt miscere prælia cum Judæis, qui erant super murum, et admovere scalas cum instrumentis ligneis quibus tegebantur, ut ascenderent ad eos supra murum. Ib. p. 394, 395.

^h Egressi sunt ergo Jehochanan et Eleazarus cum mille et quingentis fortissimis Latronum et percusserunt turmas gentium plaga gladii, . . a mane diei pugnae usque ad vespæram. Quod quidem contigit nona die mensis Thebet, qui fuit decimus ab adventu Titi in Jerusalem, et prostraverunt ex turmis gentium illarum quinquaginta septem millia cum quingentis. Et cepe-

runt ex eis vivos ter mille principes, cæteris in fugam coniectis. Ex Judæis autem ceciderunt illa die septem viri, et vulneratos suos secum extulerunt latrones, ut illos sepelirent, ne insultarent eis incircumcisi. Ib. p. 395.

ⁱ Venerunt itaque Jehochanan et Eleazarus in Jerusalem cum fratribus suis cantantes hymnum, et gratiarum actiones Jehovæ. Reliquæ autem fugientium ex turmis nationum illarum reversæ sunt ad castra Titi cum ignominia. . . Postridie Latrones acceperunt tria millia principum, quos comprehenderant vivos, effoderunt unicuique eorum oculum, manumque amputaverunt, atque ita remiserunt eos ad castra Titi, ut ipsi essent dedecori et opprobrio. Ib. p. 395.

‘one of their hands, and so sent them back to the camp of Titus.’

All fiction, surely; without any ground or authority from Josephus, or any other ancient writer that we know of! We here plainly see that the author was an artful man. He knew how to flatter and please his own nation. And he has obtained his end. He is in admiration with them.

At that ^k time Titus consulted with his generals, and his soldiers, and his whole army, that it might be determined what was best to be done, especially considering the strength and fortitude of the Jewish people. After a long consultation, the opinion of Titus, which he was resolved to adhere to, was, that the siege of the city should be continued without making any attacks upon it. ‘For,’ says he, ‘their provisions fail already, and will be all speedily consumed. Moreover, they will quarrel among themselves, and thus hasten their ruin; and we shall overcome.’

‘And indeed,’ says ^l this writer, ‘the famine prevailed greatly. And if it had not, the city could not have been broken up nor taken for ever: for the valiant of Israel were *swifter than eagles, and stronger than lions*, 2 Sam. i. 23. But the famine consumed them. The streets were filled with dead bodies; nor were there any to bury them. And when Titus saw the dead cast out from the city, like dung upon the earth, he was much affected at the sight; and, lifting up his hands to heaven, he fell down upon his knees and said: “This is not my work.” He had desired peace: but the people would not accept of it.’

In ^m the following, the eighty-ninth chapter, is an account of several acts of cruelty committed by Simon in putting to death Amittai, or Matthias, and others.

In ⁿ the mean while, as he says in the ninetieth chapter, Gorion the

^k Eo tempore Titus consilium inivit cum principibus, et militibus suis, et cum filiis populi sui Romanis, et cum populo omnium nationum, quæ cum eis conveniant, dicens: Quid faciemus contra Iherusalem, et contra fortunam ejus? . . . At consilia eorum omnium contentui fuerunt coram Tito. . . Dixit ergo eis Titus. Hoc est consilium meum, quod a me ipso juxta rectam rationem profertur, neque ab eo recedam. Cedo, teneamus urbem hanc obsessam, neve oppugnemus illam amplius. Victus enim et commeatus eorum omnino defecerunt, neque cibus est apud illos. Haud dubium, quin fames illos consumptura est: neque etiam dubi-

um est, quin, quando viderint nos non amplius miscere prælia cum illis, ipsi prælia misceant inter se, unusquisque adversus fratrem suum. . . Ib. 395, 396.

^l Porro, nisi grassata fuisset fames in Jerusalem, nunquam perrupta fuisset urbs, neque capta in æternum. Fortes enim Israel erant velociores aquilis, et fortiores leonibus, Ib. p. 396.

^m Cap. 89, p. 397. . . 406.

ⁿ Interea Gorion sacerdos, pater Josephi sacerdotis, qui scripsit hunc librum Israeli, ut esset illis in testimonium, et in memoriale, tunc erat vinctus catenis ferreis, et in vinculis æreis in una e turribus Jerusalem. Ipse autem senex processerat in diebus,

the priest, father of Joseph, who wrote this book for Israel, to be a memorial and testimony to them, was a prisoner in one of the towers upon the wall, bound in iron fetters. Joseph came near to the place, hoping to see his aged father: but the Jews cast stones at him, and wounded him. And now likewise, he at length gets a sight of his mother. She was not bound with chains, though she was kept prisoner in the house of Simon. But she got upon the wall to see her son and make her lamentations to him. His father was about one hundred and three years of age, and his mother eighty-five.

It is observable that about this time, after the slaughter of Amittai, or Matthias, and his sons, by order of Simon, Josephus^o also makes mention of his father and mother, as being in Jerusalem. And about this time also Josephus was wounded: not for attempting to see his father or mother, but as he was going round the city near the walls of it, proposing arguments to the people within to surrender to Titus for their benefit.

The famine being very severe in the city, many Jews in good circumstances went out in order to go over to the Romans. But it being found that some of them had gold and jewels hid in their bowels, they were ripped up by the Arabian and Syrian soldiers which were in the army of Titus. Some of the Roman soldiers did the like. In this practice the Arabians and Syrians killed a thousand Jews. When Titus heard of it he was exceedingly grieved and provoked. And he gave orders that all who had done this thing should be put to death, and that their goods should be given to living Jews, heirs of the dead. Upon this occasion six thousand Arabians and Syrians suffered death.

A most unlikely thing, and mere romance! No general would shew such favour to a resolute people whom he was besieging with an army. Josephus says that two thousand of the Jews were thus cruelly destroyed by the Syrian and other soldiers for

bus, natus scilicet centum et trium annorum. . . . Eo tempore venit Josephus, filius ejus versus murum & regione turris, in qua erat pater ejus Gorion sacerdos tunc illic vinctus. . . . cap. 90, p. 406, &c.

^o De B. J. l. 5, c. xiii. numb. 1, 2, 3.

P Porro Judæi, qui egressi fuerant de Jerusalem ad castra Romanorum . . . deglutierunt aurum et argentum, et gemmas, et lapides pretiosos. . . . Cumque animadvertissent nonnulli ex Syris et Arabibus illos ita facere, indicavit rem unusquisque fecisse suo. . . . Tum apprehenderunt illos, et scissis eorum visceribus, invenerunt in-

tra viscera aurum, et lapides pretiosos. . . . Factusque numerus scissorum per manus Syrorum et Arabum mille animarum. Cumque audivisset Titus rem illam pessimam, . . . indignatus est, et accensus est furor ejus admodum. Tunc jussit comprehendere omnes, qui patravrant hujusmodi facinus pessimum, et jugulari, ac deinde dari omnes facultates eorum Judæis vivis hæredibus mortuorum. Et mortui sunt propter hoc facinus, jussu Titii, tum ex Syris, tum ex Arabibus sex millia virorum. cap. 91, p. 411, 412.

^q De B. J. l. 5, c. xiii. § 4, 5. p. 361, 362.

the sake of the gold hid in their bodies. He also says, Titus was much displeased, and would have ordered his horse to surround the criminals and kill them with darts; but he considered that the number of the guilty exceeded that of the slain. He therefore was obliged to content himself with forbidding that cruelty for the future, upon the pain of heavy punishment.

This author moreover says, that 'strict' inquiry was made by 'Titus after the Romans who had been guilty of the like action; and they were found to be three hundred and twenty men, whom Titus ordered to be burnt to death in one pit or cistern. After which all Jews who came over to Titus were treated by the soldiers very civilly, and they lived very quiet and unmolested in his camp.' All fiction from this author's fruitful invention! And the story is made out, as it seems, to do honour to his nation, at the same time that their city was falling into ruin, and they going into captivity!

He likewise tells the story which Josephus has done of the crucifixion of the Jews before the walls of the city, five hundred in a day, and sometimes more, as Josephus says. But this author tells it very differently in this manner. Some went out of the city with their wives, and sons and daughters, and little ones, to gather herbs for food; and the Romans slew all the young people, saying: 'Let us kill these, lest they they grow up and fight against us, as their fathers have done.' So the Romans acted from day to day, till the number of slain and hanged up amounted to five hundred. The like to this was done within

* Fuitque numerus eorum, qui reperti sunt, tum eorum qui fecerunt, tum eorum qui noverant, trecentorum et viginti virorum. At jussit Titus servis suis, et combusserunt omnes in medio cisternæ unius. Et deinceps Judæi cum fiducia in castris Titi degebant, neque ultra fuit adversarius, aut incurfus malus. Sed quotiescunque Romanus inveniebat Judæum aliquem perplexum aut errantem extra castra procul, clam illum deducens comitabatur usque dum ad castra incolumem, et tranquille, et cum securitate bona redixisset. cap. 91, p. 413.

† De B. J. l. 5. cap. xi. n. 1. Quando aliqui ab urbe exibant cum uxoribus, et filiis, et filiabus, et parvulis suis, ut invenirent herbas, . . . Romani qui illos inveniebant, jugulabant natos eorum, et dicebant: Jugulemus hos parvulos, ne adolecant, et successu dierum pugnent nobiscum, sicut patres illorum. Idcirco Romani trucidabant infamam plebem, quotquot exibant

ab urbe, et suspendebant illos ad arbores ex adverso portæ Jerusalem. Sicque faciebant Romani quotidie. Pervenitque numerus occisorum, et suspensorum ad quingentas animas. Idem etiam faciebant Simon, Jehochanan, et Eleazarus, iis omnibus, quos capiebant ex cohortibus Romanorum, postquam illos per insidias circumvenerant. Eodem modo animadvertiebant in eos, qui quærebant exire, ut perfugerent ad illos. Jugulabant enim eos, et cadavera suspendebant super murum ex adverso Romanorum. . . . Fuitque numerus suspensorum per manus Latronum quingentorum virorum, tot scilicet numero, quot suspendebant Romani ex Judæis. Itaque Titus præcepit omnibus viris exercitus sui dicens: Quicumque interfecerit aliquem ex iis, qui egrediuntur de Jerusalem, morietur. Et quidem ita fecit Titus, quia flagrabant viscera ejus super Israel. cap. 86, p. 386.

the city by Simon, and John, and Eleazar. They killed and hung up upon the walls all the Romans which they could catch, and all their own people who endeavoured to go out of the city, till they amounted also to the number of five hundred: which when Titus saw, he gave strict orders to all the men of his army not to kill any Jews that came out of Jerusalem. If any did so, they should be put to death. For his bowels yearned over Israel.

So says this fantastical writer.

He computes the taking of Antonia to have been on the fifth day of Sivan, the third month, on the eve of the feast of weeks, or Pentecost; the fourteenth month from the coming of Titus to besiege Jerusalem. So ^u at the end of ch. 91.

He proceeds, ^x in the ninety-second chapter, to relate contentions and fightings of the Jews and Romans at the temple, or near it; which I need not rehearse particularly: especially, since it is not all exact truth or matter of fact, but exaggeration agreeable to this author's fancy.

At the beginning of the ^y ninety-third chapter he tells the story of Mary, who, in the extremity of the famine, killed her only child, and dressed it, and ate a part of it. The same story that is told by ^z Josephus: but their harangues upon the event are different.

In the next chapter ^a the temple is on fire, and the doors of the house of the sanctuary were opened on the ninth day of the fifth month, the same day of the month in the which it had been

^u Ut autem vidit Titus Turrin Antoniam esse in Laqueum Romanis, iussit Titus ut diruerent illam. Quod quidem contigit in quinta in Sivan, mense tertio, in vespera festi Hebdomadarum. Ipse est mensis quartus decimus ab adventu Titi ad obsidendam Jerusalem. cap. 91. in fin. p. 420. ^x p. 420...431. ^y p. 431.

^z De B. J. l. 6. cap. iii. § 4.

^a Postridie congregati Romani miserunt ignem in Sanctum Sanctorum in circuitu. . . . Mox incaluit aurum, et combusta sunt ligna valvarum, et ceciderunt in terram, et aperta fuit domus Sancti Sanctorum in oculis omnium mense quinto nona die mensis, eo ipso die, quo aperta fuerat domus Sancti Sanctorum in diebus Chaldaeorum. Et statim ut aperuerunt Romani portam Sancti Sanctorum, et ceperunt illud, tunc vero vociferati sunt clamore magno mirum in modum prae laetitia. . . . Cucurrit autem Titus totis viribus suis, ut extingueret ignem. . . . Ac tandem de-

fessus defatigatusque corruit ad terram viribus exhaustus. . . . Postquam itaque incensa fuit domus Sancti Sanctorum, surrexit Titus, et ingressus in Sanctum Sanctorum vidit gloriam domus, et decorem ejus, et splendorem illius. . . . Nondum enim tota domus incendio consumpta erat, ut pulchritudinem illius, et majestatem ejus contemplaretur. Tunc dixit Titus: Nunc cognovi, quia non est hic aliud, nisi domus Dei. Hoc est habitaculum Dei coelorum, et tabernaculum ejus. . . . Quia magna est majestas Domus hujus, et magnus splendor majestatis templi ejus longe supra Templum Romanorum, et omnia Tempia nationum, quae vidi. . . . Deinde surrexerunt Romani, et extincto incendio, idola, et imagines suas in Templo statuerunt. Et obtulerunt eis holocausta, et probro affecerunt Judaeos, et legem eorum coram idolis suis blasphemaverunt. cap. 94. p. 436. . . . 438.

opened

opened in the time of the Chaldeans. The soldiers rejoiced greatly. But Titus was much concerned, and ran towards the temple, and did all in his power to have the fire extinguished, calling aloud to his men, till he was hoarse, and persisting in his exclamations, as this author says, till he fell to the ground almost dead. And the priests at the temple fought as long as they were able; and when they saw the fire prevail, they threw themselves into it. As there remained no hopes of preserving the temple, Titus, before it was entirely consumed, went in, and greatly admired it.... Soon after that the Romans set up their idols and images in the temple, and offered sacrifices to them, and reviled the Jews, and blasphemed their law before their idols.

He now comes to the signs and prodigies, foresignifying the calamities that were coming upon the Jewish people, which also are mentioned by Josephus^b in this same place, after the burning the temple. 'Nor^c did the Jews attend to the words of the signs, which happened in Jerusalem, though they were very awful. For a year before Vespasian came, there appeared over the temple a blazing star in the shape of a man, in whose hand were drawn swords. The day in which this sign was seen, was the first of the feast of the Passover; and during the whole night the temple was illuminated as if it had been day: and so it continued throughout the seven days of the Passover.' Thus confounding, as it seems, the first two signs in Josephus, and making them one only, and likewise representing the blazing star somewhat differently from Josephus. Then follow in him the other signs taken from Josephus; but I shall not rehearse them. He has, particularly, that of the man of low rank, who for several years travelled through the streets of Jerusalem, with his mournful denunciation of 'Woe to the city;' whom^{*} he calls Joshua, son of Hananiah.

When^d the Romans had got possession of the temple, the Jews fled to mount Sion. Here our author useth a different style from

^b De B. J. l. 6, cap. v. num. 3.

^c Neque Judæi animum adverterant ad verba signorum, quæ contigerunt in Jerusalem.... Nam anno uno antequam veniret Vespasianus, apparuit super Templum stella quædam scintillans instar formæ hominis, in cujus manu gladii districti. Dies autem, quo visum est signum illud, fuit primus ex diebus festi Paschatis: et tota nocte illius diei Templum fulsit, et resplenduit tanquam lux diei, et ita factum est per totos septem dies Pas-

chatis.... Cap. 94, p. 438.

^{*} Porro quatuor annis ante hæc signa fuit vir quidam in Jerusalem, de populo terræ, seu plebeius, nomine Jehoshua, filius Chaniae, et cepit clamare voce magna die ipso festi Tabernaculorum..... Oderunt autem illum omnes cives urbis, &c. Ibid. p. 439. ^d Postquam itaque ingressus fuit omnis exercitus Romanorum in Templum, diffugerunt Judæi ad montem Sion. Cap. 95, in, p. 440.

Josephus, who has never used the word Sion in his writings; but always describes that part of the city by other names.

Now ^e some priests came to Titus entreating mercy; but he would not grant it, and ordered them to be put to death.

Now ^f also John and Simon sent messengers to Titus, proposing to surrender to him, if he would grant them their lives; but Titus rejected their proposal, and reproached them severely.

Whereupon ^g Titus ordered the war to be renewed, and carried on by his army with vigour.

At ^h this time Zarach [or Izates] of royal descent, and his brothers, came down from mount Sion, and surrendered to Titus, and were well received by him. Whereupon Simon and his adherents set fire to their goods and treasures which they had left behind them, that they might not come into the hands of the Romans.

Simon ⁱ and John escape, and hide themselves in a cavern. Many Jews of good condition surrender to Titus, and he receives them favourably.

Joshua ^k a priest, son of Shebuthi high-priest, comes to Titus, bringing with him two golden candlesticks, which were in the sanctuary, and golden tables, and divers other rich utensils of the temple, and vestments of the priests, and precious stones; all which he made a present of to Titus, who received him graciously.

At ^l this time also came out Gorion, the priest, father of the writer

^e Postquam autem libaverunt Romani, coram Domino suo Tito, ecce pars Sacerdotum, qui capti fuerant juxta Templum, deprecati sunt Titum, ut seipso vivos servaret, neve interficeret. Tunc Romani irruerunt in illos, et mortui sunt omnes. . . . Cap. 95, p. 440.

^f Simon autem et Jehochanan miserunt ad Titum sermones pacis, et deprecationis, orantes pro seipsis, ut vivos servaret. . . . Ibid. 440. ^g Tunc jussit Titus Romanis instaurari bellum cum principibus Latronum Jehochanane et Simone, quandoquidem se tam pertinaciter gerebant. . . . Ib. p. 441.

^h Eo tempore surrexit Zarach, qui quidem erat de filiis Regum, de monte Sion cum fratribus suis, et cum omnibus filiis feminis regii, . . . et venerunt ad Titum, qui excepit illos cum honore, . . . et benigne tractavit. . . . Cum ergo vidissent Jochanan et Simon principes Latronum abiisse Izatam cum ceteris filiis Regis, . . . abierunt ipsi, et combusserunt omnia, quæ pertinebant ad filios Regis, et incenderunt Domum, et

omnes thesauros ejus combusserunt, ne acciperent eos Romani. . . . p. 441.

ⁱ Tunc temporis fugientes Simon et Jehochanan, in quadam latebra absconderunt se, quocunque se contulerint. Ceteri vero eorum, qui erant cum eis, et principes Jerusalem, et nobiles Juda, . . . statim atque viderunt fugisse Simonem et Jehochananem, . . . tunc descenderunt. . . . et venientes ad Titum, procubuerunt ante faciem ejus in terram. . . . Et Titus benigne excepit illos. . . . ib. p. 442.

^k Sub id tempus venit ad Titum Jehoshua, sacerdos, filius Shebuthi, Sacerdotis Magni, et attulit secum duo ex candelabris aureis, quæ fuerant in Sanctuario. Avexit autem secum omnes mensas aureas, et omnia vasa aurea, . . . et crateres, et acerras, . . . et scutellas, ac etiam vestes Ministerii, et vestes sanctitatis coopertas auro, et circumcinctas lapidibus pretiosis, cum magna copia gemmarum. . . . Quæ omnia donavit Tito, a quo benigne acceptus est. . . . Ib. p. 442.

^l Tunc temporis egressus est Gorion, sacerdos,

writer of this history; and his mother, with their son Bonian. They came out of the house of Simon, in which they had been kept prisoners. Gorion * lived twenty months after taking the city of Jerusalem. Bonian was a wise and good man. Titus did not take him to Rome with himself, as he did Joseph, but left him to preside over the priests in that country. Now also Phineas, a priest, brought more of the holy things out of the temple to Titus. But our author blames both these priests for delivering such things into the hands of an enemy of the people of God. However, I do not perceive him to make any mention here of the book of the law.

At ^m that time therefore was taken Jerusalem, with all it's desirable things: and then Titus went up to Mount Sion and took it, and ordered that the wall of the city of Sion should be demolished. And three days after that, John, one of the princes of the robbers, being pinched with hunger, came out of his hiding place, and surrendered to Titus, begging mercy of him; but Titus commanded him to be bound with heavy iron chains, and gave orders that he should be led about before his soldiers to be derided and insulted by them, and after seven days he was hanged.

sacerdos, pater Josephi Sacerdotis, Authoris Historiarum libri hujus, de carcere suo, de turri videlicet domus Simonis Latronis, cum uxore sua, et cum filio Bonian. Is erat frater Josephi Sacerdotis natu minor. Iste quoque Bonian fuit sapiens, magnus, et sacerdos sanctus.....Nam reliquit eum Titus in Jerusalem, neque abductus fuit ab eo, quemadmodum Josephus. Vixit autem pater Josephi postquam capta est Jerusalem, viditque Josephum filium suum, per viginti menses, et mortuus est. Tunc etiam temporis captus est Phineas Sacerdos, custos cellarum sacrarii, in quas contulerat omnes thesauros sacerdotum, et vestes sacerdotum sanctas et dedit, Tito Thesaurum unguenti optimi, et aromata, et vestes purpureas, quibus sanctificaverant Sanctuarium Reges Domus secundæ, et omnia vasa aurea, quæ apud se habebat de vasis Domus Jehovah. Ib. p. 443.

* According to Josephus, Gorion was put to death by the zealots, before the siege of the city began: see above, p. 71, and De B. J. l. 4, cap. vi. sect. 1. What therefore this author says of his father and mother must be all fiction and falsehood.

^m Tunc itaque temporis capta fuit Jerusalem, cum omnibus rebus desiderabilibus eius. Deinde ascendit Titus in montem Sion, et cepit illum. Jussit autem destrui

murum civitatis Sion. Jam vero elapso triduo deficiebat anima Jehochananis principis Latronum, præ fame. Surrexit itaque de loco ubi latebat, et egressus inde abiit ad Titum, et corruens ante faciem ejus, et deosculatus pedis ejus dixit ei: Serva, quæso. Domine mi Rex. Tunc jussit illum Titus constringi vinculis ferreis gravissimis, et obduci illum, et circumvehi per totum exercitum suum, atque ignominiose tractari.....tandem post septem dies mortuus est strangulatus..... Postea egressus est etiam Simon Lator, homicida impius, de loco latebræ suæ, quia fames graviter premebat illum.....Tunc dixit eis: Venite, et vocate mihi ducem, et tradam me illi.....Et vocaverunt Rurpha,....qui tunc erat Rector seu præfectus militiæ Romanorum.....Et sic fecit ille, deduxitque eum ad Titum. Statim autem ut vidit Titus Simonem, jussit illum vinculis constringi,.....et abduci, et circumvehi per totum exercitum suum, et ignominiose tractari, et subfannari, quemadmodum fecerant Jehochanani. Erat autem vinctus catenis æreis. Tum denique jussit Titus interfici illum in vinculis. Itaque amputaverunt illi caput antequam moreretur. Tum disseverunt eum in partes, et projecerunt membra cadaveris ejus canibus. Ib. p. 443, 444.

And now also immediately in the same connexion, he relates the appearance of Simon, though it could not be till some while afterwards. He was first brought before the Roman general Rupha, or Rufus, and then before Titus: who commanded him to be bound, and to be led round the whole army to be exposed and insulted by them, as John had been: after which he was beheaded, and his body was cut to pieces, and thrown to the dogs.

Moreover, ⁿ as he goes on, the number of the people that were slain, so far as could be found, who were killed by the Romans, or the robbers, of all the people of the Jews, who, from the neighbouring country, or from far off, had come up to Jerusalem to the feast, the feast of the Lord, and were shut up in the city by the siege, was eleven hundred thousand, beside many others whose number was not found, and beside those who died with Eleazar, after the death of John and Simon.

The number of the people of the Jews who were taken captive by Titus, and carried with him to Rome, he says were sixteen thousand. He also took with him to Rome Joseph the priest; but Bonian, his brother, he left to preside over the priests in that country; but as for those whom he took captives, he says that Titus put to death at Jerusalem all, and every one of them, in an ignominious manner, excepting only such as he reserved to take with him; and them he caused to die in a very ignominious manner: for in all the cities, where he made any stay, in his return to

ⁿ Porro numerus totius populi eorum, qui occisi sunt, quatenus potuerunt cognosci tunc gladio cecidisse sive per Romanos, sive per Latrones, ex populo Judæorum, sive qui de proximo, sive qui de longinquo venerant ad festum, festum scilicet Jehovæ in Jerusalem, et restiterant illic propter obsidionem, corrueruntque gladio: numerus, inquam, fuit millia millium, et centum millia: præter illos, qui quidem occisi sunt, sed cognosci non potuerunt, ut numerarentur. Illi enim tantummodo numerati sunt, qui sepulti et cogniti fuerunt. Qui autem cognosci non potuerunt, non recensiti sunt in numerum. Præter eos quoque, qui postea mortui sunt cum Eleazaro, filio Anani sacerdotis, post mortem Jehochananis, et Simonis, Latronum et Tyrannorum crudelium.

Numerus autem populi ex Judæis, qui abierunt cum Tito in captivitatem, et quos abduxit secum Romam, sexdecim millia. Et abduxit quidem Romam Josephum Sacerdotem: Bonian vero ejus fratrem reliquit in Antistitem super Sacer-

dotes, qui remanserunt in Jerusalem. Ita enim deprecatus fuerat Josephus frater ejus, et suscepit faciem ejus, et ita fecit. Nam quoad cæteros ex eis, quos Titus cepit vivos, ne unum ex eis vivere passus fuit: sed omnes Latrones residuos, quot quot vivos comprehendit, interfecit Titus morte probosa, et ignominiosa in Jerusalem. Quosdam tamen ex eis secum superstitites asservavit, ut contumelia eos afficeret per singulas urbes transitus sui cum contenderet Romam. Cum itaque profectus est Titus de Jerusalem, accepit eos secum, et abduxit etiam secum reliquum populum captivitatis, quem captivum fecerat ex Judæis: cumque morabatur in singulis urbibus transitus sui, dum iter faceret Romam, in quacunque urbe ubi castra metabatur, educebat illos ex latronibus illis, et jubebat illos obijci leonibus, et feris pessimis, ut devorarent illos, donec consumpti sunt omnes latrones, quos secum habebat. Cap. 95, p. 444, 445.

Rome,

Rome, he ordered some of them to be thrown to lions, and other wild beasts, until all whom he had taken with him were destroyed.

So says our author. The number of the captives, according to Josephus [De B. J. l. 6. ix. 3.], were ninety and seven thousand; many of whom, according to him, were sold for slaves: but this, so far as I see, is quite omitted by our author, as also the triumph of Vespasian and Titus for their conquest of Judea.

But why does he omit these things? To me it seems to be owing to the pride of his heart. The temple had been burnt, Jerusalem was destroyed; the whole country of Judea had been subdued by the Romans, uncircumcised and idolatrous people: facts which he could not deny, or disown, however dishonourable and reproachful to his nation; and he has himself related these events in his way and manner. But yet he was, as it seems, desirous to save his nation from some circumstances of reproach and dishonour; he therefore forbore to say any thing of the triumph of Vespasian and Titus, though performed in the metropolis of the vast empire of the Romans, and published and recorded in public and durable monuments, as well as in writings of the best credit. From the same principle of pride and vanity, he forbore to say that at this time many Jews, the people of Israel, had been sold for slaves, to live in slavery to uncircumcised Gentiles: so it seems to me. And I think it may deserve to be taken notice of by us, that in the fictitious history which he has given of his journey to Rome, and the inauguration of Vespasian there, he has mentioned a particular, somewhat resembling this: ‘For after the coronation of Vespasian, and the death of Agrippa, and his son Monbaz before mentioned, when Vespasian began to shew favour to Joseph, and ordered his chains to be struck off, Joseph presented a petition to Vespasian in behalf of all sons of Israel, who were then in prison at Rome, entreating that they might be set at liberty; and upon that condition promising that he would for the future be a faithful counsellor to the emperor, and serve him according to the utmost of his ability: which petition was granted by the emperor; and all Israelites, who had been bound at Rome, were set at liberty.’

° Dixit vero Josephus: Nonne opprobrium mihi est referari a me catenas ferreas, et interim vincula filiorum Israel, qui mecum sunt Romæ, non etiam referari tuo jussu? Si ergo nunc audieris me, quandoquidem inveni gratiam in oculis tuis, solves quæso, vincula omnium Israelitarum, qui mecum sunt Romæ, et ero tibi

consiliarius fidelis omnibus diebus, et inimicus ero inimicis tuis, et adversabor adversariis tuis. Fecit itaque Vespasianus secundum sermonem Josephi, et solvit omnia vincula omnium vincitorum filiorum Israel, qui erant cum Josepho Romæ. Lib. 6. cap. 78. p. 346.

Which must be allowed to be one of the fictitious events of that voyage to Rome, which is throughout the fiction of this writer's fertile invention, who says what he pleaseth.

After this our author ^p tells the story of Eleazar, and his men at Massada, but somewhat differently from ^a Josephus. He does not say that they determined to kill themselves and one another: his account is, that ^r after the speech of Eleazar, they killed their wives and daughters, that they might not fall a prey into the hands of the enemy: and ^s then the men went out of the city, and fought with the Romans: of whom they slew very many, till they were themselves all killed. 'And,' says he, 'here end ' the wars of the second house.'

After which follows ^t this author's final lamentation, and in a rithmical sort of poesy, as Gagnier ^u observes, very different from that among the Hebrews at the time when their temple was destroyed,

' Woe ^x is now unto us!
' For the city of our glory is laid waste,
' And the house of our sanctuary is thrown down.
' In which our hope was placed,

' And

^p Cap. 96, p. 447, 448, et cap. 97, p. 452.

^q Vid. de B. J. l. 7, cap. viii. ix.

^r Tunc surgentes viri uxores suas, et filias suas accerunt, quas osculati, et complexi ita alloquuntur. Melius est in oculis nostris, ut moriamini in terra vestra cum sanctitate et honore, quam ut eati in captivitatem, et cum opprobrio in terram inimicorum vestrorum, et cum idolis gentium,...et contumelia moriamini.... Cap. 97, p. 452.

^s Postea egressus est Eleazarus Sacerdos cum omnibus viris bellatoribus qui secum erant ex urbe, et miscuerunt ingentem pugnam cum multitudine exercitus Romanorum, et occiderunt multos ex eis

absque numero. Ac tandem pugnantes Judæi contra proprias ipsorum animas, donec omnes absumerentur in prælio illo mortui pro Jehova, et pro sanctuario ejus. Huc usque desinunt Bella Domus secundæ. Cap. 97, p. 452.

^t Tunc lamentatus fuit Josephus Sacerdos Dei, lamentationem hanc....p. 452.

^u Lamentatio Ben Gorionis ultima, eaque Rithmica, quam ut Leonina: cujusdam inter Judæos specimen poeseos non injucundum hic Hebraice subjunximus. Ee credat Lector, si potest, sine risu, hanc ab ipso Flavio Josepho compositum fuisse tempori Templi excidii. Gagnier Not. p. 452.

^x Væ nunc nobis.

Quia desolata est civitas gloriæ nostræ.
Et eversa est Domus Sanctuarii nostri.
In quo posita fuit spes nostra.
Et omnia desideria cordium nostrorum,
Et incensum est Templum nostrum.
Et migravimus de terra nostra.
Et ex hæreditate Patrum nostrorum.
Neque ad Deum [extendimus] manus nostras.
Ut liberaremur de exiliis nostris
Quæ aggravaverunt super nos.
In illum [commisæ] iniquitates nostræ.
Et redegerunt nos in captivitatem peccata nostra.
Et humiliaverunt in terram capita nostra prævaricationes nostræ.
Sed adhuc veniet dies, et terminus

Redemptionis,

- ‘ And all the desires of our hearts.
- ‘ And our temple is consumed with fire.
- ‘ And we have been carried out of our country,
- ‘ And from the heritage of our fathers.
- ‘ Nor have we stretched out our hands to God,
- ‘ That we might be delivered from our exiles.
- ‘ And our sins and iniquities
- ‘ Have been aggravated upon us.
- ‘ Our transgressions have carried us into captivity.
- ‘ And our apostasies have brought us down to the earth.
- ‘ But the day will come, and the time of our redemption.
- ‘ And our God will deliver us.
- He will remember the oath made with our fathers.
- And will build up our city,
- ‘ And restore our temple,
- ‘ And gather our dispersions.
- ‘ And will bring back our captivity.
- ‘ And hasten the coming of our Messiah,
- ‘ And will speedily deliver us.
- ‘ And will cast down our enemies,
- ‘ And will humble those who hate us.
- ‘ And will destroy, and root out all our adversaries.
- ‘ And will restore us, as at the beginning.

Here, beside other things which an attentive reader will observe, he expresseth his expectation of the rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem. So likewise, when he gave an account of Herod’s building, or repairing the temple, he describes the rejoicings made upon that occasion: ‘ For the building,’ says he, ‘ of the house of the Lord, which we have seen both built and destroyed; but it shall be raised a third time in honour and glory,

Redemptionis, et adjiciet Deus noster,
 Ut recordetur juramenti sui ad Patres nostros.
 Et ædificabit civitatem nostram,
 Et restaurabit Templum nostrum,
 Et colliget dispersos nostros,
 Et reducet captivitatem nostram,
 Et accelerare faciet Messiam nostrum,
 Et festinabit ad redimendum nos.
 Et prosterneat inimicos nostros.
 Et humiliabit ocores nostros.
 Et perdet, et delebit hostes nostros.
 Et nos restituet, sicut in principio.

Cap. 97, p. 452, 453.

⁂ Et laudaverant Jehovah cum gaudio.....propter ædificium Domus Jehovah, quam vidimus, et ædificatam, devastatam. Sed adhuc reædificabitur tertio

cum laude, et celebritate, et gloria, et firmabit eam Jehovah in æternum. l. 6, caps 55, p. 243.

‘and shall be established for ever.’ And in like manner in another place. He is therefore a good witness to the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem, which had been raised after the return from the Babylonish captivity; in which, as we say, the prophets had foretold the Messiah would make his appearance: see Hag. ii. 6...9 and Mal. iii. 1.

After his lamentation this author adds, ‘But Titus left a remnant of Israel in the land of Israel, in the city Jabne, and it’s towns, and in the city Bether, and in it’s towns, and in Osha, and it’s towns.’ Of all which cities, as Gagnier^b in his notes observes, there is no notice taken by Flavius Josephus; though there is in the Talmudical writings; and he refers to Lightfoot’s works such as are inquisitive.

This author proceeds: ‘Moreover, Titus reigned two years after he had taken Jerusalem, and then died. Titus was a wise king, and composed many valuable books both in the Greek and in the Roman language. Titus was a just and upright man, and all his judgments were in righteousness; but being compelled by necessity he destroyed and laid waste Jerusalem: all which evil came upon Jerusalem because of the robbers which were in Israel, and because of their wickedness, as we have shewn in this history.’

He here says that ‘Titus reigned two years after he had taken Jerusalem,’ which is very inaccurate. Vespasian did not die before the year of our Lord 79; after him Titus reigned more than two years, and died in the year of Christ 81: nor does our author say any thing here of Vespasian, as he ought to have done. But we must not stay to remark upon the defects or inaccuracies of this writer; if we had so done we should never have got through his work; and every reader is able to observe many such things without my mentioning them.

This author gives a good character of Titus: and he could do no less, after having before related so many favours and civilities

* Cap. 65, p. 288, sub fin. et p. 289.

^a Reliquit autem Titus Israeli reliquias in terra Israel, in urbe Jabne, et in oppidis ejus, in urbe Bether, et in oppidis ejus, et in Osha, et oppidis ejus. Cap. 97, p. 454.

^b Tres illas urbes, viz. Jabneh, Bether, et Oshah, hoc loco commemorat Ben-Gorion noster, non ex Josepho auctore suo, qui nihil hic habet de hac Belli Judaici Coronide, sed ex Pandectis Talmudicis, ubi frequentissima illarum mentio occurrit. De quarum urbium situ et celebritate maxime post everfam Hierosolyman, consulenda est doctissimi Lightfooti Chorographia Terræ Israelis, Cap. xv.

lii. et lxxiv. Gagn. Not. p. 454.

^c Regnavit autem Titus duobus annis postquam cepit Jerusalem, et mortuus est. Porro Titus Rex fuit sapiens, magnus in scientia eloquentiæ, tum in lingua Græca, tum in lingua Romana, et composuit libros multos cum sapientia Græce et Romane. Fuitque Titus vir justus et rectus, et omnia judicia ejus erant cum justitia. Verum necessitate coactus desolavit et delevit Jerusalem. Et quidem desolavit et delevit eam, quia omne malum illud, quod venit super Jerusalem, non venit nisi per Latrones, qui erant in Israel, et propter impietatem illorum, uti memoravimus. Cap. 97, p. 456.

conferred by him upon the Jews. Titus also, as all know, is much commended in the History of the Jewish War, written by Flavius Josephus, from which this writer had all his materials that are of any value. But ^d herein he differs from the Talmudical writers, as Gagnier observes in his notes upon this work; for they represent Titus as exceeding impious and profane, as we also have seen. How the learned Jews can reconcile these contradictions is not easy to comprehend: but they continue to pay respect to this author as well as to the Talmudical doctors.

Reland, ^e likewise, in his notes upon the triumphal arch of Titus, takes notice of the grievous reproaches and scandalous reflections upon him in the Jewish writers; whereby they have shewn that they are skilful in the art of slandering, and spare not when they attempt it. Moreover, in this their enmity to Titus, they bear witness to that great event, the overthrow of their city and temple, of which he was, under God, the instrument.

III. I may now make some general remarks; but they need not to be many, nor long.

1. This writer is evidently an impostor, a detestable character, which cannot be too much disliked, nor too much censured; he did not live in the time of Vespasian and Titus as he pretends; nor is he Joseph the son of Gorion the priest, who was appointed to preside in Jerusalem, or to govern in Galilee.

2. Nevertheless he is a witness to the burning of the temple, and the taking of Jerusalem, and the conquest of Judea, by the forementioned emperors: to those events he has borne his testimony, and his testimony is received by the people of his own nation; especially by the learned among them.

3. He says that 'Titus was compelled by necessity to destroy Jerusalem, and that all this evil had come upon Jerusalem because of the robbers and their wickedness.'

^d Hic magna est discordia Ben-Gorionem inter et Talmudicos Doctores, quam non dissident ipsi Rabbin. Nec deesse tamen asserunt Sapientes, qui illam contradictionem conciliant, quemadmodum affirmat R. David Ganz. Sed quo iudicio id tentaverint, iudicium sit penes lectorem.

Quoad nostrum Ben-Gorionem, illum hoc loco sibi constare fatendum est. Cum enim in versione Rufini ubique magnas Titi Imp. virtutes summis laudibus prædicari legerit, ipseque Flavium Josephum secutus illum sæpius multis elogiis ornasset, non ausus fuit suos Doctores Talmudicos cum famæ suæ dispendio sequi, ac videlicet sibi contrarius videretur

Gagn. p. 456.

^e Hebræi narrant, sed ex odio Titi, quem illum impium vocant, ac si hominem longe post homines natos sceleratissimum diceret, non modo velis sacris eum vasa templi imposuisse, sed et contaminasse adytum impio facinore, in Gemara Gittin. fol. 56, 2. Cepit meretricem, eaque inducta in sanctum sanctorum, stratoque Degis volumine, facinus patravit super illud. Dein stricto gladio velum perripit, unde sanguis, facto miraculo, missus est, sic ut exiens Titus putaret se Deum ipsum peremisse.... Reland, de Spoliis Templi in Arcu Titiano, cap. 13, p. 130, 131.

He therefore does not ascribe the calamities which befell the Jews, in the time of Vespasian and Titus, to their sin in rejecting Jesus, and not receiving him as the Messiah. Their calamities he owns, and thereby bears witness to the fulfilment of our Saviour's prophecies concerning the destruction of Jerusalem: but he does not acknowledge any guilt contracted by his people in crucifying the Lord Jesus, and persecuting his followers: nor does Josephus: nor (A) indeed can I well see how any unbelieving Jews can make such acknowledgments. Rabbi Isaac, in his *Munimen Fidei* above quoted, which is written against the Christians, quotes John xix. 15. *The chief-priests answered: We have no king but Caesar.* Upon which he remarks in this manner: 'This shews that, before Jesus was crucified, the Jews were subject to the Roman emperors. The emperor here intended was Tiberius, who sent Pilate to preside at Jerusalem, as appears from the third chapter of Luke at the beginning. This may suffice for an answer to an objection of the Nazarenes, who say the Jews lost their kingdom for their sin in hanging Jesus.' This, though it be no better than an evasion, shews the Jewish temper and principles. I say it is no better than an evasion. The Jewish people, as we know very well, were subject to the Romans in our Saviour's time: but the case was much altered with them afterwards. They were then very happy, and were so for some good while after that, enjoying, under the mild government of the Romans, the free exercise of their religion, and the temple worship, and many other privileges. The distress, and other circumstances of the siege of Jerusalem, were very uncommon, sufficient to raise the attention of all serious men; and the long duration, and other circumstances of their captivity and dispersion ever since, are also very uncommon and extraordinary: but this is not a time or place for me to enlarge upon them any farther. But it is reasonable to think that unbelieving Jews must endeavour, some how or other, to evade the

(A) It is said by some learned men, that Maimonides ascribes the destruction of Jerusalem to our Lord. So Dr. Sharpe in his argument, &c. p. 38, 39. And De Voisin in *Pr. Rugion. Fidei*. p. 127. Certe R. Moses in tract. *De Regibus, et De Bell.* cap. 11, propter Jesum Christum excidium Jerosolymitanum contigisse fatetur. Id est, 'Ille, qui visus est esse Messias, et occisus est sententiâ judiciali, &c. ille fuit causa, cur Israel gladio perierit, et reliquiae Israel dispersae sint, et depressae, et cur lex mutata sit.' But how this is to be understood I cannot well say. I

have not the tract of Maimonides here referred to.

'Hæc ibi. Ecce hoc dicto ostenditur, ante Jesu cruci affixionem jam dum, Cæsares Romanos Judæis imperitasse. Atque is Cæsar [de quo ibi sermo] Tiberius fuit, qui Pilatum Hierosolymis præfecerat, ceu constat ex capitis III. Lucae initio. Valebit hoc pro responso adversus objectionem Nazaræorum, qua clamitant, Judæos propter peccatum suspensionis Jesu perdidisse regnum suum, &c. R. Isaac Munimen Fid. p. 446. Conf. p. 55, 56. *ibid.*

argument

argument in favour of Christianity, taken from the destruction of Jerusalem, and their long continued captivity and dispersion. And beside the passage just now alleged, the same Rabbi Isaac, in the place before referred to, relating to the death of Agrippa, says, that 'the differences between king Agrippa and the wicked leaders of the factions, at length brought on the desolation of the temple.'

4. This work of Josippon confirms the history of the Jewish war written by Flavius Josephus, son of Matthias; and it must induce us to set a real value upon Josephus, and raise our esteem for him. They are both fond of their own people: but Josephus was indeed contemporary with the events which he records, and with the principal actors in them, and therefore he must have the preference. This author is a plagiarist, and knows nothing of the war of which he writes, but what he has stolen from another without naming him: and, with all his Greek politeness, Josephus has more the air of sincerity and simplicity than this Hebrew writer. Indeed, it would have been a bad exchange if, instead of the History of the Jewish War, written by Flavius Josephus, we had palmed upon us the History of the Wars of Jehova, written by Josippon; who neither was the son of Gorion, who presided at Jerusalem, nor the son of Matthias, who governed in Galilee.

C H A P. VII.

A recollection of the foregoing articles, and reflections upon them.

I. *The preceding articles recollected.* II. *Reflections upon them.* III. *Concluding observations.*

I. I quote no more Jewish ^a writers. I therefore now proceed to recollect what we have seen, and to make remarks; but I need not recollect the first two chapters: I hope they have not been improperly

^a Cæterum, ob illam, quæ inter Regem Agrippam et improbos Duces factionum exorta fuerat contentionem, denique desolatum fuit templum, uti ex Josepho constat. Munim. Fid. p. 417. And see before p. 168, note ^k.

^a Some learned men have of late appealed to a book entitled Toldoth Jeschu. I am of opinion that Christianity does not need such a testimony, nor such witnesses. I have looked it over several times, with an intention to give some account of it; but,

improperly premised to this work; but they need not to be brought in here in the way of recapitulation and recollection: I shall recollect only what we have seen in Jewish writers, beginning with Josephus.

Two things are to be regarded by us—their testimony to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the destruction of Jerusalem.

In Josephus there is a paragraph where JESUS is mentioned very honourably, and agreeably to his true character: but it is not universally received by learned men as genuine. Many are rather of opinion that it has been inserted in his works since his time.

There is in him another paragraph concerning John the Baptist, which is generally received as genuine: and it is a valuable testimony to his preaching, and therein calling men to the practice of virtue. He likewise says that he was put to death by Herod the tetrarch; but he says nothing of that part of his character, that he appeared as the forerunner of the Messiah.

He likewise acknowledgeth that there was then in Judea a general expectation of a great person to arise from among them, who should obtain the empire of the world; and that this expectation was one great occasion of the war with the Romans; and that it was built upon an oracle found in their sacred writings; and that many of their wise men embraced it, and acted upon it in their engaging in the war. He has also spoken of many false prophets who appeared at that time, promising great advantages to the people if they would follow them, and that many were deceived by them. If they did not call themselves Christs, as well as prophets, they did in effect take upon them the character of the Messiah.

In the Mishna it is allowed that there is no express mention of Jesus Christ, the design of that work being to make a collection

but, after all, I could not persuade myself to attempt it: for it is a modern work, written in the 14th or 15th century, and is throughout, from the beginning to the end, burlesque and falsehood; nor does the shameless writer acknowledge any thing that has so much as a resemblance of the truth, except in the way of ridicule. I shall however put down here the short censure of Grotius upon this work, though he does not mention the title of it: not thinking it, as I suppose, worthy to be named. 'Some of the Jews ascribe the miracles of Jesus to a certain secret name, which was put in the temple by Solomon, and kept by two lions for

'above a thousand years, but was conveyed thence by Jesus. Which is not only false, but an impudent fiction, [non mendaciter modo, sed et impudenter confictum est.] For as to the lions, so remarkable and wonderful a thing, neither the books of the Kings, nor the Chronicles, nor Josephus, mention any thing of them. Nor did the Romans, who before the times of Jesus entered the temple with Pompey, find any such thing.' Grotius, of the truth of the Christian Religion. B. 5, sect. iv. in the version of Dr. John Clarke. And I refer to Wagenfeil's Confutation of the Toldoth Jeschu.

of

of the numerous traditions which hitherto were unwritten; but I have alleged a paragraph * which I think contains an invidious representation of the state of things under the gospel dispensation, in the second century.

In the Talmudical writings Jesus is mentioned: but as Lightfoot, who was well acquainted with them, says, it was chiefly with a view to wound and reproach him. They call his mother by the name Mary; but they have aspersed her character, and have assigned to Jesus a spurious nativity. They have mentioned several of our Saviour's disciples, who, as they say, were put to death. They say our Saviour suffered as a malefactor at one of the Jewish Passovers, or in the eve of it, as the expression is. They seem in some places to acknowledge the power of miracles in Jesus and his disciples: and if they had not known that many miraculous works were ascribed to him, they would not have insinuated that he learned magical arts in Egypt, and brought them thence in a private manner, and then set up himself among his countrymen as an extraordinary person.

That is the sum of their testimony upon this article. It would be in vain to expect a great deal from Jews upon this head, who are our enemies. Such are their prejudices, that they are, and always have been, the most inveterate enemies of Jesus, and his followers.

Concerning the other point, the destruction of Jerusalem, their testimony is more material, indeed very valuable. Josephus, without intending it, has borne testimony to the fulfilment of all our Saviour's predictions concerning the miseries of the siege of Jerusalem, the desolation of the land of Judea, and the dispersion of his nation. We have above transcribed his account at large. His testimony has been repeated, with some variations, in Josippon's History of the Jewish War: and the Mishna, and the Talmuds likewise, acknowledge the conquest of Judea by Vespasian and Titus, the burning of the temple, or the second house, and the overthrow of Jerusalem, which was dug up to the foundation.

II. But how should this be? How could this come to pass? What should be the reason of it? Does not this deserve serious consideration? Amos iii. 6. *Shall there be evil in a city, and the Lord has not done it?* Such things are not the effect of chance, but are owing to the direction of Providence. Is. xlv. 7. *I form the light, and create darkness: I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord do all these things.* But if God inflict calamities upon any

* See above, p. 143, ..., 147.

people, it is not without reason; for all his works are done in truth. So again, in the forecited chapter of Amos, ver. 1 and 2: *Hear this word, that the Lord hath spoken against you, O children of Israel, against the whole family, which I brought up from the land of Egypt, saying: You only have I known of all the families of the earth. Therefore I will punish [or visit] you for all your iniquities.*

It is a reasonable maxim: *Unto whom much is given, of him shall be much required: and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more:* Luke xii. 48. The people of the Jews had been favoured by God with many privileges; a suitable improvement might be expected; if they transgress the laws of God, their punishment will be exemplary: nor could any thing else, but sin, alienate the mind of God from them. If. lix. 1, 2: *Behold the Lord's hand is not shortened, that it cannot save: neither is his ear heavy, that it cannot hear. But your iniquities have separated between you and your God.* And Lam. i. 8: *Jerusalem has grievously sinned; therefore she is removed.* According to the declarations of Moses and all the prophets, the prosperity and adversity of this people would be proportionate to their regard or disregard of the laws of God: for this I refer to Leviticus, ch. xxvi. and Isaiah, ch. i. And I shall make quotations from the book of Deuteronomy, ch. xxviii. 1, 2: *And it shall come to pass, if thou shalt hearken diligently unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe and do all his commandments which I command thee this day, that the Lord thy God will set thee on high above all the nations of the earth. And all these blessings shall come on thee, and overtake thee, if thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God....ver. 15. But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe to do all his commandments, and his statutes, which I command thee this day, that all these curses shall come upon thee, and overtake thee: 25. The Lord shall cause thee to be smitten before thine enemies. Thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them, and shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth....ver. 37: And thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a bye-word among all the nations, whither the Lord shall lead thee....ver. 49, 50: The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, [as swift] as the eagle flieth, a nation, whose tongue thou shalt not understand: a nation of fierce countenance, which shall not regard the person of the old, nor shew favour to the young:ver. 52....59, And he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, until thy high and fenced walls come down, wherein thou trustedst throughout all thy land. And he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, throughout all thy land, which the Lord thy God hath given thee. And thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and thy daughters, which the Lord thy God hath given thee,*

thee, in the siege, and in the straitness, wherewith thy enemies shall distress thee. So that the man, who is tender among you, and very delicate, his eye shall be evil toward his brother, and toward the wife of his bosom, and toward the remnant of his children, which he shall leave: so that he will not give to any of them of the flesh of his children, which he shall eat: because he has nothing left him in the siege, and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in all thy gates. The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground, for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter, and toward her young one that cometh from between her feet, and toward her children which she shall bear. For she shall eat them for the want of all things secretly in the siege and straitness, wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee in thy gates. If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this law, which I have written in this book, that thou mayest fear this glorious and fearful name, the Lord thy God: then the Lord will make thy plagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed, even great plagues, and of long continuance, and sore sicknesses, and of long continuance.

We may be hence apt to think that Moses foresaw the distresses of the siege of Jerusalem, in the year of our Lord 70, and all the calamities endured by the Jewish people about that time, throughout their whole land, and their dispersion afterwards. If he did not foresee them, the words spoken by him were then fulfilled; and all the calamities which then befell the Jewish people, or have since befallen them, are exactly according to the original plan of Divine Providence concerning them.

When the law of the ten commandments was delivered at mount Sinai, the people were greatly terrified; and they earnestly requested that God might speak to them no more in that way; if he would be pleased to speak to them by Moses, they engaged to hear and obey him. God accepted of this request, and assured them that for the future he would reveal his mind to them in a more familiar manner: he would speak unto them by Moses, and afterwards by prophets like unto him: and that there might be no room for mistake, deceit, or delusion, he would furnish those, whom he should send unto them, with sufficient credentials of their mission. If any should come to them in his name without such credentials, they might be slighted and despised; but if they came with proper credentials, they ought to be heard and obeyed; and if not, it would be resented. This is related several times in the books of Moses, and deserves to be attended to by us.

Ex.

Ex. xx. 18, 19: *And all the people saw the thunders, and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpets and the mountain smoking.And they said unto Moses: Speak thou with us, and we will hear: but let not God speak with us, lest we die.*

Deut. v. 22....29. *These words the Lord spake unto all your assembly in the mount, out of the midst of the fire of the cloud, and of the thick darkness, with a great voice....And it came to pass, when ye heard the voice out of the midst of the darkness (for the mountain did burn with fire) that ye came near unto me, even all the heads of your tribes and your elders. And ye said: Behold, the Lord our God has shewn us his glory, and his greatness, and we have heard his voice out of the midst of the fire....Now therefore, why should we die? For this great fire will consume us. If we hear the voice of the Lord our God any more we shall die....Go thou near, and hear all that the Lord our God shall say, and speak thou unto us all that the Lord our God shall speak unto thee, and we will hear, and do it. And the Lord heard the voice of your words when ye spake unto me, and the Lord said unto me, I have heard the voice of the words of this people which they have spoken unto thee; they have well said all that they have spoken; O that there were such an heart in them, that they would fear me, and keep all my commandments always, that it might be well with them, and with their children for ever! Which words are supposed to be wonderfully emphatical, expressive of a most ardent wish and desire.*

Once more Deut. xviii. 15...18. *The Lord thy God will raise up to thee a prophet, from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me: unto him shall ye hearken. According to all that thou desiredst of the Lord thy God in Horeb, in the day of the assembly, saying, Let me not hear again the voice of the Lord thy God, neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not. And the Lord said unto me, They have well spoken that which they have spoken....I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, and what follows.*

Here is the origin of the prophetic character; men sent from God with a special commission to declare to mankind his mind and will. And from the occasion of this institution (the great terrors of mount Sinai, and the request thereupon made) it might be argued that, if ever a prophet should arise among the people of Israel, like unto Moses, and meeker than he and if his miracles, the signs and proofs of his mission, should be more universally saving and beneficent than those of Moses, it should not be any disadvantage to him, nor lessen the respect fit to be shewn unto him.

We proceed in considering the texts lying before us.

Deut. xviii. 18....22. Says God to Moses: *I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren like unto thee, and will put my words*
in

in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken to my words, which he shall speak in my name, I WILL REQUIRE IT OF HIM. But the prophet which shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the name of other gods, even that prophet shall die. And, if thou say in thy heart, How shall we know the word which the Lord has not spoken? When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord has not spoken, but the prophet has spoken presumptuously. Thou shalt not be afraid of him.

Here is a general rule for discerning the mission of prophets, or such as should come in that character, as from God. It is a rule that would be of use in all ages; and is here delivered for that purpose.

If the thing follow not, nor come to pass. Those words do not intend any prediction of some distant good or evil, to come some while hereafter; but they intend a prodigy, or some work above the ordinary course of nature; which he who takes upon him the character of a prophet proposeth, as a sign, or token, or proof of his mission. If the sign proposed by any man, as a token and proof of his mission, be performed, he ought to be hearkened to; if it is not performed, there is no reason to apprehend any harm from despising and rejecting him; he has no message from God; *he has spoken presumptuously; thou shalt not be afraid of him.*

This may appear farther from what is said ch. xiii. 1, 2, 3: *If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and he giveth a sign, or a wonder; that is, proposeth some great work as a proof of his mission, and the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods (which thou hast not known) and serve them; thou shalt not hearken to the words of that prophet, or dreamer of dreams. For the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul....ver. 5. And that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams, shall be put to death....So shalt thou put the evil away from the midst of thee.*

Here is a case put which never would happen; never would any man be able to perform a miracle in order to induce the people of Israel to worship other gods; but supposing it, he was nevertheless to be disregarded.

In all other cases, the rule here laid down for judging of prophets would hold, and was to be observed by all. If a man proposed some extraordinary work as a proof of his mission, which was not performed, he was not to be regarded. So all the false-prophets, spoken of by Josephus, who appeared in the times of Felix, Festus, and other governors of Judea, some while before

the destruction of Jerusalem, in order to induce people to follow them, in hopes of deliverance from subjection to the Romans, engaged that they should *see the walls of Jerusalem fall down before them*, to give them easy entrance into the city; or that they *should see the waters of Jordan divided*, that they might go over upon dry ground; or *that God would shew them signs in the wilderness*, and the like. But nothing of that kind came to pass.

But if a prophet gave, or proposed a sign or wonder in proof of his mission, and it came to pass, or was performed, it would be decisive in his favour. So, when there were murmurings and disputings among the people of Israel in the wilderness, which tribe should have the priesthood, it was proposed that *twelve rods, each having the name of the prince of the tribe upon it, and another rod, with Aaron's name upon it, for Levi, should be laid up in the tabernacle, before the testimony*; and his rod which blossomed should be known to be the man whom God had chosen. *Moses then laid up the rods before the Lord, in the tabernacle of witness. And it came to pass, that on the morrow Moses went into the tabernacle of witness: and behold, the rod of Aaron, for the house of Levi, budded, and brought forth blossoms, and yielded almonds. And Moses brought out all the rods from before the Lord unto all the children of Israel; and they looked, and took every man his rod: Numb. xvii.* So that point was determined, and the murmurings of the children of Israel ceased. And so it must be in all other like cases. If a sign, or wonder, has been given or proposed, and it is performed, or *comes to pass*, it is decisive.

Here then is the rule. If a man come, and speak in the name of God, and prove his commission by signs and wonders, he is to be regarded and received as a prophet. And God declares *whosoever will not hearken unto my words, which he shall speak in my name, I WILL REQUIRE IT OF HIM.* Deut. xviii. 19. It can not be otherwise. The consequence of disobedience to the word of the Lord, so manifested and confirmed, must be dreadful.

Let us now apply this. Jesus spoke in the name of God, faithfully delivered the words which he had received from God, and performed many miracles in proof of his commission. John xii. 49, 50. *For I have not spoken of myself: but the Father, which hath sent me, he gave me commandment what I should say, and what I should speak. And I know that his commandment is life everlasting. Whatsoever I speak therefore, even as the Father said unto me, so I speak.* Ch. viii. 42. *I proceeded forth and came from God: neither came I of myself, but he sent me.*

And in proof of his mission he appealed to his works, which were great and numerous, and openly performed in the view of all

all men. John v. 31, 32, 33. *If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true. There is another that beareth witness of me, and I know that the witness which he witnesseth of me is true. Ye sent unto John, and he bare witness unto the truth. 36. But I have greater witness than that of John; for the works which the Father hath given me to finish, they bear witness of me that the Father hath sent me. And ch. xv. 24: If I had not done among them the works, which no other man did, they had not had sin: but now they have both seen and hated both me and my Father.*

If Moses and the ancient prophets wrought miracles, there^b is as good reason to believe that Jesus likewise did so, and more than any of them, or than all of them together. For the testimony of the writers of the New Testament is as credible as that of the writers of the Old Testament. And if it be said that Elijah was taken up to heaven, it^c is as credible that Jesus was raised from the dead, and afterwards ascended up to heaven.

Our Lord asserted his prophetic character, and his peculiar character of the Messiah; and often reminded the Jews of the terrible consequences of rejecting him who spake in the name of God, or, in the words of Moses, that it *would be required of them.* John viii. 24. *If ye be believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins.* ver. 25. *They said unto him, Who art thou? Jesus said unto them, even the same that I said unto you from the beginning.* John the Baptist often said the same—that *he was not the Christ, but was sent before him.* John iii. 28; and see ch. i. 19...37.

But, not to multiply texts, I shall quote Matt. xxi. 33...44. *Hear another parable. There was a certain householder, who planted a vineyard, and hedged it round about, and digged a wine-press in it, and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into a far country. And when the time of the fruit drew near, he sent his servants to the husbandmen that they might receive the fruits of it. And the husbandmen took his servants, and beat one, and killed another, and stoned another. Again he sent other servants unto them, more than the first; and they did unto them likewise. Last*

^b Si quis Paganus ab ipsis Judæis quærat, cur credant miracula a Mose facta, nihil dicant aliud, quam inter suos adeo perpetuam constantemque ejus rei fuisse famam, ut non potuerit, nisi ex testimonio eorum qui vidissent proficisci. Sic ab Elisæo [2 Reg. cap. iv.] auctum apud viduam oleum; purgatum [cap. v.] subito a mala scabie Syrum, hospitem [ib. iv.] filium ad vivum revocatum, et similia alia credunt Judæi, non aliam sane ob causam, quam quod testes bonæ fidei id proditum ad pos-

teros transmiserunt. Grot. de V. R. C. l. v. § ii.

^c De Eliæ vero in cælum raptu unitus Elisæi, tanquam viri omni exceptione majoris, testimonio fidem habent. At nos de Christi adscensu in cælum duodecimi proferimus testes vitæ inculpata: de Christo post mortem in terris viso multo plures. Quæ si vera sunt, verum sit necesse est Christi dogma: planeque nihil a Judæis pro se adferri potest, quod non et nobis pari, aut potiori jure possit aptari. Grot. ib.

of all be sent unto them his Son [the Messiah], saying: They will reverence my Son. But when the husbandmen saw the Son, they said among themselves: This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and let us seize on his inheritance. And they caught him and cast him out of the vineyard, and slew him. When therefore the Lord of the vineyard cometh, what will he do unto those husbandmen? They say unto him: He will miserably destroy those wicked men, and will let out his vineyard unto other husbandmen, which shall render him the fruits in their season. Jesus saith unto them: Did you never read in the scriptures, The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner? This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes: Psalm cxviii. 22, 23. Therefore I say unto you: The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof. And whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken: but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder. And when the chief-priests and Pharisees had heard his parables, they perceived that he spake of them. This should be compared with Luke xx. 9 . . . 18.

Here our Lord speaks of the ancient prophets, and then of himself, and shews the dreadful consequences of rejecting him, and his message. There is another thing that should be observed, which is what our Lord added concerning the treatment to be given to his apostles and evangelists, the prophets of the New Testament, also sent to the Jewish people. Matt. xxiii. 29 . . . 39. *Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous, and say, If we had been in the days of our fathers we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets. Wherefore ye are witnesses to yourselves that ye are the children of them who slew the prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers. Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell? Wherefore, behold I send unto you prophets and wise men, and scribes. And some of them ye will kill and crucify, and some of them ye will scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city: that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zacharias son of Barachias, [rather son of Jehoiada, 2 Chron. xxiv. 17 . . . 22.^d] whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you, all these things shall come upon this generation. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee! How often would I have ga-*

^d See vol. i. p. 398, &c.

thered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, but ye would not. Behold your house is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you: Ye shall not see me henceforth till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

All this is properly said by our Lord in his prophetic denunciations. Not only the rejection of Jesus himself would be required of them, but likewise their refusal to hearken to his apostles. For they likewise were prophets and spake by divine inspiration. They spake in the name of God, and delivered his mind and word, and proved their mission by miraculous works. If therefore, after having crucified the Lord Jesus, the Jewish people should proceed to treat in like manner his disciples, who were sent to them; if they should scourge them in their synagogues, and put some of them to death, and persecute them from city to city, (as he foresaw they would); they would then bring upon themselves, in the end, a terrible condemnation: and such miseries would befall them, that it would seem as if all the righteous blood shed from the foundation of the world had been required of them.

And that they did so treat the apostles and other disciples of Jesus, appears from the books of the New Testament. These things may have been already taken notice of by us: nevertheless they must be here briefly recollected. How the apostles of Jesus were apprehended, imprisoned, beaten, and farther threatened, may be seen in the book of the Acts, ch. iv. and v. Some while afterwards, ch. vi. and vii. Stephen was stoned, and there was a great persecution against the church, which was at Jerusalem, and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles. Some time after this, when Herod Agrippa had been advanced to the kingdom of Judea by the Romans, we are informed, ch. xii. 1...4, that he stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the church. And he killed James the brother of John with the sword. And because he saw it pleased the Jews, he proceeded farther to take Peter also. But after he had been imprisoned he was miraculously delivered out of the hands of Herod, and from the expectation of all the people of the Jews. St. Paul, writing to the Hebrews, ch. x. 33, 34, bids them call to remembrance the former days, in which, after they had been illuminated, they had endured a great fight of afflictions: partly, says he, whilst ye were made a gazing-stock, both by reproaches and afflictions, and partly whilst ye were companions of those who were so used. For ye had compassion upon those who were in bonds, and bore joyfully the spoiling of your goods: knowing that ye have in heaven a better and a more enduring substance.

And we have good reason to believe that James, called the Lord's brother, the apostle, who generally resided at Jerusalem, was put to death by the Jews there in a tumultuous manner, about the year of Christ 62.

How Paul acted in the early days of the gospel, and whilst he was under the direction of the chief-priests and Pharisees, we know partly from the Acts of the apostles, and partly from his own epistles. It is said, Acts viii. 1, that he *was consenting to the death of Stephen*. And, ch. vii. 58, *When he was stoned, the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet whose name was Saul*. And afterwards, chap. ix. 1, 2, *But Saul, yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the high-priest and desired of him letters to Damascus, to the synagogues, that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound to Jerusalem*. And in his speech before king Agrippa, and the governor Festus, Acts xxvi. 9...12, he says himself: *I verily thought with myself that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth. Which thing I also did in Jerusalem: and many of the saints did I shut up in prison, having received authority from the chief-priests; and when they were put to death I gave my voice against them. And I punished them oft in every synagogue, and compelled them to blaspheme; and, being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them even unto strange cities. Whereupon he set out for Damascus, with authority and commission from the chief-priests*. But in his way thither he met with a check, received new light, to which he submitted, and became a true penitent and sincere convert; and then preached the faith, which for some while he had endeavoured to destroy. Compare Gal. i. 13...24. 1 Cor. xv. 8, 9. Eph. iii. 8. 1 Tim. i. 12...14.

How he was treated by the Jews, after his conversion, we know from the history in the Acts, and from his own epistles. For when he began to preach the gospel at Damascus, *the Jews laid wait for him, and they watched the gates day and night to kill him*. But the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a basket. Acts ix. 24, 25. Of which great danger, and his wonderful escape, he speaks himself in an affecting manner; 2 Cor. xi. 31...33. When he came to Jerusalem from Damascus, and disputed with the Grecians, or Jewish profelytes, *they went about to slay him*, Acts ix. 29. For which cause the disciples found it prudent to bring him down to Cæsarea, that he might go to Tarsus.

The Jews out of Judea acted in the like manner. At Antioch in Pisidia, Paul having preached there with some success, both among

among Jews and Gentiles, the Jews, moved with envy, stirred up the devout and honourable women, and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts: Acts xiii. 50; and see ver. 5. They therefore went to Iconium, where also they had some converts among Jews and Gentiles. But the unbelieving Jews stirred up the Gentiles, and made their minds evil affected toward the brethren. . . . But the multitude of the city was divided. . . . And when there was an assault made both of the Gentiles and of the Jews, with their rulers, to use them despitefully, and to stone them, they were aware of it, and fled to Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and unto the region that lieth round about. And there they preached the gospel: ch. xiv. 1. . . . 7. At Lystra a great miracle was wrought by Paul, upon a lame man, who had been a cripple from his mother's womb, and never had walked. And the people of the place were disposed to give divine honours to Paul and Barnabas, which they refused to accept. But there came thither certain Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded the people. And, having stoned Paul, they drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead. Howbeit, as the disciples stood round about him, he rose up and came into the city. And the next day he departed with Barnabas to Derbe: ch. xiv. 1. . . . 20. And having passed through several places they returned to Antioch in Syria, from which place they had been sent out with special recommendations to the grace of God: ver. 21. . . . 28. All which things therefore happened in what is sometimes called the first peregrination of Paul and Barnabas.

How the Jews acted at Thessalonica, may be seen Acts xvii. 1. . . . 9; at Berea, may be seen ver. 10. . . . 15. How they behaved at Corinth, may be seen ch. xviii. ver. 5. . . . 20. And when Paul came to Jerusalem, afterwards, in the year of Christ 58, as we compute, he was very hard pressed by the Jews there, where was their great council, and where the whole nation was gathered together at the feast of Pentecost, as is related Acts xxi. and xxii. Nor was there any visible means of his escaping out of their hands with his life, but by appealing to the emperor himself, notwithstanding the favourable dispositions of the Roman governors, Felix and Festus, to shew him equity: by which appeal he obtained leave to go to Rome, where he lived two whole years in a kind of free custody, receiving all that came in unto him, and preaching the kingdom of God, and those things which concern the Lord Jesus, with all confidence, no man forbidding him: chap. xxviii. 30, 31. And then he was set at liberty, and went abroad again.

Thus the Jews resisted the council of God, and went on accumulating guilt, and laying up a store of vengeance to fall upon them, when God saw fit, and when the measure of their iniquity was full. As St. Paul says to the Thessalonians, 1 ep. ii. 14. *For ye, brethren, became followers of the churches of God, which in Judea are in Christ Jesus. For ye also have suffered the like things of your countrymen, even as they have of the Jews; who have killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and have persecuted us, and are contrary to all men: forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles, that they may be saved, to fill up their sins always. For the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost.*

For certain, such things cannot be overlooked by the Sovereign Lord and Governor of all nations, and of the Jewish nation especially. For he has said, and it is agreeable to reason, and to all the rules of right government; that *if he raiseth up a prophet, and putteth his words in his mouth, and he speaks all that he has commanded him, it shall come to pass that whosoever will not hearken unto my words, which he shall speak in my name, I WILL REQUIRE IT OF HIM; Deut. xviii. 18, 19.* This rule was laid down and promulgated by Moses himself, the great lawgiver of the Jews; and, as before observed, it was to be a standing rule. If faithful messengers, who deliver truly the message they have received from God, are rejected, and not only not hearkened to, but abused, the God of the prophets will resent it, and shew his displeasure. Accordingly, soon after the events before related, wrath did come upon the Jewish people to a very remarkable degree. And the numbers of those who perished at Jerusalem and in Judea, by the famine and by the sword, and by intestine feuds and divisions, or otherwise, was very extraordinary, and even unparalleled, as we know from Josephus, a contemporary writer of their own nation, and from Josippon, a Jew likewise, and from others.

Josephus, who was a witness of that awful scene, often acknowledgeth the hand of God in it. Cestius Gallus, president of Syria, made a successful attempt upon Jerusalem, and then withdrew: whereupon he says, ‘If ^e Cestius had continued the siege a little longer, he would have taken the city; but God, as I think, for the wickedness of the people, abhorring his own solemnities, suffered not the war to come to an end at that time.’ When John of Gischala escaped from out of the hands of Vespasian, and got to Jerusalem, he says, ‘It ^f was the work of God, who saved John for the destruction of Jerusalem.’ In another place ^g he says that ‘God had blinded their minds for the trans-

^e See before in this volume, p. 63.

^f p. 70.

^g p. 78.

‘gressions

‘gressions which they had been guilty of.’ And ‘Never^h did any city endure so great calamities: nor was there ever from the beginning of the world any time more fruitful of wickedness.’ Again, ‘Indeedⁱ it was God who had condemned the whole nation, and defeated every method taken for their preservation.’ When the temple was burning, he says, ‘Certainly^k the divine sentence had long ago condemned it to the fire.’ He also observes that ‘they^l did not attend to the prodigies which evidently foretold their desolation; but like men infuriated, who have neither eyes to see, nor minds to consider, they disregarded the divine denunciations.’ He also observes that ‘the^m whole nation was then shut up as in a prison; and the Romans encompassed the city when it was crowded with inhabitants. Accordingly, the multitude of them who perished therein exceeded all the destructions that ever man or God brought upon the world. Andⁿ the whole circumference of the city was so thoroughly laid even with the ground, by them who dug it up to the foundation, that there was nothing left to make those who came thither believe it had ever been inhabited.’ So writes Josephus, in the Greek language, in the face of the whole world, not many years after the Jewish war was ended. And says Eleazar, in his speech at Massada, recorded by the same historian, ‘The^o metropolis of the whole nation, the city, which we believed to have God inhabiting it, has been rooted up to the foundation, and the holy temple has been profanely dug up to the foundation.’

Such was the end of the siege of Jerusalem in the second year of Vespasian, and the year of Christ 70. And thus were accomplished the predictions of Jesus concerning the city of Jerusalem, and the temple, and the Jewish people, if they did not repent.

Here I might conclude: but if any should be desirous to see this argument in all it's force, and in it's full light, it will be requisite to look farther back, and ascend up to the origin of this people; and then trace their history through the several periods of it: for they are a people separated from all other nations, chosen of God, for very great ends and purposes, to uphold the belief of the Divine Unity, the doctrine of a Divine Providence concerning itself in the affairs of mankind, upon the belief of which all religious worship depends, and to preserve the expectation of the coming of a great person to redeem the human race from error and vice, and the bad consequences of their deviations from truth and virtue: Gen. iii. 15.

^h p. 72.ⁱ p. 82.^k p. 85.^l p. 86.^m p. 97.ⁿ p. 98.^o p. 99.

For these ends God chose Abraham, and brought him out of *Ur of the Chaldees*. When he called him out of his country, and from his kindred, and from his father's house, he said: *I will make thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing.... And in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed:* Gen. xii. 1....3. The fulfilment of which magnificent promise was limited to Isaac, or his seed by Sarah: Gen. xvii. and afterwards to Jacob: Gen. xxvii. xxviii. And when his posterity was greatly increased, after their sojourning a while in Egypt, where they had been treated in a servile manner, God brought them out of that country, with a *mighty hand and an out-stretched arm*, working many great and conspicuous miracles for their safety. Whilst they were in the wilderness he gave to them a system of laws, the ten principal of which were delivered from mount Sinai with great solemnity, and then engraved on tables of stone by the finger of God. God then brought them into the land of Canaan, where they became a flourishing and powerful nation, according to the promise made to Abraham concerning Sarah, when she was yet barren, that *she should be a mother of nations, and kings of people should be of her:* Gen. xvii. 16.

David intended to build a house for the name of the Lord; but that honour was reserved for his son Solomon: the divine approbation of David's design is manifest; and God, by inspiration, gave him the form and dimensions of the house, and the order of the worship to be performed there; 1 Chr. xxviii. 11....13: *Then^a David gave to Solomon his son the pattern of the porch, and of the houses thereof [or of the house, and the apartments thereof] and of the treasuries thereof, and of the upper chambers thereof, and of the place of the mercy-seat; and the pattern of all that he had by the spirit, of the courts of the house of the Lord, and of all the chambers round about, of the treasuries of the house of God, and of the treasuries of the delicate things. Also for the courses of the priests and the Levites, and for all the work of the service of the house of the Lord....ver. 19. All this, said David, the Lord made me to understand in writing [as if it were inscribed on his mind] by his hand upon me, even all the words of this pattern*

When the house was finished, and dedicated by a prayer suitable to the great occasion, 2 Chr. v. vi. we are informed; ch. vii. 12, *that the Lord appeared to Solomon by night, and said unto him: I have heard thy prayer, and have chosen this place to myself for an house of sacrifice. 15, 16, Now mine eyes shall be open, and mine eyes*

^a Gen. xv. 7. Ne' i. ix. 7. *id est, dedit ei formam conspicuam, qualem Deus animo inscripserat, ut dicitur infra, ver. 19. Grot.*

^q Dedit autem David Salomoni filio suo descriptionem....

attent unto the prayer that is made in this place. For now have I chosen and sanctified this house, that my name may be there for ever, and mine eyes and my heart shall be there perpetually....19....22. But if ye turn away, and forsake my statutes and my commandments, which I have set before you, and serve other gods, and worship them, then will I pluck them up by the roots out of my land which I have given them. And this house, which I have sanctified for my name, will I cast out of my sight, and make it to be a proverb, and a by-word among all nations. And this house, which is high, shall be an astonishment to every one that passeth by it, so that he shall say: *Why hath the Lord done thus unto this land, and to this house?* And it shall be answered, *Because they forsook the God of their fathers, which brought them out of the land of Egypt, and laid hold on other gods, and worshipped them; and served them: therefore hath he brought all this evil upon them.*

And though God is ever merciful, and full of compassion, and forgave their iniquity, and many a time turned away his anger, and did not stir up all his wrath, [Ps. lxxviii. 38, and what follows, and Neh. ix.] yet at length the provocation of their repeated idolatries, and gross immoralities, after the renewed admonitions of his prophets, was such, that God gave them up into the hands of their enemies. So this is related 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15....20. And the Lord God of their fathers sent unto them by his messengers, rising up early, and sending them, because he had compassion upon his people, and his dwelling place. But they mocked the messengers of God, and despised his words, and misused his prophets, until the wrath of the Lord rose against his people, till there was no remedy. Therefore he brought upon them the king of the Chaldees, who slew their young men with the sword, in the house of their sanctuary, and had no compassion upon young man or maiden, old man, or him that stooped for age: he gave them all into his hand: and all the vessels of the house of God, great and small, and the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king, and of his princes; all these things brought he to Babylon. And they burnt the house of God, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces thereof with fire, and destroyed all the goodly vessels thereof. And them that had escaped from the sword carried he to Babylon: where they were servants to him, and his sons, until the reign of the kingdom of Persia.

That was the overthrow of the temple and city of Jerusalem, and the kingdom of Judah at that time. All which is related at large, and rather more particularly, in the fifty-second and last chapter of the book of Jeremiah: and may be seen also in 2 Kings, ch. xxiv. xxv.

And it may be worth the while to observe here, Jer. xxv. 1...11.

The

The word that came unto Jeremiah concerning all the people of Judah, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah, king of Judah, which was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon: Which Jeremiah the prophet spake unto all the people of Judah, and to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, saying: From the thirteenth year of Josiah the son of Amon, king of Judah, even unto this day, (that is, the three-and-twentieth year) the word of the Lord hath come unto me, and I have spoken unto you, rising early, and speaking, but ye have not hearkened. And the Lord hath sent unto you^r all his servants the prophets, rising early, and sending them, but ye have not hearkened, nor inclined your ear to hear. THEY SAID, Turn ye again now every one from his evil way, and from the evil of your doings, and dwell in the land that the Lord hath given to you, and to your fathers for ever. And go not after other gods to serve and to worship them, and provoke me not to anger with the works of your hands, and I will do you no hurt. Yet ye have not hearkened unto me, saith the Lord, that ye might provoke me to anger, with the works of your hands to your own hurt. Therefore thus saith the Lord of hosts, because ye have not heard my words, behold I will send and take all the families of the north, saith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon my servant, and bring them against this land, and against the inhabitants thereof.... And this whole land shall be a desolation, and an astonishment. And these nations shall serve the king of Babylon^s seventy years.

It ought to be here particularly observed by us, that this calamity is said to have been brought at length upon this people because they had refused to hearken to the words of God, spoken to them by the prophets.

The vessels of the temple were carried to Babylon, and lodged in the temple there dedicated to Belus. 2 Chr. xxxvi. 7. Nebuchadnezzar also carried of the vessels of the house of the Lord to Babylon, and put them in his temple at Babylon. They are more particularly enumerated, Jer. lii. 17....23. This, undoubtedly, was intended by way of scorn and insult to the conquered people of Israel, and as a triumph over the God whom they worshipped. Nevertheless they were thereby preserved, and many of them were afterwards returned. That they were there near the end of the captivity, we learn from the profane and unseasonable feast

^r Jeremiah seems there to intend, as prophets of former times, so also some who were contemporary with him, two of which are mentioned in scripture, Ze- phaniah, whose prophecies we have, and Urijah, mentioned here ch. xxvi. 20. See Lowth upon the place. And says Grotius upon ver. 1. A tertio anno regni Josiæ.

....Nam 31 annis regnavit Josias. Ab his deme 12 et adde annos 4 Joakimi, fi- unt ipsi anni 23. Per quos nullo labore et se et socios suos abstinuisse ait Jeremias, ut ad meliorem frugem populum redu- ceret.

^s Prædictio insignis, ob ita exactam temporis designationem. Grot.

made by Belshazzar, as related Dan. v. 1....4. *Who then commanded to bring the golden and silver vessels, which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple, which is at Jerusalem, that the king and his princes, and his wives and concubines, might drink therein.* At the end of the captivity, when Cyrus permitted the people to return to their own country, he also gave orders for the restoring of these vessels, as related at the beginning of the book of Ezra, ch. i. 1....11. *Now, in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, (that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled) the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, that he made proclamation, throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying: Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? His God be with him, and let him go to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God which is at Jerusalem.... Also Cyrus the king brought forth the vessels of the house of the Lord, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought forth out of Jerusalem, and had put them in the house of his god. Even these did Cyrus king of Persia bring forth by the hand of Mithredath, the treasurer, and numbered them unto Sheshbazzar the prince of Judah. And this is the number of them: thirty chargers of gold, a thousand chargers of silver, nine-and-twenty knives: thirty basons of gold: silver basons, of a second sort, four hundred and ten, and other vessels a thousand. All the vessels of gold and silver were five thousand and four hundred. All these did Sheshbazzar bring up with them of the captivity, that were brought up from Babylon unto Jerusalem.*

The first thing that was done by them, after their return to Jerusalem, was restoring the altar for burnt-offerings. Ezra. iii. 2. *Then stood up Joshua the son of Josedech, and his brethren the priests, and Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, and his brethren, and builded the altar of the God of Israel to offer burnt-offerings thereon.... From the first day of the seventh month began they to offer burnt-offerings unto the Lord. But the foundation of the temple of the Lord was not yet laid. The building of the temple met with opposition, and therefore it was several years before it was finished: which is mentioned Ezra vi. 14....16. And the elders of the Jews builded, and they prospered through the prophesying of Haggai the prophet, and Zachariah the son of Iddo, and they builded, and finished it, according to the commandment of Cyrus, and Darius, and Artaxerxes king of Persia. And this house was finished on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius the king. And the children of Israel, the priests and the Levites, and the rest of the children of the captivity, kept the dedication of this house with joy.*

At first they were discouraged by the little prospect they had of raising the temple suitably to their wishes. Ezra iii. 12. *Many of the priests and Levites, and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men, who had seen the first house, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice, and many shouted aloud for joy. But God himself encouraged them to proceed with the most gracious assurances. Haggai ii. 1....7. In the seventh month, in the one-and-twentieth day of the month, came the word of the Lord by the prophet Haggai, saying: Speak now to Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and to Joshua the son of Josedech the high-priest, and to the residue of the people. Who is left among you that saw this house in its first glory? And how do ye see it now? Is it not in your eyes, in comparison of it, as nothing? Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord; and be strong, O Joshua, son of Josedech, the priest, and be strong all ye people of the land, saith the Lord of hosts, and work: for I am with you saith the Lord of hosts. According to the word that I covenanted with you, when ye came out of Egypt, so my Spirit remaineth among you: fear ye not. For thus saith the Lord of hosts: Yet once a little while....And I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come. And I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of hosts. See likewise ch. i. and Zach. i. ii. iii. and viii.*

And now they restored the worship of God at the temple, according to the prescriptions of the law of Moses for offering sacrifices. They kept the feast of the Passover, and other great feasts, according to the law of Moses, and the priests and Levites were set to officiate in their courses. So, after the setting up the altar of burnt-offering, and their beginning to lay the foundation of the temple, it is said: Ezra iii. 10. *And when the builders laid, or were laying, the foundation of the temple of the Lord, they set the priests in their apparel with trumpets, and the Levites, the sons of Asaph, with cymbals, to praise the Lord after the ordinance of David king of Israel. And afterwards, when the temple was raised, it is said, Ezra vi. 18: And they set the priests in their divisions, and the Levites in their courses, for the service of God, which is at Jerusalem, as it is written in the book of Moses. Then it follows, ver. 19: And the children of the captivity, that is, who were returned from their captivity, kept the Passover, upon the fourteenth day of the first month.*

Thus the worship of God was again restored, and set up at his temple in Jerusalem. And though, undoubtedly, in the intermediate space the Jews met with various difficulties from surrounding enemies, and were now in subjection to the Romans, yet in the time of our Saviour and his apostles the Jewish people had free access to the temple, performed their sacrifices there, kept the Passover, and Pentecost, and other great solemnities

nities according to the appointments of the law of Moses; and the genealogies of their tribes were in being: Jesus, our Lord, was of the tribe of Judah, and of the family of David, though then in low circumstances: Matt. i. and ii. Luke i. and ii. Zacharias, father of John the Baptist, was of the course of Abia, and his wife Elizabeth was of the daughters of Aaron: and he executed the priest's office before God at the temple, in the order of his course. Luke i. 5....12. *Anna, a prophetess*, is said to have been *the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher, a widow of fourscore years of age, who departed not from the temple, and served God with fastings and prayers night and day.*

But it is not needful to add any thing more, it being apparent from the books of the New Testament, and from Josephus, as well as from other writings, that the worship at the temple in Jerusalem subsisted till the second year of Vespasian, and the year of Christ 70, in which year they had come up in great numbers to keep the Passover, and were suddenly shut up in the city by the Roman army.

The times of the first and second temple are computed by Dr. Lightfoot in this manner: 'The time of the standing of the first temple, from it's finishing in the eleventh year of Solomon, to it's firing by Nebuzaradan, was four hundred and twenty years.' 'From the first year of Cyrus (in which he proclaimed redemption to the captives, and gave commandment to restore and build Jerusalem) to the death of Christ, were four hundred and ninety years, as they are summed up by an angel, Dan. ix. and from the death of Christ to the fatal and final destruction of Jerusalem, were forty years more; five hundred and thirty years in all.' Which two sums make no more than nine hundred and fifty years. In another place^x he computes the times of the two temples to be exactly one thousand years. Others may make different computations; but now we need not concern ourselves about a nice exactness: however, I refer to^y Prideaux, who may be consulted.

^t The temple, as it stood in the time of our Saviour, ch. 40, p. 2063.

^u Ib. p. 2064.

^x 'If Jerusalem was destroyed exactly forty years after our Saviour's death, as it is apparent,...then that destruction of it befell just in the four thousandth year of the world. And so, as the temple of Solomon had been finished anno mundi exactly 3000, so in anno mundi exactly 4000, both

' the city and the temple that then was, were destroyed, never to be repaired or rebuilt again. And from that time most properly began the kingdom of heaven, and the new Jerusalem, when that earthly kingdom, and that old city, were utterly ruined.' Harmony of the four Evangelists. vol. i. p. 487.
^y See his Connexion, &c. year before Christ, 458. vol. i. p. 262. &c.

III. I shall now shut up these reflections with some concluding observations.

Obf. 1. The temple at Jerusalem was designed by David, and erected by Solomon with divine approbation; and the worship there performed was of divine appointment: and as the building itself, and the worship there, had a divine sanction, it was fit that a suitable respect should be shewn to the place itself, and to the ordinances there enjoined, by all the worshippers of the true God.

Solomon,^a and all understanding Israelites, were persuaded of the divine omnipresence. Nevertheless, as God had determined to make peculiar manifestations of himself at the temple, it was fit that respect should be shewn to it. 1 Kings, viii. 27...30. *But will God dwell on this earth? Behold the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee: how much less this house that I have built? Yet have thou respect unto the prayer of thy servant....That thine eyes may be open toward this house, night and day, even toward the place of which thou hast said, My name shall be there: [Deut. xii. 11.] And hearken thou to the supplication of thy servant, and of thy people Israel, when they shall pray toward this place. And hear thou in heaven thy dwelling place, and when thou hearest forgive. See likewise ver. 45....50.*

And when Solomon had made an end of praying, fire came down from heaven, and consumed the burnt-offering, and the sacrifice; and the glory of the Lord filled the house. 2 Chr. vii. 1. And the Lord appeared to Solomon by night, and said unto him: I have heard thy prayer, and have chosen this place to myself for an house of sacrifice. If I shut up heaven, that there be no rain....or if I send pestilence among my people, if my people, which are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land....For now have I chosen and sanctified this house, that my name may be there for ever: and mine eyes and my heart shall be there perpetually: ver. 12....16.

Accordingly, Daniel, who was renowned for secular wisdom, as well as for divine illuminations, and eminent piety, when his fidelity to God met with a severe trial, as we are told, ch. vi. 10, *he went into his house, and, his window being open in his chamber toward Jerusalem, he kneeled down upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God, as he did afore time. Comp. 1. Kings, viii. 48. Pf. v. 3. Jonah, ii. 4.* And the Lord Jesus was often at Jerusalem, especially at the great festivals. And twice in the course of his ministry he cleared the temple of

^a See his letter to Hiram, king of Tyre, 2 Chr. ii. 1....7.

some abuses and encumbrance, and severely rebuked those who practised those indecencies, or connived at them.

Obf. 2. The temple and the city of Jerusalem were twice destroyed; once by the Chaldeans, a second time by the Romans.

The city of Jerusalem was besieged, and taken several times besides; by Antiochus Epiphanes, Pompey, and Herod the great, and others. But now we confine ourselves to those seasons when the city was ruined, and the temple also was destroyed.

Obf. 3. The taking of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans was a very grievous calamity.

The particulars are related Jer. lii. 2 Kings, xxiv. xxv. 2 Chron. xxxvi. Daniel, in his confessions, ch. ix. 12, says: *For under the whole heaven hath not been done as hath been done upon Jerusalem.* It was a calamity not easy to be paralleled in all its circumstances. Which was agreeable to the maxim before observed, *that where much is given, there also much will be required,* and to the words of God by the prophet Amos: *You only have I known of all the families of the earth, therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities.*

Obf. 4. The final captivity of the Jewish people by the Romans has been a much greater calamity than that by the Chaldeans. It exceeds in many respects.

1. The distresses of the siege of Jerusalem, and the numbers that perished there by famine, or sword, by the hands of the Romans, or by their own intestine divisions, and the numbers carried captive, exceeded all the desolations that ever were. It happened when the city was crowded with people, they being assembled together at one of their festivals; and the city itself, its buildings, its walls, and the temple were demolished, and thrown down to the foundation, so as they had never been before. So our Lord foretold Matt. xxiv. 21. *For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning of the world, to this time: no, nor ever shall be.* So Jesus said it would be; and Josephus says, it was so, and that 'it exceeded all the destructions ever brought upon the world by God or man.'

2. The captivity by the Romans has exceeded the former in duration.

This second captivity has now already lasted almost seventeen hundred years, without any the least prospect of a period to it. That was limited to seventy years only according to the word of God by Jeremiah, ch. xxv. 12...18, xxix. 10...14, and Dan. ix. 1, 2.

3. During the captivity by the Chaldeans, the Jewish people had prophets among them, but now they have none.

In this second captivity, as they are without altar, and sacrifice, and temple, and city of their own, so are they, all this while, without visions, and prophecies, and divine illuminations of every kind.

In the former captivity they had several prophets of great eminence. Jeremiah continued to prophesy to the remains of the people in Judea several years after the beginning of the captivity. Ezekiel and Daniel prophesied in Babylon. These, and other good men, may have been of great service for bringing men to repentance, and fitting them for the expected deliverance. And, during that period of seventy years, there were miraculous deliverances vouchsafed to some: the preservation, particularly, of the three young men in the fiery furnace: Dan. iii. Then Daniel's satisfactory interpretations of Nebuchadnezzar's dreams, ch. ii. and iv. and Daniel's great advancement, and some other extraordinary occurrences were much in their favour. They must have tended to influence the minds of the great princes to whom they were subject; and must have been means of facilitating their deliverance, and accomplishing their safe return into their own country, and to their happy settlement in it. But we hear not of any such like favourable appearances in the present captivity and dispersion.

Obs. 5. All these calamities, those of the former and of the latter captivity, have happened to the Jewish people, agreeably to the original plan of divine dispensations concerning them.

This observation was mentioned formerly: but it is repeated here as a thing of great importance: and we have an acknowledgment of it in Daniel's confessions, with regard to the Babylonish captivity, ch. ix. 11: *Yea, all Israel have transgressed thy law, even by departing, that they might not obey thy voice. Therefore the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that is written in the law of Moses, the servant of God, because we have sinned against him....* 13: *As it is written in the law of Moses, all this evil is come upon us.* See Lev. xxvi. 14....46. Deut. xxviii. 15, &c. What is here said of the captivity by the Chaldeans, is as true of the captivity by the Romans, and ought to be in like manner acknowledged.

Obs. 6. Our blessed Lord's predictions therefore of evil coming upon Jerusalem and the people of Judea, did not proceed from private resentment, enmity, malice, ill-will, or any other unfociable affection, from which the mind of the blessed Jesus was always free: but they were declarations of the counsel of God, prophetic denunciations of evil to come if men did
not

not repent, faithful warnings to men to take heed to themselves, and earnest and affectionate calls to repentance and reformation, that the impending and threatened calamities might be averted and avoided.

A prophet, who is intrusted with the mind of God, must faithfully deliver both promises to obedience, and threatenings to disobedience, as is required. Says Moses to the people under his care, for whose welfare and prosperity he was greatly concerned, Deut. iv. 5: *Behold, I have taught you statutes and judgments, even as the Lord my God commanded me....ver. 25, 26....But if thou do evil in the sight of the Lord thy God, to provoke him to anger, I call heaven and earth to witness that ye shall soon utterly perish from off the land, whereunto you go over Jordan to possess it: ye shall not prolong your days upon it: but shall utterly be destroyed.* Nor was Jeremiah to be charged with ill-will to the Jewish people when he foretold the desolations of the Chaldean captivity.

Obs. 7. The great aggravation of the transgressions of the Jewish people, lay in their not hearkening to the messages of the prophets, which God sent among them.

This was observed before from 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15, 16, and from Jerem. xxv. 1....11, to which I now add that it is particularly mentioned by Daniel in his devout and humble confession of the sins of that people, which brought upon them the Babylonish captivity. ch. ix. 5, 6. *We have sinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled even by departing from thy precepts and thy judgments. Neither have we hearkened unto thy servants the prophets, who spoke in thy name to our kings, our princes, and our fathers, and to all the people of Israel.* By which, certainly, these prophets manifested their fidelity. And the reason of this is, that refusing to hearken to messages of God, faithfully delivered by his prophets, demonstrates obstinacy and irreclaimableness. This is represented by our Lord in the parable of the fig-tree. Luke xiii. 6....10. and of the husbandman, Matt. xxi. 33, &c. and in other parables and discourses. The parable of the fig-tree just mentioned, is thus. *A certain man had a fig-tree, planted in his vineyard. And he came, and sought fruit thereon, and found none. Then said he to the dresser of the vineyard: Behold these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig-tree, and find none; cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground? And he answering said: Lord, let it alone this year also, till I shall dig about it, and dung it; if it bear fruit, well; if not, thou shalt cut it down.* So God said of old to the people of Israel by Isaiah, after having in a like manner represented his care and cultivation of his vineyard. Is. v. 3, 4, 5. *And now, O inhabitants of Jerusalem,*

and men of Judah, judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my vineyard. What could have been done more to my vineyard, than I have done in it? Wherefore when I looked, that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes? I will tell you what I will do to my vineyard; I will take away the hedge thereof; and it shall be eaten up: and break down the wall thereof, and it shall be trodden down.

This was the case in the time of our Saviour. After all other prophets, came Jesus, who taught the people in the name of God, and faithfully delivered his mind to them, and called them to repentance, and wrought many wonderful works. There was then a great profusion of spiritual gifts in himself, and his apostles. If their message was not hearkened to, but rejected, and they abused, it would be an aggravated provocation, and would be required of the people to whom they had spoken in the name of God.

Obf. 8. Finally, in the eighth and last place, let us now inquire and consider what was the sin, what the sins or offences, that occasioned the great calamity which befel the Jewish people about forty years after the times of the Lord Jesus, under the conduct of those two generals Vespasian and Titus.

We have seen accounts in Josephus, and other Jewish writers, of the distresses then suffered by the Jewish people at Jerusalem, and in other parts of Judea, and of the destruction and demolition of their city and temple, and their captivity and dispersion, which still continue. And we have seen evident proofs that the hand of God was therein, and that all came to pass by the overruling providence of God. It is an affecting subject. And if we make inquiries into the reasons and causes of these great calamities, we should do it seriously and impartially, and may be disposed also to compassion and candour.

When God appeared to Solomon, after he had finished and dedicated the temple, he graciously assured him that he accepted the prayer which he had made, and that he would hearken to the prayers which his people should make to him toward that place in their distresses. Nevertheless he declares, 2 Chron. vii. 19... 22: *But if ye turn away and forsake my statutes, and my commandments, which I have set before you, and serve other gods, and worship them: then will I pluck them up by the roots out of my land which I have given them. And this house which I have sanctified for my name will I cast out of my sight, and will make it to be a proverb, and a by-word among all nations. And this house, which is high, shall be an astonishment to every one that passeth by it: so that he shall say: Why hath the Lord done thus unto this land, and unto this house? And it shall be answered, Because they forsook the Lord God of their fathers, who brought*

brought them out of the land of Egypt, and laid hold on other gods, and worshipped them, and served them. Therefore hath he brought all this evil upon them.

This was fulfilled in the Babylonish captivity, when Jerusalem was taken, and the temple built by Solomon was burnt down. That was an event which occasioned inquiries into the reasons and causes of it. And shall not we consider and make like inquiries concerning the captivity by the Romans, which has been attended with so many awful circumstances? Shall we not say: *Why has the Lord done thus unto this land, and to this house?* meaning the second house, built after the return from the Babylonish captivity. For that house also was high; and had been erected with divine approbation and encouragement: and the worship had been restored there according to the appointment of Moses: and was so continued there till its final desolation.

If now we ask, *Why has the Lord done thus to this land and people, and to this house?* it cannot be said, *because they laid hold on other gods, and worshipped them, and served them.* For after the return from the Babylonish captivity, they were for the most part free from the sin of idolatry, into which they had so often relapsed before. Nor are they now guilty of that sin, for which their dispersion should be continued. For some while before the last destruction of Jerusalem, they appear from all accounts to have been generally very zealous for the law of Moses, and the rites of it, and very diligent in their attendance on the temple at Jerusalem, to which they resorted in great numbers, from all parts of the world where they inhabited, at the solemn festivals; and where a large part of the nation was assembled to keep the passover, when the final overthrow befell them.

We are therefore led to think that these calamities befell the Jewish people because they rejected and crucified the Lord Jesus, who was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people, Luke xxiv. 19. who spake as never man spake before, and performed many wonderful works which none had done before. And God has required it of them, as he said by Moses he would do. Deut. xviii. 19. And I must again recite here those affecting and awful, but true, sayings of our Lord, recorded John xv. 22, 24. *If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin: but now they have no cloak [or excuse] for their sin. If I had not done among them the works which no other man did, they had not had sin: but now they have both seen and hated both me and my Father.*

The expectation of the Messiah is no new thing. It had not its rise from Jesus, or his disciples. It was in being long before the nativity of Jesus. We are assured^b by Suetonius, and Tacitus,

^b See the passages of those heathen authors, and of Josephus, all alleged Vol. i. p. 132.. 135.

tus, and Celsus, heathen writers of great learning, as well as from Josephus, that 'There had been for a long time, all over the east, a notion firmly believed that, at that very time, some coming from Judea should obtain the empire of the world.' Heathen writers say this was 'contained in the book of the fates.' Josephus, who at the time of his writing the History of the War, was disposed to think as the heathen writers above mentioned do, that Vespasian was thereby intended, says, that this expectation was founded upon an ambiguous oracle. Nevertheless he owns that the expectation was general among the Jewish people, and that it was embraced by 'many of the wise men among them,' as well as by others, and that it was the thing which 'principally encouraged them to undertake the war with the Romans.' But upon this head there is now no difference between the Jews and us; all allowing that the expectation of a Messiah is founded on the writing of Moses and the prophets.

That this was the time of his appearance they may have argued and collected from divers texts of scripture, as Dan. ii. 34...45. vii. 14. ix. 24. and from Hag. ii. 4...9. Mal. iii. 1. iv. 5, 6.

How general and prevailing the expectation of the appearance of the Messiah then was among all sorts of men, the rulers as well as the common people, we farther know from the books of the New Testament. Luke iii. 15, 16: *And as the people were in expectation, and all men mused in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ or not, John answered, saying unto them all: I indeed baptize you with water; but one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose: he will baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire.* And from John i. 19....34, we know that the Jews sent priests and Levites, who were of the sect of the Pharisees, to John, where he was baptizing, to ask him who he was. He declared *he was not the Christ, but was sent before him; and said: There standeth one among you, whom ye know not. He it is who, coming after me, is preferred before me; whose shoes latchet I am not worthy to unloose.* I need not cite any other texts.

At that very time Jesus appeared and wrought many wonderful works, irrefragable attestations to his divine mission and authority, and the truth of his doctrine; of which we are as well assured from the concurring and unanimous testimony of all the writers of the New Testament, as we can be of any thing that ever was done in the world: or as the Jews are of the miracles wrought by Moses and the prophets.

Here therefore we may adopt the words of our Lord spoken to his disciples, Matt, xvii, 12. *But I say unto you, that Elias is*
come

come already. *And they knew him not, but have done unto him whatsoever they listed. Likewise shall also the Son of man suffer of them. As he did soon afterwards. For which God has reckoned, and is still reckoning with them.*

However, though the treatment given to Jesus and his apostles, was a very great offence, there may have been other provocations which occasioned the displeasure of God against his people, and concurred to bring down the vengeance of heaven upon them. One sin is never alone. There is generally a complication of guilt in all great and aggravated transgressions. Though the Jewish people often fell into the practice of heathen idolatry, and that was one great occasion of the Babylonish captivity, that was not the only sin with which they were chargeable. All sorts of immoralities abounded among them. And Daniel, in the confession which he makes of the sins of his people, says, ch. ix. 5. *We have sinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled, even by departing from thy precepts and thy judgments.* So now the greatness of their guilt lay in rejecting and crucifying Jesus the Messiah. But that would not have been done if wickedness had not greatly prevailed among them. Josephus owns, that 'never was there a time more fruitful of wickedness than that.' In the gospels the men of that time are spoken of as an *untoward generation, and a wicked and adulterous generation.* They were chargeable with all kinds of evil, and were openly reprov'd for them by the faithful teacher and prophet whom God sent among them, and whom they so ungratefully used. They were covetous and worldly minded: Luke xvi. 14, 15. They were exceeding proud and ambitious of respect and honour. *They did all their works to be seen of men. They made broad their phylacteries, and enlarged the borders of their garments. They loved the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi:* Matt. xxiii. 5, 6. and see Mark xii. 38, 39; and Luke xx. 46; and Luke xiv. 7. They were extremely uneasy and impatient under the Roman government, to which, by the disposal of Divine Providence, they were subject. They were very deceitful and hypocritical, who *devoured widows houses, and for a pretence made long prayers:* Mark xii. 40: and see Matt. xxiii. 23...28. At the same time they depended upon their descent from Abraham, and other external privileges; which rendered all exhortations to repentance fruitless and ineffectual. See Matt. iii. 9; John viii. 33, and 39. Accordingly they are represented to have *hardened their hearts, and shut their eyes:* for which reason they did not understand, nor attend to the signs of the times, and the evidences of truth set before them: Matt. xiii. 14, 15; John xii. 37...41.

And moreover, they were at this time very fond of traditions, which made void the moral law of God.

All these charges, now collected from the gospels, might be verified by examples and observations in Josephus. These evil dispositions prevailing among them, especially in their great men who had the chief influence on the people, they did not, and could not believe, but rejected and ill treated the Lord Jesus Christ. Let me recite here John v. 39....44; *Search the scriptures, impartially. For in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me. And ye will not come unto me that ye might have life. I receive not honour from men. But I know you, that ye have not the love of God in you....How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?*

One thing more I must add here. That the time in which our Lord appeared was not a time of gross ignorance. The Jews now had synagogues every where in all parts of Judea, and in many places out of it, where the law of Moses and the prophets were read and explained. The common people in general were well acquainted with those scriptures, and with the explications given of them by their rabbins. Among the Scribes and Pharisees were many men of very good abilities. Their acuteness and subtilty are manifest in their cavils with our Saviour. Nor were the Jewish people now altogether unacquainted with the Greek literature. Their three sects of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, had occasioned disputes and controversies, and spread the knowledge of the things of religion among them.

It is amazing that a prophet who teaches men a reasonable doctrine, and works many miracles, all useful and beneficent, should be rejected. And it would be still more amazing, were it not that we are in some measure able to account for it, by the bad dispositions before taken notice of. Jesus gave no sign from heaven to induce them to expect from him (what suited their carnal and ambitious views) a deliverance from the Roman government. And all other works of mighty power and of great goodness, were slighted and despised. Thus prejudice and passion prevailed against evidence. And it is a great aggravation of the guilt of any men, who are knowing and discerning, if they reject the truth of which good evidences are set before them. Our Lord having made some remarks after the cure of the man born blind, and after his being excommunicated by the Pharisees, John ix. 39...41. Some of them who heard him said unto him: *Are we blind also?* Jesus said unto them: *If ye were blind ye should have no sin: but now ye say, We see; therefore your sin remaineth.*

Thus they were incurable. And these evil dispositions prevailing

vailing in them, brought on that great sin of rejecting and crucifying the Lord Jesus, which God has required of them.

The destruction therefore of the city of Jerusalem, and the temple, and the continued dispersion of the Jews, are a cogent argument for the truth of the Christian religion. They confirm the history of the New Testament and every part of it. If they had not sinned, as they are there said to have done, these calamities had not befallen them. Their sufferings bear witness to the spotless life, and excellent doctrine, and wonderful works, of the Lord Jesus. They testify that there had been one among them greater than Jonah, and wiser than Solomon: but they slighted all his wisdom and repented not, as the people of Nineveh did at the preaching of Jonah.

They confirm particularly the history recorded in Luke xxiii. 1.....25: *And the whole multitude of them [that is, many of the Jewish council] arose, and led him unto Pilate, saying: We found this man perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying, that he himself is Christ, a king. Pilate then asked him, saying: Art thou the king of the Jews? And he answered him, and said, Thou sayest it. [It is as you say.] Then said Pilate to the CHIEF PRIESTS, AND TO THE PEOPLE, I find no fault in this man. And they were the more fierce, saying: He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judea, beginning from Galilee to this place. He then sent Jesus to Herod, who sent him back again to Pilate. After which, when Pilate had called together THE CHIEF PRIESTS, AND THE RULERS, AND THE PEOPLE, he said unto them: Ye have brought this man unto me as one that perverteth the people; and behold, I, having examined him before you, have found no fault in this man touching these things whereof ye accuse him. No, nor yet Herod; for I sent you to him. And lo, nothing worthy of death is done unto him. I will therefore chastise him, and release him. For of necessity he must release one unto them at the feast. And they cried out, all at once, saying: Away with this man, and release unto us Barabbas: (who, for a certain sedition made in the city, and for murder, was cast into prison.) Pilate therefore, willing to release Jesus, spake again to them. But they cried, saying: Crucify him, crucify him. And he said unto them the third time: Why, what evil hath he done? I have found no cause of death in him. I will therefore chastise him and let him go. And they were instant with loud voices, requiring that he might be crucified: and the voices of them and the chief-priests prevailed. And Pilate gave sentence that it should be as they required. And he released unto them him that for sedition and murder was cast into prison, whom they desired: but he delivered Jesus to their will. Or as in Matt. xxvii. 24, 25, 26. When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing; but that rather a tumult was made, he took water, and washed his hands before*
the

the multitude, saying: I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it. Then answered all the people, and said: His blood be upon us, and our children. Then released he Barabbas unto them. And when he had scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified.

To these things, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the present circumstances of the Jews, bear witness; as also to the resurrection of Jesus, and his ascension to heaven, and to the plentiful effusion of spiritual gifts afterwards upon his apostles, and others; whereby they were enabled to preach the heavenly doctrine, in which their Lord and Master had instructed them. He commanded them to *preach repentance and remission of sins in his name, beginning at Jerusalem.* Luke xxiv. 47. And that they did so, *preaching repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ:* or, that they did earnestly call upon the Jewish people in Judea, and elsewhere to repent of their sins, and believe in the Lord Jesus; and that they did not receive their instructions and warnings, but ‘killed some of them, scourged others, and persecuted them from city to city.’ To all these things, the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, and other calamities brought upon the Jewish people, bear witness: and thus they filled up the measure of their iniquity.

The argument, upon which I have now insisted, is not new; it is old; and has been well managed by divers ancient Christian writers. I shall place below the observations made upon the long captivity of the Jews by Jerom^d and by Prudentius^e in their own language.

^d Multa, Judæe, scelera commisisti, cunctis, circa te servisti nationibus. Ob quod factum? Utique, propter idololatriam. Quumque servisses, crebro misertus tui est Deus: et misit judices et salvatores, qui te de famulatu Moabitarum et Ammoritarum, Philistiim quoque et diversarum gentium liberarunt. Novissime sub regibus offendisti Deum, et omnis tua provincia, gente Babylonica vestante, deleta est. Per septuaginta annos templi solitudo permanit. A Cyro rege Persarum est laxata captivitas. Esdras hoc et Nehemias plenissime referunt. Extructum est templum sub Dario rege Persarum a Zorobabel filio Salathiel, et Jesu filio Josedec, sacerdote magno. Quæ passi sis a Medis, Ægyptis, Macedonibusque non enumero. Nec tibi adducam in memoriam, Antiochum Epiphanem, crudelissimum omnium tyrannorum: nec Cn. Pompeium, Gabinium, Scaurum, Varum, Cassium, Sotiumque replicabo, qui tuis urbibus et præcipue Jerosolymæ insultavere. Ad extremum sub Vespasiano et Tito urbs capta, templumque subversum

est. Deinde civitatis usque ad Hadrianum principem per quinquaginta annos manere reliquæ. Post everisionem templi paullo minus per quadringentos annos et urbis et templi ruinæ permanent. Ob quod tantum facinus? Certe non colis idola, sed etiam serviens Persis atque Romanis, et captivitatis pressus jugo, ignoras alienos deos. Quomodo Clementissimus quondam Deus, qui nunquam tui oblitus est: nunc per tanta spatia temporum miseris tuis non adducitur, ut solvat captivitatem, et, ut verius dicam, expectatum tibi mittat Antichristum? Ob quod, inquam, facinus, et tam execrabile scelus, avertit a te oculos suos? Ignoras? Memento vocis parentum tuorum. Sanguis ejus super nos, et super filios nostros. Et: Venite, occidamus eum, et nostra erit hæreditas. Et: Non habemus regem, nisi Cæsarem. Habes quod elegisti, usque ad finem mundi serviturus es Cæsari, donec gentium introeat plenitudo, et sic omnis Israel salvus fiet: ut qui quondam erat in capite, vertatur in caudam. Hieron. ad Dardan. T. 2. p. 610, 611.

^e Quid mereare, Titus docuit: docuere rapinis

Pompeiana

language. I believe they will be perused with pleasure by some of my readers: and I refer to a ^f place of Chrysostom which was ^s formerly quoted more at large. I likewise refer to ^h Origen.

Nor can it be said that God has been unrighteous in his dealings with them. All these judgments befell them, according to the original plan of providence concerning them, and according to the prophetic denunciations of their lawgiver Moses. Nor can it be said that their continued dispersion is unrighteous, since they persist in the sin which first occasioned it, and reject Him, whom God has sent unto them; and not only reject him, but reproach and revile him, so as no other people do. And, finally, whenever they repent, they may obtain forgiveness, and be received into the church of Christ, and partake in all the privileges of it, and in the end obtain everlasting life, which God through Jesus Christ has promised to all those who love him. *For God has not cast away his people whom he foreknew; and if they abide not still in unbelief, they will be graciously received.* Rom. xi. 2, and 23.

The circumstances of the Jewish people deserve the attentive regard and serious consideration of all mankind, Jews and Christians, and the men of all nations and religions, where their history is known; as it now generally is, from the books of the Old and New Testament, and from Josephus, and other writings.

The writings of the apostles and evangelists, contained in the New Testament, are faithful records of the life of Jesus, and the promises of the gospel. And the continued subsistence of the Jewish people in a dispersed condition, all over the earth, bears testimony to the truth of every thing related by them. Thus God, the Sovereign Lord of all, in his great wisdom, has provided a perpetual and universal living monument to the memory of the transactions and sufferings of Jesus in Judea; and of his own veracity in performing the mercy promised to their fathers, and the oath which he swore to Abraham. Luke i. 72, 73. Gen. xxii. 15....18. and, that *when the fulness of the time was come, he sent forth his son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem man-*

Pompeianæ acies: quibus extirpata per omnes
Terrarum pelagique plagas tua membra feruntur.
Exiliis vagus, huc illuc fluitantibus errat
Judæus, postquam Patriâ de sede revulsus,
Supplicium pro cæde luit, Christique negati
Sanguine resperfus commissa piacula solvit.

Prud. Apoth. ver. 38, &c.

^f Adversus Judæos Or. vi. T. i. p. 652, 69. Spenc. l. 4. sect. 22. Bened. p. 174.
^s See Vol. x. p. 82. Sp. et sect. 73. Ben. p. 212. Sp. l. 8. sect.
^h Contr. Cels. l. 2. sect. 13. Bened. p. 42. Ben. p. 405. Spenc. sey Cantab.

kind from idolatry, and all vice, and from all burdensome rites, whether of Jewish or Heathen original. Gal. iv. 4, 5.

The circumstances of the Jewish people confirm the faith of Christians, and are a loud call to themselves to think, and consider, and repent, and believe. And it should in a like manner affect and awaken all other people. It is a voice which may be heard by those who have not yet seen the gospels, and perhaps are averse to them; and it should induce them to look into them, and carefully examine them.

That Jesus is the Christ, is manifest from his agreeing to all the prophetic descriptions concerning that great person, which are recorded in the Jewish scriptures, that he might be known when he came. He is the seed of Abraham, and the son of David: *the rod out of the stem of Jesse....And the spirit of the Lord rested on him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and of might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord. And to him the Gentiles have sought.* Is. xi. 1, 2, 3, 10. He was born of a virgin, Is. vii. 14, at Bethlehem in Judea. Mic. v. 2. *In him all the families of the earth have been blessed,* according to the promise made to Abraham, Gen. xii. 3, xviii. 18. xxii. 18. He is *the servant of God, whom he upheld, his elect, in whom his soul delighteth, [or God's well beloved son,] and hath brought forth judgment to the Gentiles.* Is. xlii. 1. *He hath been a light to lighten the Gentiles, and salvation to the ends of the earth.* Is. xlix. 6. *The isles waited for his law and have received it.* Is. xlii. 4. *And the earth is now full of the knowledge of God, as the waters cover the sea.* Is. xi. 9. *We have a new heaven, and a new earth,* Is. lxv. 17. *All the gods of the earth have been famished.* Zeph. ii. 11. Heathen idolatry, once so general, and so much delighted in by princes and people, is now no more in this part of the world; their temples are demolished, or put to other uses; their oracles are silent; nor do they receive human or other sacrifices. And God himself, the Lord of heaven and earth, is no longer served with sacrifices of animals, or oblations of fruits of the earth, but with prayers and praises, and good works of righteousness and mercy; nor is his worship now confined to any one particular place. The time is come, *when men should neither at mount Garizim, nor at Jerusalem, worship the Father: and when the true worshippers of God shall worship him in spirit and in truth,* John iv. 21....23. *And in every nation, he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him.* Acts x. 35. Jesus had the words of eternal life. John vi. 68. *And God has poured out of his spirit upon all flesh.* Joel ii. 28. Is. xlv. 3. Acts ii. 17. *And all men now know God from the least to the greatest of them.* Jerem. xxxi. 3, 4. All have just sentiments, and are able to discourse rationally concerning God, the Creator of all things, and his overruling Providence

Providence, and future rewards and punishments. We now worship God on earth, through Jesus Christ, in a reasonable, spiritual, liberal manner, in hopes of obtaining hereafter, perfection of holiness and happiness in the kingdom of our heavenly Father.

Jesus, then, is the promised Messiah who was to come. Nor is there any reason why we should look for another.

I have formerly repeated^{*} this subject. But the large and copious testimony of Josephus to the fulfilment of our Saviour's predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and the miseries coming upon the Jewish people, and the repeated acknowledgments of the destruction of the temple in the Mishnic and Talmudical writers, have compelled me to enlarge here, as I have now done.

Finally, to put an end to this long argument; if we have obtained the invaluable treasure of the gospel, that *pearl of great price*, let us be thankful to God who has so enriched us by Jesus Christ. And let us be careful to keep it entire, and in all its purity, unalloyed with base mixtures, and undisguised by false colourings. Our own glory and the credit of our religion depend upon this.

As for the Jewish people, I believe all good Christians will readily join with the apostle Paul, and say: *Our hearts desire, and prayer to God for Israel, is, that they might be saved.* Rom. x. 1. Nevertheless I acknowledge that I see no immediate prospect of their general conversion; and must assent to what the same apostle says in another place, who had great dealings with them, after his conversion to the Christian faith, as well as before, and had full experience of their untractable temper, which is still too much the same that it was in his time: *But their minds were blinded; for until this day remaineth the same veil, untaken away, in the reading of the Old Testament: which veil is done away in Christ. But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart. Nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away.* 2 Cor. iii. 14....16.

God grant that we may all know and mind the things which are conducive to our true interests both here and hereafter!

^{*} The circumstances of the Jewish people an argument for the truth of the Christian religion: see Vol. x. p. 63—96.

The End of Jewish Testimonies.

T E S T I M O N I E S

OF ANCIENT

H E A T H E N A U T H O R S.

C H A P. I.

The Epistle of Abgarus king of Edessa to Jesus, and the Rescript of Jesus to Abgarus.

As the authority of these epistles depends entirely upon Eusebius, I shall here transcribe his account at length, which is in the thirteenth, or last chapter of the first book of his Ecclesiastical History.

‘ A ^a History concerning the Prince of the Edeffens.’

‘ The divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,’ says Eusebius, ‘ being every where talked of by reason of his wonderful power in working miracles, it drew after him many people from other countries, and some very remote from Judea, who were filled with hopes of relief under all sorts of pains and sicknesses. For which reason king Abgarus, who ^b with honour governed the nations beyond the Euphrates, labouring under a grievous distemper, incurable by human skill, when he heard of the fame of Jesus, which was much celebrated, and his wonderful works attested by the unanimous testimony of all men, sent a letter to him by a messenger, entreating him to cure his distemper. But he did not then comply with his request: yet he vouchsafed to write to him a letter, wherein he promised to send one of his disciples who should cure his distemper, and also bring salvation to him, and to all with him: which promise was not long after fulfilled: for after the resurrection of Christ, and his ascension to heaven, Thomas, one of the twelve apostles, moved by a divine impulse, sent Thaddeus, one of Christ’s seventy disciples to Edessa, to be a preacher and an evangelist of Christ’s doctrine, by whom all things promised by our Saviour were fulfilled. The evidence of this we have

^a Ἱστορία περὶ τῆς τῶν Εδεσσηνῶν δυναστείας. H. E. l. i. cap. 13. p. 31.

^b ‘ Who governed the nations beyond the Euphrates.’ That is the lofty style of the eastern people. Abgarus was governor of only a small territory.

‘ from

‘ from the records of the city of Edeſſa: for among the public
‘ records, wherein are entered the antiquities of the city, and
‘ the actions of Abgarus, theſe things are ſtill found preſerved
‘ to this day. It ^c will therefore be worth the while to attend to
‘ the letters, as taken by us [or for us] from the archives, and
‘ tranſlated word for word from the Syriac language.’

‘ The copy of the letter which was written by Abgarus the to-
‘ parch to Jeſus, and ſent to him at Jeruſalem by the courier
‘ Ananias.’

‘ Abgarus, toparch [or prince] of Edeſſa, to Jeſus the good
‘ Saviour, who has appeared at Jeruſalem, ſendeth greeting. I
‘ have heard of thee, and of thy cures, performed without
‘ herbs, or other medicines. For it is reported that thou makeſt
‘ the blind to ſee, and the lame to walk; that thou cleanſeſt lepers,
‘ and caſteſt out unclean ſpirits and dæmons, and healeſt thoſe
‘ who are tormented with diſeaſes of a long ſtanding, and raiſeſt
‘ the dead. Having heard of all theſe things concerning thee,
‘ I concluded in my mind one of theſe two things—either that
‘ thou art God come down from heaven to do theſe things, or
‘ elſe thou art the Son of God, and ſo perſormeſt them. Where-
‘ fore I now write unto thee, entreating thee to come to me, and
‘ to heal my diſtemper. Moreover, I hear that the Jews mur-
‘ mur againſt thee, and plot to do thee miſchief. I have a city,
‘ ſmall indeed, but neat, which may ſuffice for us both.’ ‘ Now
‘ let us attend,’ ſays Euſebius, ‘ to the letter which Jeſus returned
‘ by the ſame courier, ſhort indeed, but very powerful. It is in
‘ theſe words.’

‘ The reſcript of Jeſus to the toparch Abgarus, ſent by the
‘ courier Ananias.’

‘ Abgarus, thou art happy, forasmuch as thou haſt believed in me,
‘ though thou haſt not ſeen me.’ John xx. 29. ‘ For it is written
‘ concerning me, that they who have ſeen me ſhould not believe in
‘ me, that they who have not ſeen me might believe and live.
‘ As for what thou haſt written to me, deſiring me to come to
‘ thee, it is neceſſary that all thoſe things, for which I am ſent,
‘ ſhould be fulfilled by me here: and that after fulfilling them,
‘ I ſhould be received up to him that ſent me. When there-
‘ fore I ſhall be received up, I will ſend to thee ſome one of my
‘ diſciples, that he may heal thy diſtemper, and give life to thee,
‘ and to thoſe who are with thee.’

^cαπο των αρχιων ημων αναληφθεισων, και τονδε αυτοις ρηματι εν της συρω φωνης μεταβληθεισων του τροπον. p. 32, B.

‘To these epistles,’ as Eusebius goes on to say, ‘are subjoined the following things, and in the Syriac language—That after Jesus had been taken up, [or after his ascension], Judas, called also Thomas, sent the Apostle Thaddeus, one of the seventy; who, when he came to Edeffa, took up his abode with Tobias, son of Tobias. When his arrival was rumoured about, and he had begun to be known by the miracles which he wrought, it was told to Abgarus that an apostle was sent to him by Jesus, according to his promise. Thaddeus therefore by the power of God healed all sorts of maladies, so that all wondered. But when Abgarus heard of the great and wonderful works which he did, and how he healed men in the name and by the power of Jesus Christ, he was induced to suspect [*εν υπονοια γεγνηεν*,] that he was the person about whom Jesus had written to him, saying, *When I am taken up, I will send to thee some one of my disciples, who shall heal thy distemper*. Sending therefore for Tobias, at whose house he was, he said to him: “I hear that a man, endowed with great power, and come from Jerusalem, is at thy house, and that he works many cures in the name of Jesus.” To which Tobias answered: “Yes, Sir; there is a stranger with me, who performs many miracles.” Abgarus then said: “Bring him hither to me.” Tobias coming to Thaddeus, said to him: “The^d prince Abgarus, has bid me bring thee to him, that thou mayest heal his distemper.” Whereupon Thaddeus said: “I go; for it is upon his account, chiefly, that I am sent hither.” The next day, early in the morning, Tobias taking Thaddeus came to Abgarus. As he came in, the nobles being present, there appeared to Abgarus somewhat very extraordinary in the countenance of Thaddeus; which^e when Abgarus saw, he worshipped Thaddeus; which appeared strange to all present; for they did not see that brightness which was discerned by Abgarus only. He then asked Thaddeus, “if he were indeed the disciple of Jesus the Son of God, who had said to him: *I will send to thee some one of my disciples, who shall heal thy distemper, and give life to all with thee*.” Thaddeus answered: “Forasmuch as thou hast great faith in the Lord Jesus, therefore am I sent unto thee: and if thou shalt increase in faith in him, all the desires of thy heart will be fulfilled according to thy faith.” Then Abgarus said to him: “I have so believed in him, that I would go with an army to extirpate the Jews who crucified him, if I were not apprehensive of the Roman power.” Then Thaddeus said: “Our Lord and God Jesus Christ has ful-

^d ο τοπαρχης.^e οπερ ιδων Αβγαρος προσεκυνησε τῷ Θαδδαῳ....P. 33. D.

“filled

"filled the will of his father: and, having Fulfilled it, he has
 "been taken up to his Father." Abgarus then said: "I have
 "believed in him, and in his Father." And thereupon said Thad-
 "deus: "Therefore I put my hand upon thee in the name of the
 "Lord Jesus." And, upon his so doing, Abgarus was healed of
 "his distemper. And Abgarus wondered, that as it had been
 "reported concerning Jesus so it had been done by his disciple
 "and apostle Thaddeus; insomuch as he had healed him with-
 "out herbs, or other medicines. Nor did he heal him alone,
 "but also Abdus, son of Abdus, who had the gout. For
 "he came to him, and fell down upon his knees before him,
 "and by the laying on of his hands with prayer he was healed.
 "The same apostle healed many other citizens of the same place,
 "and wrought many and great miracles as he preached the
 "word." After which Abgarus spoke to this purpose: "Thou
 "Thaddeus doest these things by the power of God, and we ad-
 "mire thee. But I beseech thee to inform me about the coming
 "of Jesus, how it was, and of his power, and by what power
 "he did all those things which we have heard of." To which
 "Thaddeus answered: "Now I forbear, though I am sent to
 "preach the word; but tomorrow gather together all the citi-
 "zens, and then in their hearing I will preach the word, and
 "sow in them the word of life, and will inform them of the
 "coming of Christ, how it was, and concerning his mission, and
 "for what cause he was sent by the Father, and concerning the
 "power of his works, and the mysteries which he spoke in the
 "world, and by what power he did these things, and concerning
 "his new doctrine, and about the meanness and despicableness of
 "his outward appearance, and how he humbled himself, and died,
 "and lessened his deity; how many things he suffered from the
 "Jews, and how he was crucified, and descended into hell, and
 "rent asunder the inclosure never before separated, and arose,
 "and raised up the dead who had been buried many ages; and
 "how he descended alone, but ascended to his Father with a
 "great multitude; and how he is set down on the right hand of
 "the Father with glory in the heavens; and how he will come
 "again with glory and power to judge the living and the dead."
 "Abgarus therefore issued out orders that all the citizens should
 "come together early the next morning to hear the preaching of
 "Thaddeus. And after that he commanded that gold and silver
 "should be given to him; but he did not receive it, saying:

† καὶ ἐπέμψεν αὐτὸν τὸ θεοῦ. P. 35. A.

“ When we have left our own things, how should we receive those things which belong to others?” This was done in the four hundred and thirtieth year. These things translated from the Syriac language, word for word, we have placed here, as we think, not improperly.’

Thus I have now translated this whole history from Eusebius at large, thinking that to be the shortest way to a good conclusion, and that all my readers may be the better able to judge of the remarks that shall be made.

Various are the opinions of learned men concerning this history, some receiving it as true, or at least ^s being favourable to it; others rejecting it ^h as false and fabulous. I shall put down here the following observations.

1. In the first place, then, I think, we are not to make any doubt of the truth of what Eusebius says, that all this was recorded in the archives of the city Edeffa in the Syriac language, and was thence translated into Greek. Eusebius has been supposed by some to say that himself translated it from the Syriac; but that is not clear; nor is it certain that he understood Syriac; much less have we any reason to say that he was at Edeffa, and took this account from the archives himself.

2. This history is not mentioned by any before ⁱ Eusebius; not by Justin Martyr, nor Tatian, nor Clement of Alexandria, nor Origen, nor by any other; nor does Eusebius give any hint of that kind; he had it from Edeffa; it was unheard of among the Greeks till his time; but, having received it, he thought it might be not improperly transcribed into his Ecclesiastical History.

3. It is not much taken notice of by succeeding writers. It is not mentioned, I think, by Athanasius, nor Gregory Nyssen, or Nazianzen, nor Epiphanius, nor Chrysostom; Jerom has once mentioned it, and will be cited by and by: but he has not

^s Cav. H. L. Grabe Spic. Assen. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 554. Abp. Wake's introduction to his Translation of the Apostolical Fathers. ch. ix. Tillem. Mem. Ecc. St. Thomas. T. i. p. 360. Addison of the Christian Religion, section i. num. viii. p. 280.

^h Ja. Basnage. Hist. de l'Eglise. l. 21. ch. ii. p. 1312. Hist. des Juifs. Vol. i. p. 200. S. Basnage. Ann. 29. n. xxxviii.... xlii. Fr. Spanh. H. E. T. i. p. 578. et 794. Pagi ann. 244. n. vii. Cleric. H. E. p. 332. et Bib. ch. T. xvi. p. 99. Fabr. Cod. Apocr. N. T. T. i. p. 319. &c. Philip. Jacob. Sklerandr. H. Antiq.

Ec. Chr. cap. vii. not. 65. J. Jones upon the canon of the N. T. Vol. 2. p. 1. &c. Du Pin. Diff. Prelim. Tom. ii. Vid. et Vales. Annot. in Euseb. Colonia La Religion Chrét. autorisée par les Payens. T. 2. p. 339, &c.

ⁱ Tous les écrivains Ecclesiastiques, qui ont esté depuis J. C. jusqu'au temps d'Eusebe, ne nous parlent ni près ni loin de cette Histoire, ni de ces Epitres. Et qui croira, qu'ils n'en eussent rien dit, si elle leur eust esté connue? &c. Suetur. Histoire de l'Eglise, et de l'Empire. A. J. C. 31. T. i. p. 103. &c.

inserted, in his catalogue of Ecclesiastical writers, either Jesus, or Abgarus; neither of whom would have been omitted if he had any respect for the epistles here produced by Eusebius. This affair is indeed mentioned, or referred to, by Ephrem the Syrian, in his Testament: but that is not a work of so much authority as has been supposed by some: and it is interpolated in several places, both in the Greek and Syriac copies of it; as was observed * formerly.

4. This whole affair was unknown to Christ's apostles, and to the believers, their contemporaries, both Jews and Gentiles, as is manifest from the early disputes about the method of receiving Gentile converts into the church. If Jesus Christ had himself written a letter to a heathen prince, and had promised to send to him one of his disciples, and if that disciple had accordingly gone to Edessa, and there received the king and his subjects into communion with the church without circumcision, there could have been no room for any doubt or dispute about the method of receiving Gentile converts to Christianity. Or if any dispute had arisen, would not this history of the visit of Thaddeus have been alleged? which would have been sufficient to put all to silence. Nor is there any room to say that this visit of Thaddeus at Edessa was after St. Peter's going to the house of Cornelius, or after the council of Jerusalem: for it is dated in the three hundred and fortieth year, that is, of the æra of the Seleucidæ, or of the Edessens: which is computed to be the fifteenth or sixteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, and the year of Christ 29; when, according to many ancient Christians, our Lord died, and rose again, and ascended to heaven. Indeed I think it is impossible to reconcile this account with the history in the Acts of the apostles.

5. If Jesus Christ had written a letter to king Abgarus, it would have been a part of sacred scripture, and would have been placed at the head of all the books of the New Testament: but it was never so respected by any ancient Christian writers. It does not appear in any catalogues of canonical books which we have in ancient authors, or in councils. In the decree of the council of Rome, in the time of pope Gelasius, in the year 496, the epistle of Christ to Abgarus is expressly called ¹apocryphal. Nor does Eusebius himself upon any occasion reckon it up among canonical scriptures, received by those before him. The titles of the chapters of his Ecclesiastical History are allowed to be his own. The title of the chapter which has been just transcribed from him is this: A History concerning the Prince of the Edessens.

* See Vol. iv. p. 426, 427

¹ Epistola Jesus ad Abgarum Regem apocrypha.

It was a story which he had received; and he afterwards tells us particularly where he had it. And in the first chapter of the second book of the same work, having mentioned the choice of Matthias in the room of Judas, and the choice of the seven deacons, and the death of St. Stephen from the Acts, he recites again briefly the history before told concerning Abgarus, and says: 'This^m we have learned from the history of the ancients. Now we return to the sacred scripture;' where he proceeds to relate from the Acts what followed after the martyrdom of St. Stephen. In short, though Eusebius would not pass over this affair without notice, he seems not to have placed any great weight upon it: and succeeding writers have better understood his meaning than some of late times, who have shewn so much regard to this relation.

6. It was the opinion of many of the most learned and ancient Christians that our Lord wrote nothing: therefore this epistle was unknown to them, or they did not suppose it to be genuine. To this purpose speak ⁿ Origen, ^o Jerom, and ^p Augustine.

7. There are several things in this epistle to Abgarus which are liable to exception.

1. At the beginning of the epistle our Lord is made to say: 'Abgarus, thou art happy, forasmuch as thou hast believed in me though thou hast not seen me. For it is written concerning me, that they who have seen me should not believe in me, that they who have not seen me might believe in me and live.' Says Du Pin, and to the like purpose say others: 'Where ^a are those words written? Does not one see that he who made this letter alludes to the words of Jesus Christ to St. Thomas: *Blessed are they who have not seen, and yet have believed*: John xx. 29. Words which were not spoken by Jesus Christ until after his resurrection, and which were not written until long afterwards: which manifestly shews the forgery of this epistle.'

2. Our Lord here seems to speak more clearly of his resurrection, or being taken up to heaven, than he does to the disciples in the gospels.

3. Christ here defers to cure Abgarus of his distemper. He tells him that 'some time hereafter he would send one of his disciples to him, who should heal him.' Which is altogether unworthy of the Lord Jesus, and different from his usual and

^m Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ἐξ ἀρχαίων ἱστορίας ἐλησθῶ. Μετῴμεν δ' αὖθις ἐπὶ τῇ βίᾳ τοῦ ᾠρατοῦ.
ⁿ L. 2, c. 1, p. 39. B. ^o Contr. Cels. l. i. § 45, p. 34. ^p Hieron. in Ezech. c. xlv. T. iii. p. 1034. ^q De Consens. Evang. l. i, c. 7. et Retract. l. 2, c. 16.
^a Diff. Prelim. liv. 2, ch. vi. § 1.

well-known conduct, who never refused to grant the requests of those who sought to him, and expressed faith in his power. Instead of what is here said to Abgarus, after commending his faith, our Lord would have added and said: 'Henceforth thou art healed of thy distemper:' or, 'be it unto thee according to thy faith:' or, 'as thou hast believed, so be it done unto thee.'

This we can conclude from similar cases, recorded by authentic witnesses: Matt. viii. 13; xv. 28; Mark vii. 29.

8. There are several other things in this history which are very liable to exception.

1. It is said that, after our Lord's resurrection and ascension, Thomas sent to Edessa Thaddeus, one of Christ's seventy disciples. But Thaddeus was an apostle, as we learn from Matt. x. 3, and Mark iii. 18. It is likewise here said that 'Judas, called also Thomas, sent Thaddeus.' Upon which Valesius¹ observes: 'Thomas, who was one of the twelve, was also called Didymus, as we learn from St. John: but that he was also called Judas, is no where said but in this place: for which cause this story is justly suspected.' Jerom, speaking of this matter, 'says, Ecclesiastical history informs us that the apostle Thaddeus was sent to Edessa to Abgarus king of Osrhoene, who by the evangelist Luke is called Judas brother of James: Luke vi. 16; and Acts i. 13; and elsewhere is called Lebbeus; Matt. x. 3. So that he had three names.'

2. When Thaddeus comes to Edessa, he does not go immediately to the king, to whom he was sent, as might be reasonably expected: but he goes to the house of Tobias, where he stays some while, and works many miracles; which being noised abroad, the king hears of him, and sends for him. All this is very absurd. If Thaddeus, a disciple of Jesus, had been sent to the king of Edessa, he ought and would have gone to him directly, or would have made application to one of the courtiers to introduce him to the prince. This therefore cannot be true history, but must be the invention of some ignorant though conceited person.

3. 'It looks not a little fabulous,' says Mr. Jones, 'that upon

¹ Thomas quidem, qui fuit unus ex duodecim, dicebatur Didymus, teste Joanne Evangelista. Sed eundem Judam esse cognominatum, alibi quod sciam non reperitur. Itaque et hoc nomine narratio ista merito in suspicionem venit. Vales. in loc. p. 21.

² Thaddæum Apostolum, Ecclesiastica

tradit historia missum Edeffam ad Abgarum regem Osröenæ, qui ab Evangelista Luca Judas Jacobi dicitur: et alibi appellatur Lebbaeus, quod interpretatur corculus. Credendumque est eum fuisse trinomiam. Hieron. in Matt. x. 3. Tom. 4. P. i. p. 35.

‘Thaddeus’s appearing before the king he should see somewhat extraordinary in his countenance, which none of the company else could perceive. Eusebius calls it *ὄραμα μέγα*, a great vision: Valefius renders it *divinum nescio quid*, some divine appearance.’

4. ‘The account in the history,’ says the same laborious author, ‘that Abgarus designed to make war upon the Jews for crucifying Christ, seems very unlikely: because it is plain he was prince only of a small city, and that at a vast distance from Judea: and therefore could never be so extravagant as to imagine himself able to destroy so powerful a nation as the Jews then were.’

5. Abgarus is said to have had a grievous and incurable distemper, for which he desired relief of Jesus. This is said over and over. But what the distemper was is not said. Learned moderns, ^u who are not wanting in invention for supplying the defects of ancient history, say, some of them, that it was the gout, others the leprosy. However, presently after the cure of the prince, we are told of one Abdus, son of Abdus, whom Thaddeus cured of the gout.

6. We read not of any other city or country, in the first three centuries, where the people were all at once converted to the Christian faith. If the people of Edeffa had been all Christians from the days of the apostles, it would have been known before the time of Eusebius. And I may add, that if this story, told by our ecclesiastical historian, had been esteemed credible, it would have been much more taken notice of by succeeding writers than it ^x is.

7. I forbear to remark, as I might, upon that expression of Thaddeus in his discourse with Abgarus: ‘Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, fulfilled the will of the Father:’ or upon what is here said of Christ’s descent into hell.

9. The observations which have been already made are sufficient to shew that the letter of Abgarus to Jesus Christ, and our Lord’s rescript, cannot be reckoned genuine. The whole history is the fiction of some Christian at Edeffa in the time of Eusebius, or not long before. The people of Edeffa were then, generally,

^u Cet Abgare est qualifié tantôt To-parque, ou Prince, et tantôt Roy. Procope en dit bien des choses, qui sont agréables, mais qui sentent fort la fable.

Ce prince estoit travaillé d’une maladie fâcheuse et incurable, (ce que Procope entend de la goutte, et les nouveaux Grecs de la lèpre) &c. Tillem. as before. M. E.

T. i. p. 361.

^x The conversion of the whole city is implied in what is above transcribed, and so Eusebius understood it, for he says, in the first chapter of the second book, p. 39. A. Εἰσέτι τε νυν ἐκείνη ἡ πᾶσα τῶν ἐδισσηνῶν πόλις τῇ τῷ Χριστῷ προσανακείται προσήγορα.

Christians,

Christians, and they valued themselves upon it. And they were willing to do themselves the honour of a very early conversion to the Christian faith. By some one or more of them, united together, this history was formed, and was so far received by Eusebius as to be thought by him not improper to be inserted in his Ecclesiastical History. Nor could I omit to take some notice of it, as great regard has been shewn to it by some. But all my readers may perceive that I bring not in this thing as a testimony of the first antiquity: though it may afford good proof of the Christianity of the people of Edessa, at the beginning of the fourth century, when Eusebius flourished, or before.

CHAP. II.

Of the knowledge which the emperor Tiberius had of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

I. *The Acts of Pontius Pilate, and his letter to Tiberius.* II. *The story of Thamius, in Plutarch, concerning the death of Pan, considered.*

I. JUSTIN MARTYR, in his first Apology, which was presented to the emperor Antoninus the pious, and the senate of Rome, about the year 140, having mentioned our Saviour's crucifixion, and some of the circumstances of it, adds: 'And ^a that these things were so done you may know from the Acts made in the time of Pontius Pilate.'

Afterwards, in the same Apology, having mentioned some of our Lord's miracles, such as healing diseases and raising the dead, he adds: 'And ^b that these things were done by him you may know from the Acts made in the time of Pontius Pilate.'

Tertullian, in his Apology about the year 200, having spoken of our Saviour's crucifixion and resurrection, and his appearances to the disciples, and his ascension to heaven in the sight of the same disciples, who were ordained by him to preach the gospel over the world, goes on: 'Of ^c all these things, relating

^a Καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι γεγόνε, διὰ σοφίαν μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Πόντιου Πιλάτου γενομένων αὐτῶν. J. M. Ap. i. p. 76. C. Paris. 1636, num. 36, p. 65. Bened. ^b Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν, ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Πόντιου Πιλάτου γενομένων αὐτῶν μαθεῖν διὰ σοφίαν. Ib. p. 84. C. Paris. num. 48, p. 72. Bened.

ordinatis eis ad officium prædicandi per orbem, circumfusa nube in cælum est ereptus, multo melius quam apud vos asseverare de Romulis Proculi solent. Ea omnia super Christo Pilatus, et ipse jam pro sua conscientia Christianus, Cæsari tunc Tiberio nuntiavit. Tertull. Ap. c. 21, p. 22. C.

‘to Christ, Pilate, in his conscience a Christian, sent an account
‘to Tiberius, then emperor.’

In another chapter or section of the same Apology, nearer the beginning, he speaks to this purpose: ‘There ^d was an ancient decree, that no one should be received for a deity unless he was first approved of by the senate. Tiberius, in whose time the Christian religion had it’s rise, having received from Palestine in Syria an account of such things as manifested our Saviour’s divinity, proposed to the senate, and giving his own vote as first in his favour, that he should be placed among the gods. The senate refused, because he had himself declined that honour. Nevertheless the emperor persisted in his own opinion, and ordered that if any accused the Christians they should be punished.’ And then adds: ‘Search,’ says he, ‘your own writings, and you will there find that Nero was the first emperor who exercised any acts of severity toward the Christians, because they were then very numerous at Rome.’

It is fit we should now observe what notice Eusebius takes of these things in his Ecclesiastical History. It is to this effect:

‘When ^e the wonderful resurrection of our Saviour, and his ascension to heaven, were in the mouths of all men, it being an ancient custom for the governors of provinces to write to the emperor, and give him an account of new and remarkable occurrences, that he might not be ignorant of any thing; our Saviour’s resurrection being much talked of throughout all Palestine, Pilate informed the emperor of it, as likewise of his miracles, which he had heard of; and that, being raised up after he had been put to death, he was already believed by many to be a god. And it is said that Tiberius referred the matter to the senate; but that they refused their consent, under a pretence that it had not been first approved of by them; there being an ancient law that no one should be deified among the Romans without an order of the senate; but indeed because the saving and divine doctrine of the gospel needed not to be confirmed by human judgment and authority. However, Tiberius per-

^d Ut de origine aliquid retractemus ejusmodi legum. Vetus erat decretum, ne qui deus ab Imperatore consecraretur, nisi a Senatu probatus. Scit M. Æmilius de deo suo Alburno. Facit et hoc ad causam nostram, quod apud vos de humano arbitratu divinitas pensatur. Nisi homini deus placuerit, deus non erit. Homo jam deo propitius esse debet. Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen Christianum in seculum intravit, annuntiata sibi ex Syria

Palæstina, quæ illic verita temistius divinitatis revelarant, detulit ad Senatum cum prærogativa suffragii sui. Senatus, quia non ipse probaverat, respuit. Cæsar in sententia mansit, comminatus periculum accusatoribus Christianorum. Consulite commentarios vestros. Illic reperietis, primum Neronem in hac sectam cum maxime Romæ orientem Cæsariano gladio ferocisse. Ib. cap. 5, p. 6.

^e Euseb. H. E. l. 2, cap. 2.

‘ sifted

‘fisted in his former sentiment, and allowed not any thing to be
‘done that was prejudicial to the doctrine of Christ. These things
‘are related by Tertullian, a man famous on other accounts, and
‘particularly for his skill in the Roman laws. I say he speaks
‘thus in his Apology for the Christians, written by him in the
‘Roman tongue, but since translated into Greek. His words are
‘these: “There was an ancient decree, that no one should be
‘consecrated as a deity by the emperor, unless he was first ap-
‘proved of by the senate. Marcus Æmilius knows this by
‘his god Alburnus. This is to our purpose, forasmuch as
‘among you divinity is bestowed by human judgment. And
‘if God does not please man, he shall not be God. And, ac-
‘cording to this way of thinking, man must be propitious to
‘God. Tiberius therefore, in whose time the Christian name
‘was first known in the world, having received an account of
‘this doctrine out of Palestine, where it began, communicated
‘that account to the senate: giving^f in at the same time his
‘own suffrage in favour of it. But the senate rejected it, because
‘it had not been approved by themselves. Nevertheless the
‘emperor persisted in his judgment, and threatened death to
‘such as should accuse the Christians.” Which,’ adds Euse-
bius, ‘could be no other than a disposal of Divine Providence
‘that the doctrine of the gospel, which was then in it’s begin-
‘ing, might be preached all over the world without molesta-
‘tion.’ So Eusebius. I forbear as yet to take particular notice
of what is said of this matter by later writers.

Divers exceptions have been made by learned moderns to the
original testimonies of Justin Martyr and Tertullian. ‘Is there
‘any likelihood,’ say they, ‘that Pilate should write such things
‘to Tiberius concerning a man whom he had condemned to
‘death? And, if he had written them, is it probable that Tibe-
‘rius should propose to the senate to have a man put among the
‘number of the gods upon the bare relation of a governor of a
‘province? And if he had proposed it, who can make a doubt
‘that the senate would not have immediately complied? So that,
‘though we dare not say that this narration is absolutely false,
‘yet it must be reckoned at the least doubtful.’ So says^g Du
Pin.

These and other difficulties shall be considered.

Now therefore I shall mention some observations.

In the first place, I observe that Justin Martyr and Tertullian

^f ὁ δὲ λαὸς οὐκ ἐκείνους, ὡς τῷ δόγματι ἀρεσκέται. Ἡ δὲ συγκλητός ἐπὶ οὐκ αὐτῇ θεοδωκεῖται,
ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ, p. 41. C. ^g Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. i. p. 24, a.

are early writers of good repute. That is an observation of bishop ^b Pearson. These testimonies are taken from the most public writings, Apologies for the Christian religion, presented, or at least proposed and recommended, to the emperor and senate of Rome, or to magistrates of high authority and great distinction in the Roman empire.

Secondly, It certainly was the custom of the governors of provinces to compose Acts, or memoirs, or commentaries, of the remarkable occurrences in the places where they presided.

In the time of the first Roman emperors there were Acts of the Senate, Acts of the City or People of Rome, Acts of other cities, and Acts of governors of provinces. Of all these we can discern clear proofs and frequent mention in ancient writers of the best credit.

Julius Cæsar ordered that ⁱ Acts of the Senate, as well as daily Acts of the People, should be published.

Augustus ^k forbade publishing the Acts of the Senate.

There ^l was an officer, himself a senator, whose province it was to compose those Acts.

The Acts of the Senate must have been large and voluminous, containing ^m not only the question proposed, or referred to the senate by the consul, or the emperor, but also the debates and speeches of the senators.

The ⁿ Acts of the People, or city, were journals or registers of remarkable births, marriages, divorces, deaths, proceedings in courts of judicature, and other interesting affairs, and some other things below the dignity of history.

^b Nihil igitur est, quod in hac historia refelli possit. Et cum Tertullianus adeo gravis, adeo antiquus auctor, adeo rerum Romanarum peritus fuerit, tutius multo est istam Tiberii ad Senatum de Divinitate Christi relationem amplecti. Pearson. *Lectio. in Acta Apost. iv. § xv. p. 65.*

ⁱ Inito honore, primus omnium instituit, ut tam Senatûs quam populi diurna acta conficerentur. Sueton. *Jul. Cæs. c. 20.*

^k Auctor et aliarum rerum fuit: in quibus ne acta Senatûs publicarentur. Sueton. *Aug. c. 36.*

^l Fuit in Senatu Junius Rusticus, componendis patrum actis delectus a Cæsare, eoque meditationes ejus introspicere creditur. Tacit. *Ann. l. 5, cap. 4.*

^m Nescio an venerint in manus vestras hæc vetera, quæ et antiquorum bibliothecis adhuc manent, et nunc maxime a Minuciano contrahuntur: ac jam undecim, ut opinor, Actorum libris,

et tribus Epistolarum composita, et edita sunt. Ex his intelligi potest, Cn. Pompeium et Marcum Crassum, non viribus modo et armis, sed ingenio quoque et oratione valuisse. &c. Tacit. seu quis alius, in *Dialog. de Orator. c. 37.*

Acta Senatûs vocabant commentarios, Græce *ὑπομνήματα*, quibus breviter inscriptum quicquid apud Patres diceretur, agereturque... Venio ad populi. &c. Lipsii *Excurs. ad Taciti libr. v. annal. cap. 4.*

ⁿ Nerone secundum et Lucio Pisone Consulibus, pauca memoriâ digna evenere: nisi cui libeat, laudandis fundamentis et trabibus, quis molem amphitheatri apud Campum Martis Cæsar extruxerat, volumina implere: cum ex dignitate populi Romani repertum sit, res illustres annalibus, talia diurnis urbis actis mandare. Tacit. *Ann. l. 13, cap. 31.*

To these Acts of each kind Roman authors frequently had recourse for information.

There were such acts or registers at other places beside Rome, particularly at Antium. From them Suetonius learned the day and place of the birth of Caligula, about which there were other uncertain reports. And he speaks of those Acts as public authorities, and therefore more decisive and satisfactory than some other accounts.

There were also Acts of the governors of provinces, registering all remarkable transactions and occurrences. Justin Martyr and Tertullian could not be mistaken about this: and the learned bishop of Cæsarea admits the truth of what they say. And in the time of the persecuting emperor Maximin, in the year of Christ 307, or thereabout, the heathen people forged Acts of Pilate, derogatory to the honour of our Saviour, which were very diligently spread abroad, to unsettle Christians, or discourage them in the profession of their faith. Of this we are informed by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History^r.

Thirdly, It was customary for governors of provinces to send to the emperor an account of remarkable transactions in the places where they presided.

So thought the learned Eusebius, as we have seen. And Pliny's letters to Trajan, still extant, are a proof of it. Philo^t speaks of the Acts or Memoirs of Alexandria, sent to Caligula, which that emperor read with more eagerness and satisfaction than any thing else.

The Acts of Pontius Pilate, and his Letter to Tiberius, which we now have, are not genuine, but manifestly spurious. Nevertheless, it must be allowed by all that Pontius Pilate composed some memoirs concerning our Saviour, and sent them to the emperor, whether Justin Martyr and Tertullian have given a just account of them or not.

^o Matrem Antoniam non apud auctores rerum, non diurna Actorum scriptura, reperio ullo insigni officio functum. Tacit. Ann. l. 3, c. 3. ^p Ubi natus sit, incertum diversitas tradentium facit....Ego in Actis Antii invenio editum. Sueton. Cal. cap. 8. Vid. et Tiber. cap. 5.

^q Sequenda igitur est, quæ sola restat, publici instrumenti auctoritas. Id. Calig. cap. 8. ^r Vid. H. E. l. 1, c. ix. et l. 9, c. v.

^s Omnino igitur credendum est aliqua fuisse Pilati acta, ipsius auctoritate confecta, et ad Tiberium transmissa. Pearson. Lect. iii. in Act. Ap. § iv.

^tτη μὲν τὰς ὑπομνηματικὰς ἐφημερίαις, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας διεπιμπούμεναι, προσεχὼν ἡδίστον γὰρ ἡ ἀναγνώσιμα τῆτο αὐτῇ, ὡς τὰ ἄλλων συγγραφῶν καὶ ποιητῶν ἀνδραγατὰ συγκρίσει τῆς ἐν τῆτοις χάριτος νομιζεσθαι. κ. λ. Philo de Legat. ad Caium. p. 1016. A. ^u Vid. Fabric. Cod. Apocr. N. T. p. 298. et p. 972, &c.

^z Imo non potuit Pilatus officii sui rationem tantopere negligere, ut tantæ rei in suâ provincia gestæ notitiam Imperatori non impartiretur. Pearson. ubi sup. Lect. iv. n. xiv. Vid. et Tob. Echard. c. iv. n. xi. p. 126.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, It ^y is said to be very unlikely that Pilate should write such things to Tiberius, concerning a man whom he had condemned to death.

To which it is easy to reply that, if he wrote to Tiberius at all, it is very likely that he should speak favourably and honourably of our Saviour. That ^z Pilate past sentence of condemnation upon our Lord very unwillingly, and not without a sort of compulsion, appears from the history of the evangelists: Matt. xxvii. 11....26, 62....65; Mark xv. 1....15; Luke xxiii. 1....25; John xviii; 28....40; xix. 1....13. Pilate was hard pressed. The rulers of the Jews vehemently accused our Lord to him. They said they had found him perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying that himself is Christ, a king, and the like: and all without effect for a great while. Pilate still fought for expedients to set Jesus at liberty. As his reluctance had been very manifest and public in a court of judicature, in the chief city of the nation, at the time of one of their great festivals, it is highly probable that when he sent to Rome he should make some apology for this conduct. Nor could any thing be more proper than to allege some of our Saviour's miracles which he had heard of, and to give an account of the zeal of those who professed faith in him after his ignominious crucifixion, and openly asserted that he was risen from the dead and ascended up to heaven.

If Pilate sent any letter to Tiberius, (as very probably he did,) he would not dare to write falsehood, nor to conceal the most material circumstances of the case about which he was writing. At the trial of Jesus he publicly declared his innocence: and told the Jews several times that *he found in him no fault at all*. And when he was going to pronounce the sentence of condemnation, *he took water and washed his hands before the multitude, saying: I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it.* Matt. xxvii. 24. When he wrote to Tiberius, he would be very naturally led to say something of our Lord's wonderful resurrection and ascension, which were much talked of and believed by many, with which he could not possibly be unacquainted. The mention of these things would be the best vindication of his inward persuasion, and repeated declarations of our Lord's innocence

^y Negare interm. minime velim, Pilatum aliquid super tali ac tanto negotio scripsisse: at incertum esse quid ac quale id fuerit, atque ideo prudentiores, Eusebium, Hieronymum, similesque, talia cautius prodidisse, Ant. Vandalæ Diff. de Actis

Pilati. p. 615. Amst. 1700.

^zcujus et Pilatus, qui nolens compulsum est, contra Dominum ferre sententiam. Hieron. adv. Jovin. l. 2. p. 218. Tom. 4.

upon the trial, notwithstanding the loud clamours and united accusations of the Jewish people and their rulers.

Pilate, as has been said several times, passed condemnation upon Jesus very unwillingly, and not till after a long trial. When he passed sentence upon him, he gave orders that this title or inscription should be put upon the cross; *Jesus of Nazareth, the king of the Jews*. When he had expired, application was made to Pilate, by Joseph of Arimathea, an honourable counsellor, that the body might be taken down and buried. To which he consented; but not till after assurance received from the centurion that he had been some time dead. The next day some of the priests and Pharisees came to him, saying: *Sir, we remember that that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, After three days I will rise again. Command therefore that the sepulchre be made sure, until the third day, lest his disciples come by night and steal him away, and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead. So the last error shall be worse than the first.* Pilate said unto them: *Ye have a watch; go your way, make it as sure as you can.* So they went, and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone, and setting a watch. Whilst they were at the sepulchre there was a great earthquake, the stone was rolled away by an angel, *whose countenance was like lightning, and for fear of whom the guards did shake, and became as dead men.* Some of the guards went down into the city, and shewed unto the chief-priests all the things that were done. Nor can there be any doubt that those things came also to *** the governor's ears. Pilate therefore was furnished with many materials of great importance relating to this case, very proper to be sent to the emperor. And very probably he did send them; for he could do no otherwise.

Fifthly, It is said that * if Pilate had sent such things to Tiberius, it is nevertheless very unlikely that Tiberius should propose to the senate that our Saviour might be put among the number of the gods. For that emperor had little or no regard to things of religion.

But it is easy to answer that such observations are of little or no importance. Few princes are able to preserve uniformity in the whole of their conduct. And it is certain that Tiberius va-

*. * Illud certe dubitare non possumus, Pilatum vocasse ad se hos milites, ex iisque rem vere gestam cognovisse. Heuman. Testimonium militum de Resurrectione Christi. p. 100. ap. Primitias Gotting.

* Mihi certe,....haud facile persuaserim, Tiberium Cæsarem, cujus mores ab omni religionum omium cultu per quam fuisse alienissimos, comprior, de Christo Dom.

et Christiana religione, tantopere curasse, ut de illa retulerit ad Senatum.....Tota hominis vita nil aliud prædicat, quam quod dico. Et Suetonio dictum est expresse et signanter. Circa deos ac religiones negligentior, quippe additus mathematicæ, persuasionisque plenus cuncta fato agi. Tan. Fab. l. 2. Ep. 12. p. 35.

ried from himself upon many occasions, and in different parts of his life.

Sixthly, It is farther urged that, ^b if Tiberius had proposed the thing to the senate, there can be no doubt that the senate would have immediately complied.

But neither is this difficulty insuperable: for we are assured by Suetonius that ^c Tiberius let several things be decided by the senate, contrary to his own opinion, without shewing much un-
easiness.

And when he had determined to remove and destroy Sejanus, who had long been his favourite, he was far from being certain of the senate's compliance. He ^d employed the utmost art and skill, and yet was for some while anxious and doubtful of the issue.

Seventhly, The right interpretation of the words of Tertullian will be of use to remove difficulties, and to confirm the truth of the account.

I have translated them in this manner: 'When Tiberius referred the matter to the senate, that our Lord should be placed in the number of the gods, the senate refused, because he had himself declined that honour.' The words are understood to the like purpose by ^e Pearson.

There is another sense, which is that of the Greek translation of Tertullian's Apology, made use of by Eusebius. 'The senate refused because it had not itself approved of it.' But that sense, if it be any sense at all, is absurd, and therefore unlikely. If none beside the senate had a right to consecrate any for a deity, yet certainly the consul or the emperor might refer such a thing to that venerable body. According to Tertullian's account the whole is in a fair way of legal proceeding. By virtue of an ancient law, no one might be reckoned a god, (at least by the Romans,) without the approbation of the senate. Tiberius having been informed of some extraordinary things concerning Jesus, referred it to the senate, that he also might be placed in the number of the deities. Was it possible after this that the senate

^b Hem! Respuit Senatus, quod Tiberio placuit. T. Faber. *ibid.*

^c Quædam adversus sententiam suam decerni ne questus quidem est... Cum senatusconsultum per discessionem forte fieret, transeuntem eum in alteram partem, in qua pauciores erant, secutus est nemo... &c. Sueton. Tiber. cap. 31.

^d Sejanum res novas molientem.... vix tandem, et astu magis ac dolo, quam principali auctoritate subvertit. Sueton. *ib.* cap. 65.

^e Senatus, inquit Tertul-

lianus, quia in se non probaverat. Ubi optima facti ratio redditur. Senatus antea Tiberio divinitatem obtulerat, quam ille sibi oblatam respuit. Tempia, Flamines, sacerdotes decerni sibi prohibuit... ut refert Suetonius. Quia igitur divinitatem in se non probaverat Tiberius, sed oblatam rejecerat, tutissimum putabat Senatus alium neminem in deos suos referre, ne eum Tiberio majorem efficere viderentur. Pearson. *Lect. 4. num. xiv.*

should refuse it, under a pretence that Tiberius had bestowed divinity upon Jesus without their consent, when he had done no such thing, and at that very time was referring it to their judgment in the old legal way?

Le Clerc objects that ^f the true reading in Tertullian is not *quia in se non probaverat*, but *quia non ipse probaverat*. Be it so. The meaning is the same. *Ipsē* must intend the emperor, not the senate. The other sense is absurd, and next to a contradiction, and therefore not likely to be right. And at the same time it is a rude and needless affront. The other interpretation represents a handsome compliment, and a compliment not without foundation. For it is very true that ^g Tiberius had himself declined receiving divine honours.

Eighthly, It has been objected that Tiberius was unfriendly to the Jewish people, and therefore it must be reckoned very improbable that he should be willing to put a man, who was a Jew, among the number of the gods.

But there is little or no ground for this objection. It was obviated long ago in the first part of this work, where, beside other things, it is said: 'In the ^h reign of Tiberius the Jewish people were generally well used. They were indeed banished out of Italy by an edict; but it was for a misdemeanor committed by some villains of that nation. The great hardship was, that many innocent persons suffered beside the guilty. Upon other occasions Tiberius shewed the Jews all the favour they could desire, especially after the death of Sejanus; and is much applauded for it by ⁱ Philo.' And what there follows.

Ninthly, Still it is urged, 'Nothing ^k can be more absurd than to suppose that Tiberius would receive for a deity a man who taught the worship of one God only, and whose religion decried all other deities as mere fiction.'

Upon which I must say, nothing can be more absurd than this objection. Tertullian does not suppose Tiberius to be well acquainted with the Christian religion, or our Saviour's doctrine. All he says is, that, having heard of some extraordinary things concerning him, he had a desire to put him among the Roman deities.

^f Cleric. H. E. an. 29, n. 97.

^g Templā, flamines, sacerdotes, decerni sibi prohibuit: etiam statuas, atque imagines, nisi permittente se, poni: permittitque ea sola conditione, ne inter simulacra deorum, sed inter ornamenta ædium ponerentur. Sueton. Tiber. cap. 26.

^h See vol. i. p. 178.

ⁱ De Legat. ad Caium. p. 1015. C. D.

^k Noverat Jesum fuisse hominem Judæum, uniusque Dei cultorem, et qui omnes alios deos, quasi hominum commenta rejiceret: ac proinde religionem, qua cum iis conjungeretur, summopere improbatum, si in cælo viveret: et tamen eum una cum Romanis diis coli voluisset. Quo nihil absurdius fingi poterat. Cleric. H. E. an. 29, n. 96.

Tenthly,

Tenthly, Tertullian proceeds: 'Nevertheless the emperor persisted in his opinion, and ordered that if any accused the Christians they should be punished.'

This was very natural. Though the senate would not put Jesus in the number of the deities, the emperor was still of opinion that it might have been done. And he determined to provide by an edict for the safety of those who professed a high regard for Jesus Christ. Which edict, as Eusebius reasonably supposes, was of use for securing the free preaching of the gospel in many places. But the authority of that edict would cease at the emperor's demise, if not sooner. Undoubtedly it could not be in force, or have any great effect, for a long season.

Nor need we to consider the ordering such an edict as this in favour of the Christians as an incredible thing, if we observe what Philo says, who assures us that 'Tiberius' gave orders to 'all the governors of provinces, to protect the Jews in the cities where they lived in the observation of their own rights and customs; and that they should bear hard upon none of them, but such as were unpeaceable and transgressed the laws of the state.'

Nor is it improbable that the Christians should partake of the like civilities, they being considered as a sect of the Jews. And it is allowed that the Roman emperors did not openly persecute the Christians, till they became so numerous that the heathen people were apprehensive of the total overthrow of their religion.

In the eleventh place. Says a learned and judicious^m writer. 'It is probable that Pilate, who had no enmity toward Christ, and accounted him a man justly accused, and an extraordinary person, might be moved by the wonderful circumstances attending and following his death, to hold him in veneration, and perhaps to think him a hero and the son of some deity. It is possible that he might send a narrative, such as he thought most convenient, of these transactions to Tiberius: but it is not at all likely that Tiberius proposed to the senate that Christ should be deified, and that the senate rejected it, and that Tiberius continued favourably disposed toward Christ, and that he threatened to punish those who should molest and accuse the Christians.' 'Observe also,' says the same learned writer, 'that the Jews persecuted the apostles, and slew Stephen, and that Saul made havock of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committing them to prison,

¹ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μοῖρῃ τῆς αἰτίας. De Legat. ad Caium, p. 1015. C. ^m Dr. Jortin's Remarks upon Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 2...4.

‘and that Pilate connived at all this violence, and was not afraid
‘of the resentment of Tiberius on that account.’

Admitting the truth of all these particulars just mentioned, it does not follow that no orders were given by Tiberius for the protection of the followers of Jesus. For no commands of princes are obeyed by all men every where. They are oftentimes transgressed. Nor was any place more likely than Judea, where the enmity of many against the disciples of Jesus was so great. Nor need it to be supposed that Tiberius was very intent to have this order strictly regarded. For he was upon many occasions very indolent and dilatory; and he was well known to be so. Moreover the death of Stephen was tumultuous, and not an act of the Jewish council. And farther, the influence of Pilate in that country was not now in it's full height. We perceive from the history of our Lord's trial before him, as recorded in the gospels, that he stood in fear of the ⁿ Jews. ‘He
‘^o was apprehensive that, if he did not gratify them in that
‘point, they might draw up a long list of mal-administrations
‘for the emperor's view. His condemnation of Jesus at the
‘importunity of the Jews, contrary to his own judgment and
‘inclination, declared to them more than once, was a point
‘gained: and his government must have been ever after much
‘weakened by so mean a condescension. And that Pilate's in-
‘fluence in the province continued to decline is manifest, in
‘that the people of it prevailed at last to have him removed
‘in a very ignominious manner, by Vitellius president of Syria.’

Pilate was removed from his government before the Passover in the year of Christ 36. After which ^p there was no præcurator, or other person with power of life and death, in Judea, before the accession of Herod Agrippa, in the year 41. In that space of time the Jews would take an unusual license, and gratify their own malicious dispositions, beyond what they could have otherwise done, without control.

Twelfthly, Some have objected that Tertullian is so absurd as to speak of Christians in the time of Tiberius; though it be certain that the followers of Jesus were not known by that denomination till some time afterwards.

But that is a trifling objection. Tertullian intends no more by Christians than followers of Jesus, by whatever name they were known and distinguished: whether that of Nazarenes, or Galileans, or disciples. And it is undoubted that the Christian reli-

ⁿ See particularly John xix. 12.

^p See Vol. i. as before, p. 94.

• Vol. p. 93. Comp. p. 371.

gion had it's rise in the reign of Tiberius; though they, who professed to believe in Jesus, as risen from the dead and ascended to heaven, were not called Christians till some while afterwards. So at the beginning of the paragraph he says, 'There was an ancient law that no god should be consecrated by the emperor, unless it was first approved by the senate.' Nevertheless Tertullian was not so ignorant as not to know that there were not any emperors when that ancient decree was passed. His meaning is, that no one should be deified by any man, no not by a consul or emperor, without the approbation of the senate.

Finally, We do not suppose that Tiberius understood the doctrine of our Saviour, or that he was at all inclined to be a Christian. Nor did Tertullian intend to say any such thing. For, immediately after the passage first cited from him, he adds: 'But the Cæsars themselves would have believed in Jesus Christ, if they had not been necessary for the world, or if Christians could have been Cæsars.'

Grotius appears to have rightly understood the importance of these passages of Tertullian: whose note therefore, upon Matthew xxiv. 11, I have transcribed below.

Admit then the right interpretation of Tertullian, and it may be allowed that what he says is not incredible nor improbable. The Romans had almost innumerable deities, and yet they frequently added to that number and adopted new. As deifications were very frequent, Tiberius might indulge a thought of placing Jesus among the established deities, without intending to derogate from the worship or honour of those who were already received. But the senate was not in the humour to gratify him. And the reason assigned is, because the emperor himself had declined that honour: which is so plausible a pretence, and so fine a compliment, that we cannot easily suppose it to be Tertullian's own invention: which therefore gives credibility to the account.

Eusebius, though he acknowledgeth the overruling provi-

¹ Sed et Cæsares credidissent super Christo, si aut Cæsares non essent seculo necessarii, aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Cæsares. Apol. c. 21, p. 22, C.

² Cum Paganismo Christianam religionem miscere aggressus est omnium primus Simon Magus, Claudio imperante. Nam et ipse pro deo haberi voluit. Credibile est, pervenisse ad eum famam consilii ejus, quod a Tiberio datum Senatui Romano legimus, ut Christus adderetur deorum numero. Qualem rerum plane in-

sociabilium mixturam postea quoque Adrianus, Severus, Heliogabalus, sed frustra, efficere conati sunt. Grot. ad Matt. xxiv. 11.

³ Tiberius autem non ita Christum voluit deum recipi, ut sœtis Romanorum cultus abrogaretur, sed ut juxta coleretur, uti Julium Cæsarem Augustus, et Augustum ipse Tiberius consecraverat, et coli secundum ceteros deos volebat. Sc. Tob. Echard. cap. 4, n. 3, p. 122.

dence of God in the favourable disposition of Tiberius toward the first followers of Jesus, by which means the Christian religion in it's infancy was propagated over the world with less molestation, does also say, at the beginning of the chapter before quoted, 'the senate refused their consent to the emperor's proposal, under a pretence that they had not been first asked, there being an ancient law that no one should be deified without the approbation of the senate. But indeed,' adds he, 'because the saving and divine doctrine of the gospel needed not to be ratified by human judgment and authority.'

Chrysostom's observation is to the like purpose, but with some inaccuracies. It is likely that he was not at all acquainted with Tertullian; and he was no admirer of Eusebius. Perhaps he builds upon general tradition only. 'The Roman senate,' says he, 'had the power of nominating and decreeing who should be gods. When therefore all things concerning Christ had been published, he, who was the governor of the Jewish nation, sent to them to know if they would be pleased to appoint him also to be a god. But they refused, being offended and provoked that, before their decree and judgment had been obtained, the power of the crucified man had shined out, and had attracted all the world to the worship of him. But, by the overruling providence of God, this was brought to pass against their will, that the divinity of Christ might not be established by human appointment, and that he might not be reckoned one of the many who were deified by them.' Some of which, as he proceeds to shew, had been of infamous characters.

I shall now transcribe below * in his own words what Orosius, in the fifth century, says of this matter, that all my readers may have it at once before them without looking farther for it.

And I refer to Zonaras † and ‡ Nicephorus. The former only

* Chrys. hom. 26. in 2 Cor. T. x. p. 624. A.

† Τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀποκαλυφθέν καὶ ἀποκρινόμενον αὐτῶν, ὡς μὴ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἴσχυος τὴν θεότητα ἀνακηρύχθαι τὸ Χριστὸν, κ. λ.

* At postquam passus est Dominus Christus, atque a mortuis resurrexit, et discipulos suos ad prædicandum dimisit, Pilatus, Præses Palestinæ provincæ ad Tiberium Imperatorem atque Senatum retulit, de passione et resurrectione Christi, consequentibusque virtutibus, quæ per ipsum palam factæ fuerant, vel per discipulos ipsius in nomine ejus fiebant, et de eo quod crescente plurimorum fide Deus crederetur. Tiberius cum suffragio magni favoris retulit ad Senatum, ut Christus

Deus haberetur. Senatus indignatione motus, quod non sibi prius secundum morem delatum esset, ut de suscipiendo cultu prius ipse decerneret, consecrationem Christi recusavit, edictoquo constituit, exterminandos esse Urbe Christianos: præcipue cum et Sejanus, Præfectus Tiberii, suscipiendæ religioni obstinatissime contradiceret. Tiberius tamen edicto accusatoribus Christianorum mortem comminatus est. Itaque Paullatim immutata est illa Tiberii Cæsaris laudatissima modestia, in poenam contradicitoris Senatus. P. Oros. l. 7, c. 4.

† Zonar. Ann. T. 2, p. 176. ‡ Niceph. l. 2, c. 3. Conf. l. 1. cap. 16.

quotes Eusebius, and transcribes into his Annals the chapter of his Ecclesiastical History above quoted by me. Nor has Nicephorus done much more.

Upon the whole, I think the accounts of those ancient authors, Justin Martyr and Tertullian, deserve some regard. It is upon them that I have made my comments; and my defence is confined to them. And we can perceive from Eusebius, and other later writers, that their accounts were received as true. But some make additions or alterations in Tertullian's original narration, which diminish the credibility of the whole. Orosius not only says that the senate refused to comply with the proposal of Tiberius, but also that 'they were so provoked as to order, by an edict, that the Christians should be expelled the city:' which is loading the history with two great absurdities. For it is very improbable that the Christians should be so numerous at Rome, in the time of Tiberius, as to occasion any uneasiness to the senate. And it is equally improbable that the senate should behave so rudely to the emperor. Tertullian's account is free from such things, and ought not to be rejected because of additions made by later writers.

The truth of Tertullian's account has been contested by divers learned moderns. I have already taken notice of what is said by Du Pin, and have also considered the objections of some others. I now willingly refer to divers others^a on the same side. Other learned men^b have embraced it as true, and have taken a good deal of pains to vindicate it against objections. Pearson,^c in particular, is very favourable to this history; and in the course of my argument I have quoted him several times. The late Mr. Mosheim^d also was of opinion that it ought not to be entirely rejected, and has spoken in favour of it in several of his works.

II. There

^a Tan. Fabr. l. 2. Ep. xii. Vandale de Orac. p. 455. et Diss. de Actis Pilati. p. 608. &c. Amst. 1700. Cleric. H.E. ann. 29. n. 96. &c. Basnag. ann. 33. n. 192.196. et Exercitat. p. 136. &c. Sig. Havercamp. Annot. ad Tertullian. Apol. cap. v. Jortin's Remarks upon Ecclesiastical History. vol. i. p. 2....4.

^b Sueton. Histoire de l'Eglise et de l'Empire. Tom. i. p. 130, 131. Tillem. Mem. Ecc. T. i. S. Pierre art. 19. et notes xvi.xix. Fr. Balduin. Comment. ad Edicta veterum Principum Roman. de Christianis. p. 20....24. 1727. Tob. Eckhard. non Christianorum de Christo Testimonia. cap. iv. J. A. Fabr. Lux Evangelii. cap. xii. p. 220....222. La Religion Chret. autorité par le temoignage des anciens au-

teurs Payens. Par D. Colonia. Tom. 2. ch. xi....Lettre de M. Iselin Docteur et Professeur en Theologie à Basle, sur le projet conçu par Tibere, de Mettre N. S. J. C. au nombre des Dieux de Romæ. Bib. Germanique T. 32. p. 147, &c. et T. 33. p. 12. &c.

^c Pearson. Læction. in Act. Ap. iii. et iv.

^d Negant hodie viri sagaces ei eruditi, fidem huic narrationi habendam esse. Ego vero superstitiosi nomen minime formido, si dixerò, non prorsus eam mihi rejiciendam videri. Moshem. Institution. H. Christianæ Maj. Sec. i. P. i. c. 4. § ix. p. 109. A. D. 1739.

Sunt quidem viri eruditi, quibus hoc alienissimum a vero videtur: sed his alii doctrina non inferiores rationes opponunt
hau

II. There is another thing which may not be omitted here, though it appears to me to be of little or no importance.

It is a story told by Cleombrotus, one of the speakers in Plutarch's dialogue concerning the cessation of oracles: 'He' had 'it from Epitherfes, his master in grammar. He said he was 'sailing for Italy in a ship well freighted with merchandise, in 'which also were many passengers. When they were one even- 'ing among the islands, called Echinades, in the Ægean sea, the 'ship was becalmed. Most of the passengers were awake, and 'some were carousing after supper: at the same time there came 'a voice from the island Paxæ, which called aloud for Tha- 'mus. He was an Egyptian, and the pilot, and not so much as 'known by name to many of the passengers. He suffered him- 'self to be called twice without making any answer; but at the 'third call he spoke. The voice then with great vehemence said 'to him: "When you come to the Palodes, declare that the "great Pan is dead." They were all astonished when they heard 'this, and debated the matter, whether it were fit to perform 'the order or not. Thamus determined that if, when they were ar- 'rived at the appointed place, there was wind enough to sail 'forward, he would pass by in silence; but if the vessel was be- 'calmed, he would publish what he had heard. When they 'came over against Palodes, the winds and waves were all calm. 'Thamus therefore placing himself at the stern of the vessel, with 'his face toward the land, declared as he had been told, "that the "great Pan was dead." Scarcely had he done speaking, when 'they heard from the shores groans and lamentations, not of one, 'but as of a great multitude. As there were many in the ship 'who were witnesses of this affair, the fame of it spread in a short 'time so far as Rome, and Thamus was sent for by the emperor 'Tiberius; and Tiberius gave such credit to the account, that 'he called together several learned men, to inquire of them who 'this Pan was. They delivered it as their opinion that he was 'son of Mercury and Penelope.'

As this story is placed in the time of Tiberius, some learned men have been of opinion that ^b by the great Pan was meant Je-
sus

R 3

haud facile destruendas. Id. De Reb. Chri-
stian. ante Const. M. p. 92.

Erudite, post Theod. Hæcæum peculi-
ari libello de Decreto Tiberii, quo Chri-
stus referre voluit in numerum Deorum.
Ersurti 2715. 4. edito. pro veritate hujus
facti militavit ven. Jac. Christoph. Isellus,
epistola Gallica, quæ legitur Bibliothecæ
Germanicæ. T. 32. p. 147. 2T. 33. p.

12. Mothem. Insti. Hist. Ec. p. 30. ed.
1755. Conf. supra. not. b.

^a Plut. de Oracul. Defectu. Et vid.
Euseb. Pr. Ev. p. 206.

^b Ex hisce audiamus, quæso, primo
loco, Boissardum in hunc modum lo-
quentem.... Quidam existimant vocem il-
lam locutam fuisse de Christi servatoris
morte, cum audita sit anno decimo nono
imperii

fus Christ, the Lord of the universe, who suffered in the time of that emperor. Huet^c gives credit to this story, and supposeth that thereby the death of Christ, who is the true Pan, the parent of all things, and the author of all nature, was notified to heathen people.

I shall now make two or three remarks, which are referred to the consideration of my readers.

1. The whole story is improbable, and has more the appearance of fiction than of truth and credibility.

2. The story is all over heathenish. If there be any truth in the account, when it was brought to Rome, and the affair was examined by the learned philologists at the court of Tiberius, their determination was, that the Pan, who was reported to be dead, was the son of Mercury and Penelope. Neither Thamus, nor Epitherses, nor Tiberius, nor the learned men whom he consulted, nor yet Plutarch and his company, who lived some good while after the death of our Lord and the publication of his gospel, had any notion that this related to Jesus Christ.

That this story is throughout heathenish may be argued from what is said presently afterwards by Demetrius, another of the speakers in that dialogue of Plutarch: ‘that most of the islands near Britain are desert, and consecrated to dæmons and heroes; and that, being sent by the emperor to take a survey of those islands, he landed on one of them which had a few inhabitants; and that, soon after his arrival, there happened a tempest, with terrible claps of thunder and lightning. When the tempest was over, the people of the island gave out that some one of the principal dæmons was dead. A candle, said they, when it burns is pleasant; but when it goes out it leaves a stink behind: even so the deaths of great souls produce storms, and sometimes a pestiferous air.’ To which Demetrius added, ‘that in one of those islands Saturn was bound, and guarded by

imperii Cæsaris, quo Christus crucifixus est. Et hunc credimus universæ naturæ et totius mundi Dominum et formatorem. Vandale de Orac. p. 435.

Huic narrationi fidem creat circumstantia temporis. Incidit enim hæc res in tempus, quo Christus mortuus est. Estque verisimile, eiulationes dæmonum inde ortas, quod scirent, morte Christi Satanæ regnum concidisse. Est enim Pan vox aptissima ad significandum Dominum universi, qui est omnia in omnibus, ut ait Paulus. 1 Cor. xv. 28. Petrus Mornæus, citat. a Vandale. ib. p. 437.

^c Ethnicis vero stupendo miraculo Chri-

sti Jesu significata mors est, quod in libello de deitis oraculis Plutarchus refert. Id quamquam a vulgo scriptorum tritum est, minime tamen ob admirabilitatem rei pigebit hic adscribere. Narrat id apud Plutarchum Æmilianus Rhetor, ut sibi a patre Epitherse, rei teste, traditum. Atqui id convenit in tempus mortis Christi Jesu, qui verus Pan est, rerum omnium parens, ac naturæ totius auctor, quam Panos symbolo Mythologi signatam voluerunt. Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. ix. cap. 136. p. 630. See likewise Tillemont. Mem. Ec. J. C. art. 21. et note 31.

‘ Briareus,

p. 333. *Of a Passage in Plutarch concerning the Death of Pan.* A. D. 33. 247

‘Briareus, and that there were many dæmons attending upon him as his slaves and ministers.’ All fiction surely; but representing, as may be supposed, the doctrine of credulous heathens concerning dæmons.

All which, however, is quoted by Eusebius^d from Plutarch, to prove the cessation or the declension of oracles soon after the coming of Christ.

His remark is to this purpose: ‘So far Plutarch. But it will be worth the while to observe the time when he says the death of that dæmon happened: it was in the time of Tiberius. At that time our Saviour dwelt among men; and it is written of him that he expelled all sorts of dæmons; and some of them fell down before him, entreating him that he would not send them into the abyfs. Here then you have the true time of the expulsion of dæmons out of this world, a thing never heard of before. Nor was there an end put to human sacrifices, so common among the Gentiles, till the evangelical doctrine had been preached to all men.’ So Eusebius.

And though^e Colonia flourisheth mightily upon this story, he in the end finds it prudent to content himself with considering it as an argument, ‘that^{*} the Gentiles themselves acknowledged the general downfal or declension of their oracles, after the time of Tiberius and the coming of Christ, and that two centuries before Eusebius.’ A point about which I do not now particularly concern myself.

Before I conclude this article, I would observe that^f Baronius did not fully rely upon the truth of the story told in Plutarch, concerning the pilot Thamus: and that^g the centuriators of Magdeburg consider it as an absurd and ridiculous fiction. So likewise does^h Basnage, who has offered more reasons in behalf of his opinion than need to be repeated by me here.

^d Præp. Evang. l. v. cap. 17. p. 206....
208.

^e La Religion Chrétienne, &c.
Tom. i. p. 124, &c.

^{*} p. 129.

^f Hactenus de Pane Eusebius ex Plutarcho....Sane quidem si rei gestæ fidem adhibendam esse putamus, &c. Baron. Ann. 34. num. 130.

^g Ubi et de Pane mortuo ridicula narrat. Centur. Magdeb. Sec. i. lib. 2 cap. xv.

^h Nobis vero propius est, hanc Epitheris narrationem esse fabulis apponendam: neque Christi passionem Panis morte significatam....Basn. Ann. 33. num. 124.

C H A P. III.

A monumental inscription concerning the Christians in the time of Nero.

WHAT offers next is an inscription of the emperor NERO, on a monument found in Portugal^a.

TO NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR,
AUGUSTUS, HIGH-PRIEST,
FOR CLEARING THE PROVINCE
OF ROBBERS, AND THOSE
WHO TAUGHT MANKIND
A NEW SUPERSTITION.

None can doubt that by the new superstition is here intended Christianity. Some have questioned the genuineness of this inscription because, say they, Nero's persecution extended no farther than Rome. The pretence for punishing them there was a charge of having set fire to the city. But it could not be so much as pretended that they who dwelt in remote countries were concerned in that fact.

If this be the only objection, the inscription may be reckoned very good. For if the Christians living at Rome were charged with so great a crime, all of that sect in any place would share in the scandal, and might be judged a vile sort of people, fit to be destroyed. And indeed the Christians at Rome were as innocent as they at the greatest distance. Besides, it will presently appear, from Tacitus, that the Christians were then much hated, and that they suffered at Rome, not barely as guilty of setting fire to the city, but also for their supposed enmity to mankind. And Suetonius, in his account of the sufferings of the Christians in this reign, says nothing of any concern in the fire; but only that they were a people of a new and pernicious, or magical superstition.

Which leads me to observe farther, that the style of the inscription is agreeable to that of Tacitus and Suetonius, some of the earliest heathen writers who have mentioned the Christians.

^a In ruinis pagi Marquosæ in Lusitania. Ap. Gruter. p. 238. 9.

NERONI. CL. CAIS
AUG. PONT. MAX.
OB PROVINC. LATRONIB
ET. HIS. QUI. NOVAM
GENERI. HUM. SUPER
STITION. INCULCAB
PURGATAM.

If the persecution in Nero's time never became universal, it might take place in some of the provinces, particularly in that part of Spain which is now called Portugal. The Christian writers, who speak of Nero's persecution, do^b in effect, or expressly, say it was general; ^c that from Rome it spread into the provinces, and was authorized by public edicts.

Though there remain this monument only, there may have been others of the like kind, which have been destroyed out of aversion to the memory of Nero, or by some of those many accidents to which all things are liable in a long course of years.

If this inscription be genuine, it is as early an heathen monument as we could expect to find remaining concerning Christianity; especially so far off from Judea as Lusitania, now called Portugal. It must have been set up in the lifetime of Nero, who died in June A. D. 68, or, at the utmost, before his death was publicly known; for after that no people paid him any honours.

I have shewn that the style of this inscription is agreeable to early antiquity; and I have answered the objection taken from the supposed narrow limits of Nero's persecution. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the genuineness of it is not assented to by all. Joseph Scaliger^d doubted. Pagi^e and others have endeavoured to vindicate it. Some others still^f hesitate. This monument, they say, has been seen by few or none: and the credit of the first publisher of the inscription is not established above all suspicion of falsehood and imposture.

^b Consulite commentarios vestros. Illic reperietis, primum Neronem in hanc sectam cum maxime Romæ orientem Casareano gladio ferocisse. Sed tali dedicatore damnationis nostræ etiam gloriatur. Tertullian. Ap. cap. 5.

Cum animadverteret Nero, non modo Romæ, sed ubique quotidie magnam multitudinem deficere a cultu idolorum ...prosluit ad excidendum cœleste templum, delendamque iustitiam, et primus omnium persecutus Dei servos, &c. Lactant. vel Cæcilius de M. P. cap. 2.

^c Hoc initio in Christianos sæviri ceptum. Post etiam datis legibus religio vetabatur: palamque edictis propositis Christianum esse non licebat. Sulp. Sev. Hist. l. 2. cap. 41.

Primus Romæ Christianos suppliciis et mortibus affecit, ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione excruciari imperavit. Oros. l. 7. c. 7.

^d Neque solum Romæ sævitum in Christianos, sed etiam in provinciis. Exstat vetus inscriptio in Hispania loco Pisuerga vocato: in quo sine dubio hæc crudelitas tangitur, siquidem vera est illa inscriptio. Nam dubito. De Emend. Temp. p. 471.

^e Pagi ann. 64. n. iv. J. E. L. Walchius De Persecutione Christian. Neroniana in Hispania.

^f Exstat celebris hæc inscriptio apud Jan. Gruter. p. 238. n. 9. Ipsi vero præstantissimi Hispanorum viri auctoritatem huius inscriptionis tueri non audent, quippe quam nemo unquam vidit, et Cyriacus Anconitanus primus protulit, homo, quod omnes sciunt, fallax, et. si quis alius, malæ fidei, &c. J. L. Moshem. Instit. Hist. Ec. p. 37.

Verum magni homines post Scaligerum dubitant, quid de fide et auctoritate monumenti huius statuendum sit: et, ut arbitror, iustissimas habent dubitandi causas. Nemo enim vel Hispanorum, vel Lusitanorum, lapidem hunc unquam vidit, quod ipsi doctissimi Hispani viri non dissentunt. Is vero, si aliquando extitisset, magnâ certe curâ ob insigne pretium asservatus fuisset. Id. De Reb. Christian. p. 109.

I there-

I therefore must not insist upon it as certainly genuine and ancient; though I could not forbear to propose it to be considered; nor do I think that any can dislike my placing it here before my readers.

CHAP. IV.

PLINY the elder.

CAIUS PLINUS SECUNDUS, or ^a Pliny the elder, was born at Verona, in the reign of Tiberius. He had divers public posts under the emperors Vespasian and Titus; notwithstanding which he redeemed a great deal of time for reading, and writing, in which he was indefatigable. He was suffocated in the smoke and ashes of Vesuvius, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the first year of the reign of Titus, in the year 79. His natural history was published, and inscribed to Vespasian; or, as others think, to Titus, in the year of our Lord 77, before he was emperor.

In his History is a chapter concerning the origin of magic; where are these words: 'There ^b is another sect of magicians, depending on (or deriving from) Moses, and Jamnes, and Jotapes, who were Jews, but many thousand years since Zoroaster. Still so much later is the Cyprian.'

Some have thought that in this last Pliny refers to the blindness inflicted by St. Paul on Elymas the forcerer, in the presence of Sergius Paulus, proconsul of Cyprus, and related in Acts xiii. but I do not affirm it.

^a Vid. Plin. Ep. l. vi. 16. et 20. Voss. de H. l. i. cap. 29. Fabr. Bib. Lat. l. 1. c. 13. Bagnag. Ann. 77. ii. et 79. v. Tillem. H. E. Tite. art. vi. Crevier's History of the Roman Emperors. B. xvii. vol. 6. p. 291.

^b Est et alia Magicis factio, a Mose et Jamne, et Jotape Judæis pendens, sed multis millibus annorum post Zoroastrem. Tanto recentior est Cypria. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 30. cap. i. De Origine Magicæ artis, quando, et a quibus coeperat, &c.

CHAP. V.

TACITUS.

- I. *His history, time, and works.* II. *Pomponia Græcina, a Roman lady, accused of a foreign superstition in the year of Christ 57, the fourth year of Nero's reign.* III. *His account of Nero's persecution of the Christians.* IV. *His testimony to the Jewish war, and the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.*

I. CAIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS, ^a whose ancestors are unknown, was ^b older than the younger Pliny, who was born in the year of our Lord 61 or 62. In the year 77 or 78 he married the daughter of Cnæus Julius Agricola, ^c famous for his consulship, and government of Britain. He ^d enjoyed divers posts of honour and trust under Vespasian, and the following emperors. He was prætor of Rome, under Domitian, in 88, and consul in the short reign of Nerva, in 97. The year was opened by Nerva and T. Virginius Rufus, who were then both of them the third time consuls. Virginius Rufus, who was a man of great eminence, and then of a great age, died in his consulship; whereupon ^e Tacitus was substituted in his room, and pronounced his panegyric.

But, as has been often observed, his writings have gained him more honour than all his dignities. His works seem to have been published by him in this order: first, his Description of Germany, next The Life of Agricola, his father-in-law; after that his History, beginning with Galba, and ending at the death of Domitian; and lastly, his Annals; beginning with Tiberius, and ending at the death of Nero. Both these works are now imperfect.

Tacitus and Pliny the younger lived together in intimate friendship. They ^f revised each others writings before publica-

^a Vid. G. J. Voss. de Hist. Lat. Lip-
sit Vit. Tacit. Fabric. Bib. Lat. Tom. i.
Bayle Diction. Tillemont H. E. Trajan.
art. 27.

^b Equidem adolescentulus, quum jam
tu famâ gloriâque floreret, te sequi, tibi
longo, sed proximo, intervallo, et esse
et haberi concupiscebam. Plin. l. 7. Ep. 20.

^c Consul egregie tui spei filiam ju-
veni mihi despondit, ac post consulatum
collocavit, et statim Britannia præposi-
tus est, adjecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

Tacit. Vit. Agr. cap. 9.

^d Vid. Tacit. Hist. l. i. cap. 1.

^e Laudatus est a consule Cornelio Ta-
cito. Nam hic supremus felicitati ejus
cumulus accessit, laudator eloquentissimus,
&c. Plin. l. i. ep. 2.

^f Librum tuum legi, et quam dili-
gentissime potui, annotavi quæ commu-
tanda, quæ eximenda arbitrarer....Nunc
a te librum meum cum annotationibus
tuis exspecto. O jucundas, O pulchras
vices, Plin. l. 7. ep. 20. Vid. et l. 8. ep. 7.

tion. Divers of Pliny's letters are written to him; in particular those two wherein Pliny gives an account of the eruption of Vesuvius, and the death of his uncle. They were sent as memoirs, to be inserted by Tacitus in his histories.

It is allowed that ^h Tacitus flourished in the first century; I therefore place him here in the year 100, the third of the emperor Trajan: and though the two last, and principal of his works, were not published till some time after, undoubtedly he was now employed in collecting materials for them, and in composing them. Nor did either of them come down any lower than the death of Domitian.

II. In his Annals, at the year of our Lord 57, he writes thus: 'And ⁱ Pomponia Græcina, a lady of eminent quality, married to Plautius, who, upon his return from Britain, had the honour of an ovation, being accused of practising a foreign superstition, was referred to the cognizance of her husband. And he, according to ancient institution, in the presence of the family, sat in judgment upon the life and reputation of his wife, and pronounced her innocent. Pomponia lived to a great age, and in perpetual sorrow, after the death of Julia daughter of Drusus, procured by the intrigues of Messalina. For the space of forty years she wore no habit but that of mourning, nor admitted any sentiments but those of grief. And this behaviour, which in the reign of Claudius escaped with impunity, afterwards redounded to her glory.'

As it was about fourteen years from the death of Julia to this trial of Pomponia, Lipsius ^k suspects the reading of 'forty years;' and his emendation is approved by some, rejected by others. I rather think it to be right, as it is in all copies. Nor does Tacitus compute from the death of Julia to the time of this trial, but to the time of Pomponia's death. 'She lived,' he says, 'to a great age: and all the time from the death of Julia to her own death, which was the space of forty years, she was a perpetual mourner.'

This foreign, or extraneous superstition, of which Pomponia

^g Petis, ut tibi avunculi mei exitum scribam, quo verius tradere posteris possis. Gratias ago. Nam video, morti ejus, si celebretur a te, immortalem gloriam esse propositam. L. 6. ep. 16. Vid. et ep. 20.

^h Tacite.... Historien Romain, a fleuri dans le premier siecle. Bayle Diction.

ⁱ Et Pomponia Græcina insignis femina, Plautio, qui ovans se de Britanniiis rettulit, nupta, ac superstitionis externæ reâ, mariti judicio permissa. Isque prisco

instituto, propinquis coram, de capite famaque conjugis cognovit, et insontem nuntiavit. Longa huic Pomponiæ ætas, et continua tristitia fuit. Nam post Juliam Drusi filiam dolo Messalinæ interfectam, per quadraginta annos, non cultu nisi lugubri, non animo nisi mæsto egit. Idque illi imperitante Claudio impune, mox ad gloriam vertit. Tacit. Ann. l. 13. c. 32.

^k Vid. Not. ad loc.

was accused, is supposed by Lipsius, in his * notes, and by ¹ others, to be the Christian religion: and we may be inclined to that opinion; but we cannot be certain of it. I have transcribed the whole account of this lady, that every one may the better judge for himself.

III. After a description of the terrible fire at Rome, in the tenth of Nero, and the sixty-fourth of our Lord, in which a large part of the city was consumed, and an account of the orders given for rebuilding and beautifying it, and the methods used to appease the anger of the gods, Tacitus adds: ' But ^m neither all human help, nor the liberality of the emperor, nor all the atonements presented to the gods, availed to abate the infamy he lay under of having ordered the city to be set on fire. To suppress therefore this common rumour, Nero procured others to be accused, and inflicted exquisite punishments upon those people, who were in abhorrence for their crimes, and were commonly known by the name of Christians. They had their denomination from Christ, who in the reign of Tiberius was put to death as a criminal by the procurator Pontius Pilate. This pernicious superstition, though checked for a while, broke out again, and spread, not only over Judea, the source of this evil, but reached the city also; whither flow from all quarters all things vile and shameful, and where they find shelter and encouragement. At first they only were apprehended who confessed themselves of that sect; afterwards a vast multitude, discovered by them: all which were condemned, not so much for the crime of burning the city, as for their enmity to man-

* Superstitionis externæ rea.] Christianismi credo accusatam, sive, ut tunc confundebant, Judaismi. Lipsius in loc.

Forte Christianam pietatem intelligit. Nam apparet, sanctam mulierem fuisse Pomponiam Græcinam. Tacitus loquitur ut Ethnicus. Rhenanus in loc.

¹ Christi doctrinam a Pomponia fuisse degustatam, non immerito conijcimus. Basnag. Ann. 57. p. ii. Pomponia Græcina fuit accusée de suivre une superstition étrangère, dit Tacite: se qui se peut entendre du Christianisme. Tillem. Néron. art. v.

^m Sed non ope humana, non largitionibus Principis, aut deum placamentis decedebat infamia, quin jussu incendi-um crederetur. Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et quæsitissimis pœ-nis affectit, quos per flagitia invidiosos, vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus, qui Tiberio imperante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum

supplicio affectus erat. Repressa in præ-sens exitiabilis superstitione rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam, originem ejus mali, sed per Urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocitas aut pudenda confluunt, celebranturque. Igitur primo correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis convicti sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contesti, laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus affixi, aut flammandi, atque ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. Hortos suos ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat, et Circensè ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigæ permixtus plebi vel circulo [curriculo legit Lipsius] insistent. Unde quamquam adversus fontes, et novissima exempla meritos, miseratio oriebatur, tanquam non utilitate publica, sed in sævitiam unius absumerentur, Ann. l. xv. c. 44.

' kind.

kind. Their executions were so contrived as to expose them to derision and contempt. Some were covered over with the skins of wild beasts, and torn to pieces by dogs; some were crucified; others, having been daubed over with combustible materials, were set up as lights in the night time, and thus burned to death. Nero made use of his own gardens as a theatre upon this occasion, and also exhibited the diversions of the Circus, sometimes standing in the crowd as a spectator, in the habit of a charioteer, at other times driving a chariot himself; till at length these men, though really criminal, and deserving exemplary punishment, began to be commiserated, as people who were destroyed, not out of a regard to the public welfare, but only to gratify the cruelty of one man.

Divers facts of the evangelical history are here attested: that our Saviour was put to death as a malefactor by Pontius Pilate, procurator under Tiberius: that from Christ the people called Christians had their name and sentiments: that this superstition, or religion, had its rise in Judea, where also it spread, notwithstanding the ignominious death of the founder of it, and the opposition which his followers met with from the people of that country afterwards: that thence it was propagated into other parts of the world, and as far as Rome, where in the tenth or eleventh year of Nero, and before, Christians were very numerous: and that the professors of this religion were reproached, and hated, and underwent many and grievous sufferings. Certainly the great number of Christians at Rome at this time, and their sufferings, are two things very observable.

And though they were so hated, and Tacitus himself is so much offended with them, he owns the cruelty with which they were treated was so excessive as to excite compassion. Nay, it seems their destruction was looked upon by many, not as a public benefit, but an act of savage cruelty. Which shews, after all, that they were not such monsters of wickedness as they are here represented.

And all this guilt, this enmity to mankind, which Tacitus imputes to them, could be nothing else, as has been well observed ° by learned men, but their neglect of the ordinary worship of the gods.

It will not be disagreeable to compare this article of Tacitus with the account of the fire at Rome, and the ensuing persecu-

• Tacitus libro xv. . . de Christianorum suppliciis. . . Ubi flagitia, et odium humani generis, nihil aliud sunt, quam falsorum deorum neglectus. Quam eandem causam

etiam Judæis maledicendi Tacitus habuit, et Plinius major, cui Judæi dicuntur *gens contumeliâ numinum insensibilis*. Cleric. Annot. ad Grot. de Ver. Rel. Christian. l. 2, § ii.

tion of the Christians, which is given by Sulpicius Severus, an elegant Christian writer of history, and in the Latin tongue, who flourished about the year 400.

'In ** the mean time,' says Sulpicius, 'when the number of the Christians was greatly increased, there happened a fire at Rome while Nero was at Antium. Nevertheless, the general opinion of all men cast the blame of the fire upon the emperor. And it was supposed that his aim therein was that he might have the glory of raising the city again in greater splendour. Nor could he by any means suppress the common rumour that the fire was owing to his orders. He therefore endeavoured to cast the reproach of it upon the Christians. And exquisite tortures were inflicted upon innocent men: and more-over new kinds of death were invented. Some were tied up in the skins of wild beasts, that they might be worried to death by dogs. Many were crucified. Others were burnt to death: and they were set up as lights in the night-time. This was the beginning of the persecution of the Christians. Afterwards the profession of the Christian religion was prohibited by laws; and edicts were published that no man might be a Christian. At that time Paul and Peter were condemned to death. The former was beheaded, Peter was crucified.'

So writes Sulpicius. It is not unlikely that he had read Tacitus. However, I think it ought also to be supposed that he had other memoirs besides.

Sulpicius says that Nero was at Antium when the fire began. The †† same thing is observed by Tacitus, who also says that Nero did not come to Rome till the fire had approached his own palace, which at length, with every thing near it, was consumed.

IV. It is not needful for me to translate or transcribe all that

** Interea, abundante jam Christianorum multitudine, accidit, ut Roma incendio conflagraret, Nerone apud Antium constituto. Sed opinio omnium invidiam incendii in Principem retorquebat, credebaturque Imperator gloriam innovandæ urbis quæsisse. Neque ulla re Nero efficiebat, quin ab eo jussu incendium putaretur. Igitur vertit invidiam in Christianos, actæque in innoxios crudelissimæ questiones. Quin et novæ mortes excogitata, ut ferarum tergis contexti, laniatuum interirent. Multi crucibus affixi, aut flammâ usti. Plerique in id reservati, ut cum defecisset dies, in usum nocturni

luminis urerentur. Hoc initio in Christianos sæviri cœptum. Post etiam, datis legibus religio vetabatur: palamque edictis propositis, Christianum esse non licebat. Tum Paulus ac Petrus capitis damnati: quorum uni cervix gladio desecta, Petrus in crucem sublatus est. Sulp. Sever. Sacr. Hist. lib. 2, cap. 41, al. cap. 29.

†† Eo in tempore Nero Antii agens, non ante in Urbem regressus est, quam domui ejus, quâ palatium et Mæcenatis hortos continuaverat, ignis propinquaret. Neque tamen sisti potuit, quin et palatium et domus et cuncta circum haurirentur. Tacit. Ann. l. 15, cap. 39.

Tacitus

Tacitus says of the Jewish people, of ^p whose original he was ignorant, and writes very absurdly, and therefore is called by Terullian ^a a great liar. Nor need I translate exactly his history of the Jewish war. I observe however these following particulars.

He says that ^r Judea was first brought into subjection to the Romans by Pompey. After which he gives a summary account of their affairs under Herod and his sons, the emperors Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero. 'He mentions ^s Felix, 'whom

^p Tacit. Hist. l. v. cap. 2.

^a Cornelius Tacitus, sane ille mendaciorum loquacissimus. Apol. c. 16, p. 17. A.

^r Romanorum primus Cn. Pompeius Judæos domuit, templumque jure victoriæ ingressus est. H. l. v. cap. 9.

^s Claudius defunctis regibus, aut ad modicum reductis, Judæam provinciam equitibus Romanis aut libertis permisit, e quibus Antonius Felix, per omnem sævitiam ac libidinem, jus regium servili ingenio exercuit. . . Duravit tamen patientia Judæis, usque ad Gessium Florum procuratorem. Sub eo bellum ortum, et comprimere ceptantem Cestium Gallum Syriæ legatum, varia prælia ac sæpius adversa exceperere. Qui ubi fato aut tædio occidit, missu Neronis, Vespasianus fortuna famaque et egregiis ministris intra duas ætates, cuncta camporum, omnesque præter Hierosolyma urbes, victore exercitu tenebat. Proximus annus civili bello intentus, quantum ad Judæos per otium transiit. Pace per Italiam parta, et externæ curæ rediere. Augebat iras, quod soli Judæi non cessissent. Simul manere apud exercitus Titum ad omnes principatus novi eventus casusve utilius videbatur. [Ejusdem anni principio Cæsar Titus perdomandæ Judææ delectus a patre. Lib. v. cap. i. in.] Igitur castris, uti diximus, ante mœnia Hierosolymorum positis, instructas legiones ostentavit. Judæi sub ipsos muros struxere aciem. . . . Mox cessere hostes, et sequentibus diebus crebra pro portis prælia ferebant, donec assiduis damnis, intra mœnia pellerentur. Romani ad oppugnandum versi. Neque enim dignum videbatur, famem hostium opperiri. Poscebantque pericula, pars virtute, multi ferocia, et cupidine præmiorum. Ipsi Tito Roma, et opes, voluptatesque ante oculos: ac ni statim Hierosolyma conciderent, morari videbantur. Sed urbem arduam situ, opera molesteque firmaverant, quis vel plana satis munirentur. Nam duos colles immensum editos claudabant muri per artem obliqui,

aut introrsus sinuati. [Conf. l. 2, cap. 4.]

. . . . Alia intus mœnia, regiæ circumjecta. Conspicuoque fastigio turris Antonia, in honorem M. Antonii ab Herode appellata. Templum in modum arcis, propriique muri, labore et opere ante alios. Ipse porticus, quis templum ambiabatur, egrugium propugnaculum. Fons perennis aquæ, cavati sub terra montes, et piscine cisternæque servandis imbris. . . . magna colluvie, et cæterarum urbium clade aucti. Nam pervicacissimus quisque illuc perfugerat, eoque seditiosus agebant. Tres duces, totidem exercitus. Extrema et latissima mœnium Simon; mediam urbem Joannes, quem et Bargioram vocabant; templum Eleazarus firmaverat. Multitudine et armis Joannes ac Simon, Eleazarus loco pollebat. Sed prælia, dolus, incendia, inter ipsos, et magna vis frumenti ambusta. Mox Joannes, missis per speciem sacrificandi, qui Eleazarum manumque ejus obtruncarent, templo potitur. Ita in duas factiones civitas discessit, donec propinquantibus Romanis, bellum externum concordiam pareret. Evenerant prodigia, quæ neque hostiis, neque votis piare fas habet gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa. Visæ per cælum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, et subito nubium igne collucere templum. Expasæ repente delubri fores, et audita major humanâ vox, *Excedere deos*: simul ingens motus excedentium. Quæ pauci in metum trahebant: pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis sacerdotum literis, contineri, eo ipso tempore fore, ut valefceret Oriens, profectique Judæa rerum potirentur. Quæ ambages Vespasianum ac Titum prædixerant. Sed vulgus, more humanæ cupidinis sibi tantam factorum magnitudinem interpretati, ne adversis quidem ad vera mutabantur. Multitudinem obsefforum, omnis ætatis, virilis ac muliebris sexus, sexcenta millia fuisse accepimus. Arma cunctis, qui ferre possent: et plures quam pro numero audebant. Obstinatio viris feminisque,

‘whom he represents as a bad man, and tyrannical in his government. However, the Jews,’ he says, ‘bore the exactions of their governors, till the time of their procurator Gessius Florus, under whom the war began. Cestius Gallus, president of Syria, came to his assistance: but he being defeated, Nero sent Vespasian into Judea, who was a general of great merit and reputation, and having also under him good officers, in the space of two years,’ meaning the year 67 and 68, ‘he reduced the open country, and all the cities of Judea, excepting Jerusalem. The next year,’ 69, ‘was taken up in civil wars;’ meaning the time of the short reigns of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, till the accession of Vespasian. ‘The following year, [and the beginning of it,] Titus was appointed to attend the affairs of Judea; who now drew near to Jerusalem and besieged it. Tacitus supposeth that Titus was in haste to go to Rome to enjoy the pleasures and splendour of the city. He therefore carried on the siege with the greatest vigour. The army likewise was intent upon plunder, and eager to gratify their revenge. The city however was strong by situation, and with good walls and ramparts: the high tower Antonia, conspicuous from far. The temple itself was like a citadel well fortified. They had a fountain of water that ran continually, and the mountains were hollowed under ground. Moreover they had pools and cisterns for preserving rain water. And there was a great confluence of people. For the men of the other cities that had been reduced, and in general all the turbulent and seditious people of the nation came hither. There were three captains, or heads of factions, ‘and as many armies, Simon, John, called also Bar-gioras, and Eleazar, who occupied several parts of the city. Among themselves they had fierce contentions, and therein great quantities of provisions were consumed. Eleazar being killed, they were reduced to two factions. These fought with each other till the near approach of the Romans obliged them to agreement. There were many prodigies foresignifying their ruin, which were not to be averted by all the sacrifices and vows of that people, superstitious in their own way of worship, though different from all others. Armies were seen fighting in the air with brandished weapons. A fire fell upon the temple from the clouds. The doors of the temple were suddenly

feminisque par. Ac si transferre sedes co-
gerentur, major vitæ metus quam mortis.
Hanc adversus urbem gentemque Cæsar
Titus, quando impetum et subita belli lo-
us abnueret, aggeribus vineisque certare

statuit. Dividuntur legionibus munia, et
quies præliorum fuit: donec cuncta ex-
pugnandis urbibus reperta apud veteres,
aut novis ingeniis, struerentur. Tacit.
Hist. l. v. cap. 9.....13.

‘opened. At the same time there was a loud voice declaring that the gods were removing: which was accompanied with the sound as of a multitude going out. All which things were supposed by some to portend great calamities. But the most had a strong persuasion that it was said in the ancient writings of the priests, that is, ancient writings in the custody of the priests, that at that very time the East should prevail, and that some who came from Judea should obtain the empire of the world. Which ambiguities foretold Vespasian and Titus. But the common people, according to the usual influence of human passions, having once appropriated to themselves this vast grandeur of the fates, could not be brought to understand the true meaning by all their adversities. We have been assured that the number of the besieged amounted to six hundred thousand. And more bore arms than could have been expected from that number. For great was the resolution of all, both men and women. Against this city and people was Titus sent. As the city could not be taken by assault, different posts were assigned to the several legions. Battering engines of all kinds were prepared: and all the methods hitherto practised in sieges by the ancients, as well as new inventions, were employed on this occasion.’

So writes Tacitus, who could and might have been more particular in his history of the Jewish war in the several parts of that country, and likewise of the siege of Jerusalem. But his dislike of the subject, as it seems, and his love of brevity, have made him very concise.

However, it is not unlikely that in the next book, which, with all the following books of that work, is lost, there was an account of the triumph of Vespasian and Titus at Rome in the following year. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that there were also some more particulars concerning the event of the siege of Jerusalem: but what they were we cannot now say.

It is also worth our while to observe that in this fifth book of his history, from which the preceding article has been taken, at his entrance upon his account of the war, he says, ‘he’ was ‘going to relate the final end of the renowned city of Jerusalem.’

He likewise takes notice that ‘Jerusalem’ was the capital city of Judea, and that the temple there had in it immense riches.’

^t Sed quia famosæ urbis supremum diem tradituri sumus. &c. *Histor. l. 5, c. 2, in.*
^u Magna pars Judææ vicis dispergitur. Habent et oppida. Hierosolyma genti caput: Illic immensæ opulentiae templum. &c. *Ibid, c. 8.*

Nor should we omit to observe that in the first chapter of this book he has reckoned up the forces with which Vespasian was furnished for carrying on this war, and not very disagreeably to Josephus: 'For^x he mentions the three legions quartered in Judea, the twelfth brought in from Syria, and other legions from Alexandria, beside the armies of the Roman allies, the kings Agrippa, Sohemus, and Antiochus, and a large body of Arabians, always averse to the Jews, and some volunteers of distinction even from Rome and Italy, who were willing to serve under Titus, a general of such renown and expectation, desirous to signalize their valour before him, and thereby to recommend themselves to his favour.'

And though we do not find in Tacitus every thing that we might wish for, certainly what we have in his remaining works is a very valuable testimony to the accomplishment of our Lord's predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish people.

He must have read Josephus; many things are evidently taken from him: however he differs from him sometimes. It is somewhat strange that he should not compute a greater number within Jerusalem at the time of the siege than six hundred thousand. How shall we account for this? I answer, that perhaps Tacitus had met with some other accounts of the Jewish war beside that of Josephus. And I am apt to think it not unreasonable to believe, that Tacitus never read Josephus with so much care and diligence as we Christians have since read him. Moreover, six hundred thousand may be a certain number, used for an uncertain, denoting, that the city was then very full of people, and not intending to say there were no more.

^x Ejusdem anni principio, Cæsar Titus perdomandæ Judææ delectus a patre.... Tres enim in Judæa legiones, quinta et decima, et quintadecima, vetus Vespasiani miles exceperunt. Tradidit et Syria duodecimam, et adductos Alexandriæ duo et vicefimos tertianosque. Comitabantur, viginti sociæ cohortes, octo equitum alæ. Simul Agrippa, Sohemusque reges, et

auxilia regis Antiochi, validaque et solito inter accolæ odio infensa Judæis Arabum manus. Multi, quos Urbe atque Italia sua quemque spes acciverat occupandi Principem adhuc vacuum. His cum copiis fines hostium ingressus, composito agmine, cuncta explorans, paratusque discernere, haud procul Hierosolymis castra facit. Tacit. Hist. l. 5. cap. i.

CHAP. VI.

MARTIAL.

- I. *His time and writings.* II. *His testimony to the fortitude of Christians.*

I. MARTIAL, ^a or M. Valerius Martialis, author of fourteen books of epigrams, was born at Bilbilis in Spain, in the reign of Claudius. He is supposed to have come to Rome in the reign of Nero, when he was about twenty years of age, and to have lived there thirty years, beloved by the emperors, especially Domitian, after whose death he retired into his own country. As he lived long enough to ^b write some epigrams in commendation of Nerva and Trajan, I have placed him so low as the last year of the first century, and ^c the third of Trajan. He was intimate with Juvenal, and well acquainted with Pliny the younger. Martial was poor. When ^d he left Rome, Pliny made him a handsome present; and when he heard of his death, he lamented it very affectionately.

II. This writer has been supposed to refer to the patient fortitude of Christians, in voluntarily enduring the greatest pains, rather than sacrifice to the gods, or do any thing contrary to the principles of their religion.

‘ You^e have, perhaps, lately seen acted in the theatre, Mucius, who thrust his hand into the fire. If you think such an one patient, valiant, stout, you are a mere senseless dotard. For it is a much greater thing when threatened with the troublesome

^a Vid. Voss. de Poet. Lat. Tillemont Martiali.
H. E. Domitien. art. 23.

^b Vid. L. 12. Epigr. v....ix. L. xi. 4,
5. x. 34.

^cDomitiani, Nervæ, et Trajani,
tempora ingenio suo illustravit. Senex
autem, Urbe relicta, patriam suam re-
petens, in illa obiit sub eodem Trajano.
Fabric Bib. Lat. l. 2. c. 20. De M. V.

^d Audio, Valerium Martialem decessisse.
Et moleste fero. Erat homo ingeniosus,
acutus, acer, et qui plurimum in scri-
bendo et salis haberet et fellis, nec cando-
ris minus. Prosequutus eram cum viati-
co discedentem. Dederam hoc amicitie:
dederam etiam vericulis, quos de
me composuit. Plin. Lib. 3. E. p. 21.

^e In matutina nuper spectatus arena
Mucius, imposuit qui sua membra focus,
Si patiens fortisque tibi durusque videtur,
Abderitanæ pectora plebis habes.
Nam cum dicatur, tunicâ præsentem molestâ,
Uæ manum, pius est dicere: Non facio.

Martial. l. x. Epigr. 25.

‘coat, to say I do not sacrifice, than to obey the command—burn the hand.’

However, the two last verses of the epigram may be otherwise rendered, after this manner: ‘For it is a much greater thing, when threatened with the troublesome coat, you are commanded to burn your hand, to say: I will not.’

But I can see no reason for bringing in the troublesome coat to oblige a man to act the part of Mucius in the theatre. And I much rather incline to the sense given in the first translation.

I shall therefore place below the remarks^f of Stephen Le Moyne upon this epigram, who makes no doubt that Martial refers to the Christians, and declares that what Mucius did, is not comparable to the resolution of Christians under the sufferings which they endured.

The troublesome coat, or shirt, here mentioned a cruelty which, as we have before learned from Tacitus, the innocent Christians unjustly suffered, was made like a sack, of paper or coarse linen cloth; and having been first besmeared within and without with pitch, wax, rosin, sulphur, and such like combustible materials, or dipt all over in them, was put upon the person for whom it was appointed: and that he might be kept upright, the more to resemble a flaming torch, his chin was fastened to a stake fixed in the ground.

That this was esteemed a cruel death is manifest from Seneca; who, describing the greatest causes of fear, writes to this purpose: ‘Imagine^g here,’ says he, ‘a prison, crosses, and racks, and the hook, and a stake thrust through the body and coming out at the mouth, and the limbs torn by chariots pulling adverse ways, and that coat besmeared and interwoven with combustible materials, nutriment for fire, and whatever else beside these cruelty has invented. It is no wonder if, in such a case, fear riseth

^f *Facinus Mucii, non videtur, inquit Martialis, cum fortitudine Christianorum comparandum. Ille ustulandam manum suam flammis exhibuit, ut ista constantia reliquum corpus suum fervaret. Sed Christiani totum corpus igni vorandum tradunt, immo igni lento: et patiuntur se supervestiri cereo indumento, ut instar cereorum ardeant: quod tamen possent declinare, si vellent, et si religioni popularium suorum, et sacris Imperatoris, faciles se alligarent. Sed malunt in cineres et favillas redigi, et se vivos ardere, quam sacrificare, vel thura adolere: et cum ad id compelluntur, dicunt: Non facio, non sacrifico....et tunicæ molestæ præsens et tremendum supplicium*

illos a sacris suis non potest avellere, vel minimum terrere. St. Le Moyne Varia Sacra. p. 1041, 1042. Vid. et Kortholt. De Persecutionib. primit. Ec. p. 25.

^g *Cogita hoc loco carcerem, et crucces, et eculeos, et uncum, et adactum per medium hominem, qui per os emergat, stipitem, et distracta in diversum actis curribus membra, illam tunicam, alimentis ignium et illitam et intexam: quicquid aliud, præter hæc, commenta sævitia est. Non est itaque mirum, si maximus hujus rei timor est, cujus et varietas magna, et apparatus terribilis est. Senec. Ep. 14.*

‘ high, where the variety of evils is so great, and the preparation is so terrible.’

It is hence apparent, that this was one of the worst punishments which cruelty had invented.

I do not know but some may think I ought to have quoted this passage of Seneca, not only as a description of this coat and the cruelty of it, but also as an allusion to the sufferings of the Christians, who felt it in so great numbers; for Seneca’s death happened not ^h before April in the year 65; whereas the fire at Rome began in July the preceding year, and the persecution of the Christians ⁱ commenced in November following; but, in my opinion, it is better not to insist upon any reference here to the sufferings of the Christians.

C H A P. VII.

JUVENAL.

- I. *His time and writings.* II. *His testimony to Nero’s persecution of the Christians.* III. *His testimony to Domitian’s persecution.* IV. *An observation concerning Seneca the philosopher.*

I. DECIMUS JUNIUS JUVENALIS ^a or Juvenal, author of sixteen satires, which we still have, is computed to have flourished in the reigns of Domitian, Nerva, Trajan and Adrian. And, as Lipsius well says, he ^b was contemporary with Pliny the younger, Tacitus, and others of that age. Nevertheless we do not find Juvenal at all mentioned in any of the letters of Pliny now extant. I place him next to his friend Martial, and in the same year, the last of the first century of the Christian epoch.

II. He seems to refer to Nero’s persecution of the Christians in some lines ^c of his first satire, which are thus translated by Mr. Dryden:

^h See Tillemont. Neron. art. xxii.

ⁱ See vol. 6. ch. xi. near the end of the chapter.

^a Vid. Lips. Epist. Qu. 1. 4. Ep. 20. Fabr. Bib. Lat. 1. 2. cap. 18. Tillem. H.

E. Domitien. art. 24.

^b Ergo, meo arbitrio, compar Juvenalis Plinio juniore, Tacito, et illi classis fuit. Lips. l. c.

^c Pone Tigellinum, teda lucebis in illa.
Qua stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant,
Et latum media fulcum deducit arenâ.

Juven. Sat. i. ver. 155, &c.

But if that honest license now you take,
If into rogues omnipotent you rake,
Death is your doom, impall'd upon a stake,
Smear'd o'er with wax, and set on fire to light
The streets, and make a dreadful blaze by night.

Or, more literally: 'Describe a great villain, such as was Tigellinus, (a corrupt minister under Nero,) and you shall suffer the same punishment with those who stand burning in their own flame and smoke, their head being held up by a stake fixed to their chin, till they make a long stream (of blood and running sulphur) on the ground.'

It^d is the opinion of Joseph Scaliger, and many other learned men, that Nero's cruelties to the Christians are here intended: and that some punishments of men accused of magic in the reign of Nero, are here referred to, is affirmed by an^e ancient scholiast upon this place of Juvenal; who^f likewise speaks of them as exhibited for a spectacle; as is particularly described by Tacitus. And Suetonius (as we shall presently see) calls the Christians, 'men of a new and magical superstition.'

In another satire^g Juvenal speaks of the pitched shirt, or troublesome coat, which they were covered with who were condemned to that punishment. And I shall place below^h a part of Prateus's note upon that place.

III. In another satire Juvenal speaks of the death of Domitian in this manner: 'Manyⁱ illustrious men he destroyed who found no avenger; at last he perished, when he became formidable to the rabble. This ruined him, who long before was stained with the noble blood of the Lamiaë.'

^d Scholia Juvenalis: 'Nero maleficos homines tecta et papyro et cera supervestiebat, et sic ad ignem admoveri jubebat, ut arderent.' Hæc Scholiastes ille in illos versus Juvenalis, qui sine dubio de Christianis dicti sunt. Jos. Scaliger. Animadv. in Euseb. Chron. p. 197. Videatur Id. De Emendat. Temp. l. v. p. 471.

^e Vid. not. d.

^f Idem Scholiastes: 'Vivus ardebis, quem admodum in munere Neronis vivi arserunt, de quibus ille jussit cereos fieri, ut lucerent spectatoribus, quum fixa essent guttura, ne se curvarent.' Id. Scalig. l. c. p. 197. Et vide annot. ad Juvenalis locum.

^g Aufi quod liceat tunicâ punire molestâ.

Sat. 8. lin. 235.

^h Vestis erat e chartâ, cannabe, stuppâ. et maxime, incendia moliti fuerant. Quâ Illinebatur bitumine, resinâ, pice. Tum demum incensâ vivi comburebantur. Anciscumdabatur iis, qui grave quidpiam, not. in loc. ed. in usum Delphini.

ⁱ Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dedisset Tempora sevitia, claras quibus abstulit Urbi Illustresque animas impune, et vindice nullo. Sed periit, postquam cædonibus esse timendus Cæperat. Hoc nocuit Lamiarum cæde madenti.

Sat. iv. ad fin.

The verses are thus translated by Mr. Stepny :

What folly this ! But Oh ! that all the rest
Of his dire reign had thus been spent in jest !
And all that time such trifles had employed,
In which so many nobles he destroyed.
He safe, they unrevenge'd, to the disgrace
Of the surviving, tame, Patrician race.
But when he dreadful to the rabble grew,
Him, who so many lords had slain, they flew.

Ælius Lamia, whose death is likewise particularly mentioned by ^k Suetonius, undoubtedly was a man of a very ancient and noble family. And Domitian had killed many other senators. The Christians were generally of the meaner rank of people, and more despised still for their religion, than their condition. But they were not all of the rabble, or coblers and taylor, as Juvenal would insinuate. And Flavius Clement, one of those whom Domitian put to death near the end of his reign, and whose death, as Suetonius expressly says, hastened Domitian's ruin, was of the imperial family; and, as we think, a Christian. However, it is observable that Juvenal says Domitian's death soon followed after some acts of cruelty toward mean people. Herein he agrees with, and confirms the accounts of some Christian writers, particularly that of Cæcilius, or Lactantius, in his book of the deaths of persecutors; who observes that 'Domitian' had been long permitted to exercise great cruelties upon his subjects: but when he began to persecute the servants of God, 'he was soon delivered up into the hands of his enemies.'

IV. It may be observed that I do not allege, among witnesses to Christianity, or the affairs of Christians, the philosopher, L. A. Seneca. There is extant a correspondence between him and St. Paul, in fourteen letters; which may be seen in Latin, in ^m Fabricius, and in Latin and English in ⁿ Mr. Jones, with remarks. They were in being in St. Jerom's time, and Seneca therefore is mentioned by him ^o in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers.

But

^k Sueton. Domit. cap. x.

^l Post hunc, [Neronem] interjectis aliquot annis, alter, [Domitianus] non minor tyrannus orsus est: qui cum exerceret invidiam dominationem, subjectorum tamen cervicibus incubavit quam diutissime, tutusque regnavit, donec impias manus adversus Dominum tenderet. Postquam vero ad persequendum justum populum instinctu demonum incitatus est,

tunc traditus in manus inimicorum luit poenas. Cæc. al. Lact. De M. P. c. 3.

^m Cod. Apocr. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 380, &c. Conf. ejusd. Bibl. Lat. T. i. p. 367.

ⁿ See Jones of the Canon of the N. T. Vol. 2, ch. x. p. 80, &c.

^o Lucius Annæus Seneca Cordubensis, Sotionis Stoici discipulus, et patruus Lucani poetæ, continentissimæ vitæ fuit. Quem non ponerem in Catalogo Sanctorum,

But they are manifestly spurious and of no value; and therefore are not entitled to a place here: nor do they deserve any regard.

I have put this advertisement here, at the end of the chapter of Juvenal, because he is the last author of the first century who is alleged by me.

C H A P. VIII.

SÜETONIUS.

- I. *His history, time and works.* II. *The Jews expelled from Rome in the reign of Claudius.* III. *His account of Nero's persecution.* IV. *His testimony to the Jewish war, and the overthrow of the Jewish people.* V. *Of Domitian's persecution of the Christians.* VI. *The sum of his testimony.*

I. CAIUS SÜETONIUS TRANQUILLUS^a, son of Suetonius Lenis, ^b flourished in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian, to the latter of whom he was secretary: which ^c place he lost about the year 121. Pliny the younger had a particular friendship for him. Several of Pliny's letters still extant are written to him; and he performed for him divers good offices. Suetonius, having no children by his wife, Pliny procured for him from Trajan *jus trium liberorum*, or the privilege of those who have three children. His recommendation of him to the emperor is very affectionate, and exhibits a very amiable ^d character.

That he was born about the beginning of the reign of Vespasian, is argued hence—that ^e about twenty years after the death of Nero, or in 88, he speaks of himself as a young man. It may be supposed therefore, that in the thirteenth of Trajan, or the year of our Lord 110, he was not less than forty years of age.

rum, nisi me illæ Epistolæ provocarent, quæ leguntur a plurimis, Pauli ad Senecam, et Senecæ ad Paulum. In quibus, cum esset Neronis magister, et illius temporis potentissimus, optare se dicit, ejus esse loci apud suos, cujus sit Paulus apud Christianos. Hic ante biennium, quam Petrus et Paulus coronarentur martyrio, a Nerone interfectus est. Hieron. De V. I. cap. xii.

^a Vid. Voss. de Hist. Lat. l. i. cap. 26. Bayle Diction. Hist. et Crit. Suetone. Tillemont. H. Emp. Adrien. art. 24.

^b Interfuit huic bello pater meus Suetonius Lenis, tertiæ decimæ legionis tribunus angusticlavus. Sueton. Othon. c. x.

^c Scepticio Claro, Præfecto Prætorii, et Suetonio Tranquillo, epistolarum magistro, multisque aliis, qui apud Sabinam uxorem, injussu ejus, familiaris se tunc egerant, quam reverentia domus aulicæ postulabat, successores dedit.... Spartian in Adrian. cap. xi. ^d Suetonium Tranquillum, probissimum, honestissimum, eruditissimum virum, et mores ejus secutus et studia, jampridem, Domine, in contubernium assumpsit. &c. Plin. l. x. ep. 95.

^e Denique cum post viginti annos, adolescens me, exstitisset conditionis incertæ, qui se Neronem esse jactaret, &c. Sueton. in Neron. cap. ult.

He

He was the author of a good number of books, of which there are now none remaining, but his ‘Lives of the first twelve Cæsars,’ and a part of a work ‘concerning Illustrious Grammarians and Rhetoricians.’

II. Suetonius, in the life of the emperor Claudius, who reigned from the year 41 to 54, says of him: ‘He banished the Jews from Rome, who were continually making disturbances, Chrestus being their leader.’

This passage undoubtedly confirms what is said Acts xviii. 2, that *Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome*^a. Some learned men are not satisfied that this relates to the Christians: but it is well known that our Saviour was sometimes called^b Chrestus by heathen people. And it is not impossible that the Jewish enmity against those of their own country, or others who had embraced Christianity, might produce some disputes and disturbances which came to the emperor’s knowledge. This seems to be the meaning of Suetonius, that ‘there were disturbances among the Jews and others at Rome, upon occasion of Christ and his followers.’

If this passage were clear, we should have a testimony from an heathen author of good note, that there were Christians at Rome before the end of the reign of Claudius: as indeed we know there were from an authentic writer of our own. Acts xviii. 2, and 26. And compare Rom. xvi. And though it should not be reckoned clear and decisive, it has such an appearance of probability as has satisfied many learned men of good judgment.

This passage of Suetonius is expressly cited by^k Orosius, a Christian historian, of the fifth century. But he was not clear about the meaning of it.

III. In the life of Nero, whose reign began in 54, and ended

^a Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Româ expulit. Claud. cap. 25.

^b See Vol. 1. p. 246.

^c ...Perperam Chrestianus pronunciat a vobis, &c. Tertull. Ap. c. 3. Sed exponenda hujus nominis ratio est, propter ignorantium errorem, qui cum immutata litera Chrestum solent dicere. Lact. Divin. Inst. l. 4, c. 7.

^d Cum dixi supra, sub Judæorum nomine comprehensos Christianos, id dixi quod complures ante me, multo me eruditiores. Neque tamen id impedit quominus durior fuerit conditio Christianorum, ut etiam in Judaica religione multarum novantium, pluresque homines a paganismo abducentium. Quo spectat illud Suetonii de Claudio, *Judæos, impulsore Chresto, (id est, per Christianum dogma,) assidue*

tumultuantes, Româ expulit. &c. Grot. App. ad Comm. de Antichristo p. 499. Vid. et Cellarii Diss. de primo principe Christiano. § viii. et Basnag. Ann. 51. num. 68. Cleric. H. E. ann. 29. n. xc. Heumannii Diss. de Chresto Suetonii ap. Dissertation. Syll. T. i. p. 536. &c. Kort-holt. De Persecut. Ecc. p. 4. Tob. Eckhard. non Christianorum Testimonia. c. i. S. Havercamp. annot. ad Tertullian. Apol. cap. 3, p. 42.

^e Sed me magis Suetonius movet, qui ait hoc modo. *Claudius Judæos, impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes, Româ expulit.* Quod utra contra Christum tumultuantes Judæos coerceri et comprimi jussit, an etiam Christianos simul, velut cognate religionis homines, voluerit expelli, nequaquam discernitur. Oros. Hist. l. 7. c. 6.

in 68, Suetonius says: 'the¹ Christians were punished; a sort of 'men of a new and magical superstition.'

Suetonius here assures us that the Christian religion was lately arisen, and that it had already gained footing in the empire. From his calling it a 'magical superstition,' it may be argued that^m there were some things of an extraordinary nature performed by the Christians: or that they endeavoured to justify their embracing the religion of Christ, as of divine original, upon the ground of some wonderful works, which bore testimony to it's truth and authority.

I have translated the word 'malefica,' used by Suetonius, 'magical,' agreeably to the judgment of divers learned men. But Mr. Mosheim ** thinks the word to be equivalent to 'exitiabilis,' in Tacitus, meaning 'pernicious.' The Christians were singular in their religious sentiment, and opposed the religions of all nations. The Romans therefore considered them, he thinks, as 'enemies to all mankind,' and disposed to disturb the public peace.

In the word 'new,' undoubtedly there is a sting. For, as Tacitus says of the Jews, 'Whateverⁿ might be the origin of their religion, it has the advantage of antiquity.'

That the Christians were roughly handled in the reign of Nero, we have seen from Tacitus, a contemporary writer. Nevertheless, it has been observed by some learned men, that^o Suetonius does not say particularly that they were 'punished at Rome,' or for setting fire to the city. His expressions are general, and may include more extensive sufferings in the provinces, as well as the city.

¹ Afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum, superstitionis novæ et maleficæ. Sueton. Nero. cap. 16.

^m Maleficos incantatores, magicis rebus studentes, venenarios, interpretatur Barth. Adv. viii. 17. x. 6, 45, 57.....Pro talibus Christianos habuerunt deterrimis Gentiles, forte quia dæmonia illis parebant, et ad illorum contestationem ejiciebantur..... Exinde capiendum putat Barthius, Luc. vi. 22. Καὶ ἐμβαλὼσι τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὡς ποταμῶν. Nec mirum. Hoc enim genere maleficii D. Jesum calumniabantur Gentilium accusationes. Arnob. p. 25. Occursurus forsitan rursus est cum aliis multis calumniis illis, et puerilibus vocibus: Magnus fuit, clandestinis artibus omnia illa perfecit. Sed D. Jesu causam satis accurate ibid. agit Arnobius. Pitiscus ad Suetonii locum.

** Neque Romanam solum, sed omnium etiam aliarum gentium religiones

Christiani hostiliter invadebant: ex quo Romani concludebant, sectam Christianam non modo præter omnem modum arrogantem, verum paci ac tranquillitati publicæ inimicam, et ad bella civilia cienda aptam esse. Hoc illud est, si recte conjicio, quod Tacitus Christianis exprobat, odium generis humani. Nec aliunde rationem putem duci debere, cur idem Christianorum religionem, superstitionem exitiabilem, Suetonius autem maleficam nominet. Mosheim. Instit. H. E. p. 33, 34.

ⁿ Hi ritus, quoquo modo inducti, antiquitate defenduntur. Tacit. Hist. l. 5, cap. 5, p. 518.

^o Nec refert, quod Tacitus de iis, quæ in provinciis adversus Christianos gesta sermonem non habeat, cum Suetonius de Nerone, cap. 16, persecutionem ad urbem Romanam non restringat. Pagiann. 64, n. iv.

Et quidem Suetonius, a Nerone afflictos suppliciis Christianos commemorans, nomen

city. Of which we have good assurance ^p from divers ancient Christian writers.

Once more. It may be observed that Suetonius speaks with approbation of the sufferings which the Christians endured in this reign. For ^q they are mentioned together with divers other acts, ordinances, or institutions, of Nero, which were entitled to some commendation: as ^r any one will allow who observes the several articles in the same chapter.

IV. In his Life of Vespasian, Suetonius writes to this purpose: 'When ^s Nero went into Achaia, Vespasian was one of the court. 'But, shewing a dislike of that emperor's extravagances, he lay 'under his displeasure, and was apprehensive of the consequences 'of his resentment. Vespasian therefore retired into a private 'place at some distance, where an honourable province, with a 'powerful army, was assigned him. There had been for a long 'time, all over the east, a prevailing opinion that it was in the 'fates, [in the decrees or books of the fates] 'that at that time 'some one from Judea should obtain the empire of the world. 'By the event it appeared that a Roman emperor was meant by 'that prediction. The Jews, applying it to themselves, went 'into a rebellion. At first they had such success that they not 'only overcame their own governor, but also defeated the pro- 'consular governor of Syria who came to his assistance. There 'being now manifest occasion for a general of great reputation, 'and a numerous army, Vespasian was appointed for that ser- 'vice; who, among other commanders under him, had his eldest

lam Romani incendii facit mentionem, sed eos *genus hominum superstitionis novæ ac maleficæ* appellat. Quæ cum referat Suetonius inter ea, quæ a Nerone instituta fuerant, haud dubium est, quin edictum adversus Christianos ab eo tyranno scriptum fuerit. Ruinart. Pr. in Acta Mart. n. 26, p. 32.

^p ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione excruciaci imperavit. Oros. l. 7, cap. 7.

^q Id sane ita Suetonio persuasum erat, ut inter ea, quæ aliquâ laude digna a Nerone sancita commemorat, ait, ab ipso fuisse *afflictos suppliciis Christianos*. Ruinart. Ib. n. 25, p. 29.

^r Adhibitus sumtibus modus. &c. eod. cap. 16.

^s Peregrinatione Achaica inter comites Neronis, cum cantante eo aut discederet sæpius, aut præsens obdormisceret, gravissimam contraxit offensam: prohibitusque non contubernio modo, sed etiam publica salutatione, recessit in parvam et deviam civitatem, quoad latenti, etiamque extrema metuenti, provincia cum exercitu oblata est. Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo

tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur. Id de Imperatore R. quantum eventu postea prædictum paruit, Judæi ad se trahentes rebellant. Cæsoque præposito, legatum insuper Syriæ proconsularem suppetias ferentem raptâ aquilâ fugaverunt. Ad hunc motum comprimendum cum exercitu ampliore, et non instrenuo duce.... opus esset, ipse potissimum electus est.... Additis igitur ad copias duabus legionibus, octo alis, cohortibus decem, atque inter legatos majore filio assumpto, ut primum provinciam attigit, proximas quoque convertit in se. Correcta statim castrorum disciplina, uno quoque et altero prælio tam constanter inito, ut in oppugnatione castelli lapidis ictum genu, scuto sagittas aliquot exceperit.... Et unus ex nobilibus captivis Josephus, cum conjiceretur in vincula, constantissime asseveravit fore, ut ab eodem brevi solveretur, verum jam Imperatore.... Talis, tantæque cum fama in Urbem reversus, acto de Judæis triumpho, consulatus octo veteri addidit. Sueton. Vespasian. cap. 4....8.

^t fon

son Titus. Having put his army into good order, he entered upon the war with great vigour, and not without hazard to his own person, having been slightly wounded in an attack made at one of their towns, and received several darts upon his shield.' Suetonius proceeds to relate the accession of Vespasian to the empire, whilst he was in Judea, and takes notice of what Josephus, one of the Jewish prisoners, had beforehand said to him relating to that matter. And he expressly mentions Vespasian's triumph over the Jews at Rome.

In his life of Titus, he says, 'that' whilst he yet served under Vespasian, he took Tarichea and Gamala, two strong cities of Judea: and that, having in an engagement lost his own horse, he mounted another, whose rider had been killed in fighting against him.' And he says, 'that' Titus having been left in Judea to complete the reduction of that country, he, in the last siege of Jerusalem, killed seven of the enemy with as many darts: and that he took that city on his daughter's birthday, and was then saluted by the soldiers with the title of emperor.' He also says, 'that' Titus triumphed at Rome with his father.'

Suetonius is a biographer; and therefore does not write of the Jewish war so particularly, as an historian of another character might do: nevertheless, he may be justly reckoned a witness to the fulfilment of our Saviour's predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish people. He bears testimony to the Jewish war, and the occasion of it; he mentions the generals employed in it, and the issue of it in the taking of Jerusalem, and the reduction of Judea, and the triumph thereupon at Rome.

In the life of Domitian, whose reign began in the year 81, and ended in 96, Suetonius says: 'And' beside others, the Jewish tax was exacted with the greatest severity, and was demanded of those who lived in the city according to the Jewish customs, without entering themselves as Jews, or who, dissembling their original, had omitted to pay the tax laid upon that nation.'

Ex Quæsturæ deinde honore legioni præpositus, Tarichæam et Gamalam urbes validissimas Judææ in potestatem redegit: equo quadam acie sub feminibus amisso, alteroque incenso, cujus rector contra se dimicans occubuerat. Tit. cap. 4.

.... et ad perdomandam Judæam relictus, novissima Hierosolymorum oppugnatione vii propugnatores totidem sagittarum confecit ictibus: cepitque eam natali filiæ suæ, tanto militum gaudio ac favore, ut in gratulatione Imperatorem

eum consalutaverint. Ib. cap. 5.

* Triumphavit cum patrè, Censuramque gessit una. Ib. cap. 6.

† Præter cæteros, Judaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est: ad quem deferebantur, qui vel improfessi Judaicam inter Urbem, viverent vitam, vel dissimulatâ origine, imposita genti tributa non pependissent. Interfuisse me adolescentulum memini, cum a procuratore, frequentissimoque consilio, inspiceretur nonagenarius senex, an circumsectus esset. Domitian. cap. 12.

It is well known that, after ^a the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jewish people, wherever they dwelt, were required by Vespasian and Titus to pay that tribute to the capitol at Rome, which they had been wont to pay for the use of the temple at Jerusalem. Among those, of whom this tax was now exacted, it is likely there were divers sorts of men. Some Gentiles, who had embraced Christianity, might be looked upon as Jews: these were under no obligation to pay this tax. Beside them, some Jews, who were become Christians, might think themselves excused from paying this tribute; whether reasonably, or not, I do not determine: for according to the letter of the law, they were obliged to pay it, as being circumcised, though they might think that in equity they had a right to plead an exemption. And, beside all these, there might be some Jews, both by nation and religion, who declined this tax. These, I suppose, will not be vindicated by any, unless they scrupled to contribute to a heathen temple.

To these several sorts of men, probably, Suetonius here refers. Nor can it be doubted that some Christians met with sufferings upon this account, under the name and character of Jews, from whom they had received their religion. And, perhaps, this story of Suetonius has a reference to Domitian's persecution of the Christians, commonly called the second persecution.

This ^a tax was not exacted with the same rigour under that good emperor Nerva: but it was not abolished, as some have thought.

This passage ought to be understood as another testimony from the same writer, to the final overthrow of the Jewish people by the Romans, as Jesus had foretold.

V. Among the cruelties of the latter part of Domitian's reign, Suetonius mentions this: ' And lastly, ^b he put to death his cousin Flavius Clement, a man of an indolent temper, even to contempt, whose sons, when they were as yet infants, he had publicly declared his successors; and, changing their former names, he called the one Vespasian, and the other Domitian. Him he put to death on a sudden, upon a slight suspicion, when he

^a Vid. Joseph. De B. J. l. 7. cap. vi. § 6. p. 419. Haverc.

^a..... Item fiscus Judaicus, ut Suetonio, Domit. 12. qui cum acerbissime ageretur sub Domitiano, JUDAICI FISCO CALUMNIA SUBLATA est sub Nerva, ut testatur nummus apud Oisellum.... Unde tamen plane cessasse hoc tributum non evincitur, sicut Bergerus et Spanhemius jam demonstrarunt. Reimar. annot. ad Dion. C. p. 1082. § 43.

^b Denique Flavium Clementem patrualem suum, contemptissime inertiae, cuius filios, etiam tum parvulos successores palam destinaverat: et abolito priore nomine, alterum Vespasianum appellari jussierat, alterum Domitianum: repente, ex tenuissima suspitione, tantum non in ipso ejus Consulatu interemit. Quo maxime facto maturavit sibi exitium. Domit. cap. 13.

‘ was but just out of his consulship : by which action, more than
‘ by any other, he hastened his own ruin.’

This happened in the year of our Lord ^c 95. Suetonius does not expressly say that Flavius Clement was a Christian : that may be farther cleared up * hereafter. However, it may be argued from the character here given of Clement, that he was ‘ a man of an
‘ indolent temper, even to contempt :’ that having been a reproach frequently cast upon the Christians by heathen people, that they were useless, and unprofitable to the public; as we learn from ^d Tertullian, and ^e other ancient writers.

In this character of Clement there seems to be a censure of him for excessive indolence. But I think the chief and direct intention of Suetonius is to aggravate the cruelty of Domitian, who put to death so near a relation, in whom there was not one spark of ambition, and therefore there could be no reason to fear any thing from him.

Before I shut up this article, I must observe some things for explaining the last cited passage of Suetonius.

Flavius Clement was cousin-german to Domitian. There ^f were two brothers, Flavius Sabinus, and Flavius Clement, sons of Flavius Sabinus, Vespasian’s elder brother. Sabinus, the elder of those two brothers, had been put to death by Domitian some while before, as is related by ^g Suetonius. The second was put to death now, as just related. The death of Flavius Clement is also mentioned by ^h Dion Cassius, as will be more particularly observed by us hereafter : it is also mentioned by ⁱ Philostratus, in his Life of Apollonius Tyanæus, and as a thing that hastened the death of Domitian himself. And we ought to recollect here what we before saw in * Juvenal.

Suetonius assures us that, ‘ Domitian had publicly declared
‘ the sons of this Clement to be his successors, and he changed
‘ their names, calling the one Vespasian, and the other Domitian.’ Undoubtedly, they are the two young persons whom Domitian.

^c Vide Pagi. ann. 96. num. ii. et Basnag. ann. 95. n. iv.

* See the Chapter of Dion Cassius, in the next volume.

^d Sed alio quoque injuriarum titulo ex-
postulamur, et infructuosi in negotiis di-
cimus. Tert. Ap. cap. 42.

^e Cum autem hunc Flavium Clemen-
tem contentissimæ inertiae hominem vo-
cat Suetonius, eo ipso Christianum fuisse
demonstrat. De quo injuriæ in Chris-
tianos titulo, quod inertes, et inutiles, et
infructuosi dicerentur, Tertull. Ap. cap.
42. Torrent. in Sueton. loc.

^f Vid. Sueton. Vespas. cap. 12. et Vi-
tell. cap. 15. Tacit. Hist. l. 3. cap. 65.

Eutrop. l. 7. cap. 18. Victor. de Cæs.
cap. viii. Joseph. de B. J. l. 4. cap. x.
§ 3. Conf. ib. cap. xi § 4.

^g Flavium Sabinum alterum e patru-
elibus, [occidit] quod, &c. Sueton. Do-
mit. cap. x.

^h ... αλλης τε πολλης, και τον Φλαβιον
Κλημεντα υπατευοντα, και περ ανιψιοντα,
κατεσφαξεν ο Δομιτιανος. Dio. l. 67. c. 14.
p. 1112. al. p. 766.

ⁱ Εωθεν δε θιοι Δομιτιανον ηδη της αν-
θρωπων προεδρίας. Ετυχη μιν γαρ Κλη-
μεντα απεκτονως, ανδρα υπατος, ω την αδελ-
φον την εαυτη εξιδωκει. Philost. de V. A.
T. l. 8. cap. 25.

* p. 263.

had committed to the care and institution of ^k Quintilian; who calls them 'the grand-children of Domitian's sister.' Domitian's only sister, Domitilla, died before Vespasian came to the empire, as we learn from ^l Suetonius: but she must have left a daughter of the same name, whose sons therefore were her grandsons. What became of them afterwards we are not informed.

Finally, Dion Cassius, in the place above cited, calls Clement, consul. Suetonius says, 'he was put to death on a sudden, 'when he was just out of his consulship.' But there is no disagreement between them in this; for ^m the ordinary consuls did not then serve out the whole year, but others were substituted in their room, after a few months, or a less space. However, the year was still reckoned with the names of the ordinary consuls, and they preserved the title throughout the whole year; Clement therefore was still consul, though another, or several, one after another, had been substituted. As before said, Clement was put to death in 95, the year of his consulship.

VI. We have seen so many things in Suetonius, that it may not be improper to recapitulate; for he bears witness to the expulsion of the Jews and Christians out of Rome in the reign of Claudius; to the persecution of the Christians in the time of Nero; to the Jewish war, and the reduction of Judea by Vespasian and Titus; and therein is a witness to the accomplishment of our Saviour's predictions concerning the calamities coming upon that people. He likewise mentions the death of Flavius Clement, which we suppose to have happened in the time of Domitian's persecution of the Christians.

To all these things does Suetonius bear testimony, who is an historian of the best credit, and lived at the end of the first, and the beginning of the second, century.

Our next author will be the younger Pliny, at the beginning of the second century.

I have placed Suetonius before him, and in this volume, because his testimony has a near affinity with the particulars mentioned by Tacitus, and the two other last mentioned writers.

^k Cum vero mihi Domitianus Augustus sororis suæ nepotum delegaverit curam. Quintil. Imp. l. 4. Pr.

^l Ex hac liberos tulit Titum, et Domitianum, et Domitillam. Uxori et fi-

liæ superstes fuit: atque utramque privatus amisit. Sueton. Vespas. cap. 3.

^m Vid. Pagi et Basnag. ut supra not. ^c p. 666. et Reimar. in Dion Cass. 1112.

A
L A R G E C O L L E C T I O N

OF ANCIENT

JEWISH AND HEATHEN TESTIMONIES.

[VOL. II. FIRST PUBLISHED IN MDCCLXV. CONTAINING THE TESTIMONIES OF
HEATHEN WRITERS OF THE SECOND CENTURY.]

A P R E F A C E.

*With some farther observations upon the paragraph in the Works of
Josephus, concerning our blessed Saviour.*

NOTWITHSTANDING all that has been said by me and others, for shewing that the paragraph concerning our Saviour, now found in the Antiquities of Josephus, is not genuine, but an interpolation, some learned men are still tenacious of it. I therefore intend to offer here some farther observations upon it.

I have as yet taken no notice of an argument which is entitled, 'A Dissertation upon the Account supposed to have been given of Jesus Christ by Josephus: being an attempt to shew that this celebrated Passage, some slight Corruptions only excepted, may reasonably be esteemed genuine.' At Oxford, in the year 1749, p. p. 69, beside a short preface.

The dissertation is without a name, but is generally ascribed to Dr. N. Forster. As great regard has been shewn to it by some, I think it not improper for me to consider the merits of it.

Says the learned author, p. 12, 13: 'First then I consider the account itself as a mere simple narrative, in which there is not a sentence that, when properly read and understood, betrays the writer to have had any suspicion that Jesus was the Messiah, or even a teacher sent from God. On the other hand, some expressions plainly imply him to have been persuaded of the contrary. And the whole, taken together, seems to be the composition of a person perfectly satisfied that the Christian

^a See Dr. Sharpe's Argument, taken from the concessions of adversaries, p. 39.

‘scheme could not be true: astonished however at some amazing appearances in it’s favour, but artfully evading the force of them, avoiding to enter into the merits of the affair, and yet affecting to give a seemingly plausible account of it’s original.’

And at p. 49, 50: ‘But a short view of the whole paragraph will best illustrate and confirm what has been observed. It may, I think, be fairly rendered in the following manner: “But about this time appears one Jesus, a man of great abilities, if indeed he may be properly stiled a mere man. For he was a worker of wonders, a teacher of people, who embraced his new and extraordinary doctrines with eagerness. And he led away many, not only of the Jews, but also of the Gentiles after him. This was the person so well known by the name of Christ. And though Pilate, upon the impeachment brought by the principal persons of our nation against him, caused him to be crucified, they who had before entertained an affection for him did not desist. For he appeared to them to be alive again on the third day, their own preachers at least having reported both these and numberless other wonderful things concerning him. And the sect of the Christians, who received their denomination from this person, are not extinct even to this day.”

In support of this interpretation, the learned writer proposeth two alterations, as emendations of the present text in Josephus. And instead of men ‘who received the truth with pleasure,’ τῶν ἡδονῇ τ’ ἀληθὴ δεχομένων, he would read, τα ἀνθ’, ‘new, strange, unheard-of, extraordinary doctrines,’ p. 27....29. And instead of τῶν θεῶν προφητῶν, ‘the divine prophets,’ he is for reading τῶν γε ἰδίων, ‘their own prophets or preachers, p. 41....44.

Upon all this I must say, first, that this is indeed giving a new turn to the passage, never so understood before, so far as we know, by any ancient Christian writers. But still the objections taken from ‘the want of connection’ in the place where the passage stands, and from ‘the silence of all Christian writers before Eusebius,’ and of some others after him, remain in their full force. Some things are offered by the learned author of the dissertation to diminish the force of those considerations. But they are of small moment. Nothing material can be said here. Interpret the paragraph as you please, it was worth alleging. If the things here mentioned are the declarations not of the ancient Jewish prophets, but of the first preachers among the Christians, or the disciples of Jesus, their testimony was fit to be taken notice of.

Nor

Nor could it have been omitted by the early apologists for Christianity. The apologists, and other Christians, of the second and third centuries, who were continually speaking of Jesus, and his resurrection from the dead, and his wonderful works, as proofs of a divine mission, would not have failed to remind their adversaries, and all men, that their doctrine was no other than the doctrine of the first disciples of Jesus, and that Josephus, a learned Jew and an unbeliever, who was contemporary with Christ's first's disciples, and wrote before the end of that age, had borne witness of it in his writings to all the world.

Secondly, the alterations proposed by the learned author of the Dissertation, as emendations of the text, are destitute of authority.

The paragraph is twice quoted by Eusebius, and afterwards, in the space of a few centuries, by many others: by Jerom in his book of *Illustrious Men* in Latin; by his interpreter in Greek; by Isidore of Pelusium, Sozomen, Suidas, and others; and all in the like manner, without affording any the least countenance to either of the proposed alterations. I therefore do not see how they can be admitted, or approved of by any sober and cautious critics, who are concerned for the integrity of ancient writings. I do not think it needful for me to say any thing more^b here. I therefore proceed.

Thirdly, in this paragraph it is said of Jesus, 'he performed many wonderful works:' or, 'he was a worker of wonders.' *Ἦν γὰρ παραδοξῶν ἐργῶν ποιητής.* Which I think could be said by none but a Christian.

But let us see what this learned writer says, p. 25: 'And what Jew almost either ancient or modern that has written of Jesus, does not say the same?' And in a note at the same page: 'This is not merely a periphrasis for *ἐποίησε*, but somewhat more express and particular. He was by profession and character *παραδοξῶν ἐργῶν ποιητής*. This was what he was chiefly remarkable for, the light in which, according to our author (Josephus) he is principally to be considered.'

I am rather of opinion, that few or none will admit miracles to have been performed by any but such as they believe to have been teachers, who acted with divine authority.

^b Indeed I cannot think it needful to enlarge here. And yet I know not how to forbear to confront the proposed *τα εὐεργετή* for *ταλῆθη*, with a reference to a letter of Isidore of Pelusium, who after having quoted the paragraph in Josephus, accord-

ing to the present reading, reflects upon it in these words: *Εγὼ δὲ διὰ τὸ θαυμάζειν τὸν ἀνδρὸς ἐν πολλοῖς μετὰ τοὺς φιλαλήτας. μαλίστα δὲ, ἐν οἷς, εἰπὶ, διδασκαλὸς ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῶν τ' ἀληθῆ διχομνῶν.* L. 4. ep. 225.

However, let us not perplex ourselves about the opinions of modern Jews. We are examining a paragraph in an ancient writing. Let us therefore observe the sentiments of the ancients.

When Nicodemus came to our Lord, he said, John iii. 2: *Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God; for no man can do these miracles that thou doest except God be with him: which I take to be a certain truth, and that no man can work miracles, unless he have the special presence of God with him. I suppose this to have been the opinion of the Pharisees, and all Jews in general, in the time of our Saviour. The poor man who had been born blind, and had been healed by our Lord, was of this opinion, and openly declares it, and argues from it before the Jewish council: John ix. 30....33. Herein is a marvellous thing, that ye know not from whence he is, and yet he has opened mine eyes. Now we know that God heareth not sinners: but if a man be a worshipper of God, and doeth his will, him he heareth. Since the world began was it not heard that any man opened the eyes of one born blind. If this man were not of God he could do nothing.*

It is said Acts iv. 13....18, that when Peter and John were brought before the council, after healing the lame man at the temple: *And beholding the man which was healed, they could say nothing against it. But when they had commanded them to go aside out of the council, they conferred among themselves, saying: What shall we do to these men? For that a notable miracle has been done by them, is manifest to all them that dwell at Jerusalem; and we cannot deny it. So they say privately in a consultation among themselves. The meaning is: 'It is not our business to dispute about it, or contest the truth of the miracle with the people.' Or, as Dr. Doddridge: 'Nevertheless, it is equally plain that both our credit and our interest require us to suppress the rumour of it as much as we can.' Which they did. They did not publicly declare the miracle, as Josephus is here made to do. But that it spread no farther among the people, let us straitly threaten them that they speak henceforth to no man in this name. And they called them, and commanded them not to speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus.*

The sentiment of the unbelieving Pharisees at that time may be clearly discerned in the debate between the council, and the man who had been healed of blindness, John ix. 18....22: *But the Jews did not believe concerning him that he had been blind, and received his sight, until they called the parents of him that had received sight. And they asked them, saying: Is this your son, who ye say was born blind? How then doth he now see? His parents answered them, and said: We know that this is our son, and that he was born blind: but by what means he now seeth we know not: or who hath opened*

opened his eyes, we know not: he is of age, ask him. These words spake his parents, because they feared the Jews: for the Jews had agreed already that if any man did confess that he was Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue.

The parents did not dare to own either the miracle or the consequence. But the man, who had been healed acknowledgeth both: that his cure was miraculous, and that Jesus, by whom it had been performed, was a prophet. For which he was reviled by the council, and then excommunicated.

Let us now observe the sentiment of Josephus himself in this point. Speaking of Elisha, he says: ‘And not long after the prophet also died, a man celebrated for his virtue, and manifestly favoured by God. For through his prophecy were shewn wonderful and extraordinary works, and such as were worthy of an honourable remembrance among the Hebrews.’

Josephus therefore supposed the performance of wonderful works to be a proof of divine favour, and a prophetic character.

However, still our learned author proceeds, p. 26: ‘The fact then, which Josephus mentions, could not be dissimuled. But the conciseness and ambiguity with which it is expressed are extremely proper. Silent entirely with regard to the great variety and singular nature of the miracles which Jesus had done, he is satisfied with simply representing him as a worker *εργων παραδοξων*, a word, which all who are acquainted with it’s natural and original signification, and more particularly with the uses to which Josephus commonly applies it, (denoting any thing strange, extraordinary or unaccountable, of what kind and degree soever it may be,) will perceive it to be one of the most equivocal, and consequently the best adapted, to his dubious character of the person concerned, that this extensive and capacious language could have afforded him.’

I do not perceive this to be rightly said. I have not observed the use of the word *παραδοξος* in Josephus to be so ambiguous and equivocal. It has with him a precise and determinate meaning, and is equivalent to ‘miraculous.’ So it is used by him in the place before cited, where he speaks of the works of Elisha, which manifested his favour with God. It is easy to allege other places in the writings of Josephus, where this word has the same sense. When Moses in the wilderness saw the burning bush all in a flame,

‘Μετ’ ου πολυ δε και ο προφητης απεθανεν’ αυτη, επι δικαιοσυνη λαλουντος, και φανεως σηµασθεις υπο τη Θεω. Θαυµατα γαρ και παραδοξα δια της προφητιας επιδιξατο εργα, και μητης λαµπρας παρα τοις Εβραιοις αξιωµετα. Antiq. l. 9, c. 8, § 6. p. 494.

the fruit not hurt, nor the green leaves blasted, he was astonished at the 'wonderful sight:' Exod. iii. 3. Ο δε και αυτην μεν εδισε τη οψιν την παραδοξον γενομενην. Ant. l. 2, cap. 12, p. 105. We call it, *this great sight*, agreeably to the Hebrew, as do also the Seventy. Certainly it was miraculous, and a token of the divine presence, and allowed to be so by Josephus. When the water in Egypt had been turned by Moses into blood, he says, 'The water had not only the colour of blood, but it also caused great pains to those who drank of it. So it was to the Egyptians, and to them alone: for to the Hebrews it was sweet and potable, and not at all altered in it's nature. When the king saw this wonderful thing he was much perplexed, being concerned for the welfare of the Egyptians; and he gave leave for the Hebrews to depart.'Προς εν το παραδοξον αμηχανησας ο βασιλευς και δεισας περι των Αιγυπτιων, συνεχωρει τοις Εβραιοις απιεναι. Ant. l. 2, c. xiv. § 1, p. 108. See Exod. viii. 19....After relating the safe passage of the Israelites through the red sea, and the destruction of Pharaoh, and his army, he says: 'The Hebrews having obtained this wonderful deliverance, Moses led them toward Mount Sinai,' Παραδοξη δε της Εβραιοις της σωτηριας ετω γενομενης, κ. λ. Ant. l. 3, c. i. in Comp. Exod. xiv. and xvi. In Numb. xvii. is the contention for the priesthood, which is determined in favour of Aaron and the tribe of Levi, by the budding and blossoming of the rod of Aaron, which had been laid up in the tabernacle. Josephus calls this also a wonderful thing; and says that thereupon all the people readily acquiesced in the 'divine judgment' and determination.' Εκπλαγυντες δ' επι τη παραδοξω της θεας, ει και δια μισους ην ο Μωυσης και Ααρων, αφεντες τετο, θαυμαζειν ηρξαντο την τε Θεω περι αυτων κρισιν' και το λοιπον, επευφημυντες τοις δεδογμενοις τη Θεω, συνεχωρην Ααρωνι καλως εχειν την αρχιεροσυνην. Antiq. l. 4, cap. 4, § 2, p. 203. Going over the miracles of Elisha, and observing those recorded 2 Kings ch. vi. and particularly what is mentioned ver. 19, 20, he calls it a 'divine and wonderful work.'Εν εκπληξει δε δεινη και αμηχανια των Συρων, οιον εικος, εφ' ετως θειω και παραδοξω πραγματι κειμενων.....κ. λ. l. 9, c. 4, § 3, p. 479.

In all these places the Greek word signifies 'miraculous;' and so it must do in this paragraph. And as Josephus allows miracles to be divine works, and a proof of a prophetic character, and of the special favour and approbation of God, he could not say this of Jesus unless he was a Christian. I might add that Josephus often speaks of God's confirming the mission of Moses by signs and wonders. See particularly Antiq. l. 2, cap. xii. xiv. And if Josephus owned that Jesus had performed wonderful or miraculous works, he must have received him as a divine teacher,

and

and the Messiah, and must have embraced the Christian religion; and would have been quite another man than what he really was, and we now see him to be, in all his works.

Indeed, it is not Josephus, but Eusebius, or some other Christian about this time, who composed this paragraph. Every one must be inclined to think so who observes the connexion in his Evangelical Demonstration, where is the first quotation of it. In the third book of that work Eusebius has a chapter, or section, 'against those who do not give credit to the history of our Saviour's wonderful works.' *προς τας απειθοντας τη τε σωτηρος ημων περι των παραδοξων πραξεων διηγησει.* Dem. Ev. l. 3, c. vii. p. 109. Where follows an excellent argument, taken from the internal characters of credibility in the evangelical history, the success of the gospel among Greeks, and Romans, and barbarians, and the zeal, intrepidity, and sufferings, of Christ's apostles, and the first Christians. Then he says: 'Though ^d the testimony of such men concerning our Saviour must be esteemed fully sufficient, it cannot be amiss for me to add, over and above the testimony of Josephus, a Hebrew, who in the eighteenth book of his Jewish Antiquities, writing the history of affairs in the times of Pilate, speaks of our Saviour in these words.' Where follows the paragraph which we are considering: where our Lord is said to be a 'worker of wonderful works.' *Ην γαρ παραδοξων εργων ποιητης.* Which way of speaking is so agreeable to Eusebius, and has such a similitude with his style, that I am disposed to put down below some instances from ^e him: which must be of use to satisfy us that the style of this paragraph is very Christian, if it be not the composition of Eusebius himself, as Tanaquil Faber suspected.

Fourthly, once more, the learned author of the Dissertation argues, that it was very unlikely, that Josephus should be silent about our Saviour, p. 51, 52. 'Now, though I entirely agree with this great writer,' the author of the Divine Legation of Moses, 'that preaching up Christ was an affair which Josephus would studiously decline, and have always deemed appearances of this kind considerable objections to the passage in question, as it is usually read and understood, yet I cannot but think, (as many persons have already observed,) that it is very improba-

^d Αὐταρκής μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ τῶν δὲ τυγχάνει περι τῆ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν μαρτυρία. κ. λ. Dem. Evang. l. 3, p. 124. A.

^e Καὶ δὴ σκεψάμεθα, ὅσων καὶ οἷων συν ἀνθρώποις τὰς διατριβὰς πεποινημένος, παραδόξων γενοῖται ποιητῆς ἐργῶν. Dem. Ev. l. 3, c. 4, p. 107. 6.

Οὐκ ἦν σιμνότερον τῆ πλαττεῖσθαι, ὅτι τῶν τοιῶνδε ποιητῆς ἐργῶν παραδόξων γενοῖται, το γράφειν ὅτι μὴδὲν ὄντων περι αὐτοῦ συνεῖς.... κ. λ. Ib. p. 123. D.

.... πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἰεν ἀξιοὶ καὶ ἐν λοιποῖς, οἱς μαρτυρήσαν αὐτῷ παραδόξα; κ. λ. p. 124. A.

‘ble that he should omit all account of Jesus, a person so remarkable in Judea, who so lately had been the cause of so great commotions among his countrymen, and whose fame was at this very time spread by his followers throughout the world. Christianity was an affair which made some noise at this very time....Some account of it therefore seems to have been unavoidable in a person treating of the extraordinary incidents of that period. And silence, with regard to so remarkable and conspicuous an object, would have been only shutting his own eyes that others might not see it.’

I must own that I did not expect to see this learned author enlarge so much, and set so high value upon a worn-out argument, ‘which,’ as he says, ‘many persons have already observed,’ to little purpose in my opinion. I shall only say that this argument proves too much, and therefore it proves nothing. It has been observed^f by some learned men, that Josephus has said nothing of the golden calf made by the Jewish people in the wilderness; thus^g dropping a very remarkable and important narrative, with a variety of incidents, recorded in one of the books of Moses himself, the Jewish lawgiver, the most sacred of all their scriptures. Yet, if we please, we may argue with a great deal of seeming probability that he did, and has taken notice of that transaction. ‘Was it not well known in the world? Is it not recorded in one of the sacred books of the Old Testament? Is it not in the Hebrew original? Is it not also in the Greek version, made before the times of Josephus, and in the hands of many Greeks and others? Does not he say, at the beginning of his Antiquities, that he should write of the Jewish affairs as he found them recorded in the sacred books, without adding to them, or taking away from them? Therefore he could not avoid mentioning this. Is not Josephus an historian in great repute? And can it be consistent with that character to omit so remarkable an event? Upon the whole, therefore, it may be concluded with great probability, if not with certainty, that this story is in his works, or was there formerly.’

So men may harangue very plausibly, but yet to little purpose. And therefore it may be applied to the present case. If Josephus had reasons which induced him to pass by that transaction, recorded in the ancient history of his people, he might also have reasons which induced him to be silent about some remarkable occurrences in his own time.

^f See p. 135.

^g Mr. Whiston’s wrong, and indeed absurd, method of accounting for that omission, may be seen in his second Dissertation, § 28, p. xlv. and a confutation of it may be seen in Dr. Warburton’s Divine Legation, vol. 2, p. 430.

I have

I have now, as I think, paid due regard to the author of the
aforesaid Dissertation.

II. Since the publication of the first volume of this work, I
have received a letter from a learned friend, with several objec-
tions to what has been said by me for shewing this paragraph in
Josephus to be an interpolation. And, if I am not mistaken,
my friend is well acquainted with the abovementioned Differ-
tation.

1. Says my friend: 'It is introduced with great propriety,
' as what happened under Pilate's administration, and as what
' was one occasion of the disturbances amongst the Jews in his
' time. Give me leave to add that this paragraph, concerning
' Jesus, doth not seem to me so much to interrupt the course of
' the narration as is complained of. It is introduced under the
' article of Pilate, and placed between two circumstances which
' occasioned disturbances. And was not the putting Jesus to
' death, and the continuance of his apostles and disciples after
' him, declaring his resurrection, another very considerable cir-
' cumstance, which created very great disturbances? And though
' Josephus does not expressly say this, and perhaps had good
' reasons for not saying it, yet perhaps he intimates it, by placing
' it between the two causes of commotion, by giving so honour-
' able a testimony to Jesus, and telling us that he was crucified
' at the instigation of the chief persons of the nation.'

To which I answer, that there is not in this paragraph
any intimation of disturbances occasioned by Jesus or his followers.
And I shall here repeat the words of Mr. Tillemont, which were
quoted formerly, p. 125: 'It must be owned,' says he, 'that
' there is one thing embarrassing in this passage, which is, that
' it interrupts the course of the narration in Josephus. For the
' passage that immediately follows begins in these terms:
' About the same time there happened another misfortune
' which disturbed the Jews.' For those words, "another mis-
' fortune," have no connexion with what was just said of Jesus
' Christ: which is not mentioned as an unhappiness. On the
' contrary, it has a very natural reference to what precedes in
' that place; which is a sedition, in which many Jews were
' killed or wounded.' Therefore the paragraph concerning Je-
sus was not originally there, but was inserted by some interpolator
afterwards. So likewise says Vitranga: 'Take away the para-
' graph concerning Jesus, and the preceding and following pa-
' ragraphs exactly agree and tally together.' Sed restat longe
maxima difficultas, de cohærentia horum verborum Josephi,
quibus Christo testimonium perhibet cum sequentibus; 'Circa
' eadem

‘ eadem tempora aliud etiam Judæos turbavit incommodum, &c.’ Quæ tamen verba, si testimonium de Christo e contextu Josephi sustuleris, egregie cum præcedentibus conspirabunt. Vitringa, quoted p. 128, 129, in the notes.

‘ He testifies that he was ‘a wise man.’ Is uncertain “whether he was not something more than a common man;” which is the meaning of the words, *εἶγε ἀνδρα αὐτον λεγειν χρη.* Josephus, upon Jewish principles, could not but think him a man, though he was uncertain whether he was not somewhat greater and more extraordinary than any mere man. And your own quotation from Josephus about Moses, p. 126, that he was a man superior to his nature, accounts for the character given to Jesus.’

I alleged that place to shew that the expression here used, is not altogether without example in the style of Josephus. But I did not intend to say or intimate that Josephus had as high an opinion of Jesus as he had of Moses. Nor can any think that Josephus believed Jesus to be equal to Moses, unless they suppose him to have been a Christian.

‘ He says he was *παράδοξον έργων ποιητής*. That the Jews themselves, his contemporaries and enemies, acknowledged: Matt. xiii. 54. xiv. 2, &c.

This has been considered already in the remarks upon the Dissertation.

‘ I think, as you allow with great reason his testimony to the Baptist to be genuine, it is not to be accounted for that he should wholly omit to say any thing of Jesus.’

So says my very learned and very ingenious friend. And another very ingenious man ^h is reported to have said, that ‘Tanaquil Faber threw himself into innumerable difficulties by attacking the genuineness of the passage concerning Christ, and defending that where John the Baptist is mentioned.’

I am undoubtedly in the same case with Tanaquil Faber. I receive the passage where John the Baptist is mentioned, and reject that concerning Jesus. But I do not here feel the weight of any difficulties. I am not at all embarrassed thereby.

For, first, many Jews ⁱ may have respected John the Baptist as a man of an austere character, who did not receive Jesus as the Christ. And Origen ^k in his books against Celsus has quoted the passage of Josephus relating to John the Baptist. But he,

^h The Abbé de Languetue. See Ladguernana, Vol. 2, p. 70. this Vol. p. 118, 119, and Vol. viii, chap. xviii, sect. 2. fin.

ⁱ See in
^k See p. 115.

and all other Christian writers before Eusebius, are silent about the paragraph concerning Jesus, now found in the Jewish Antiquities. Surely this makes a difference.

Secondly, Josephus says nothing of that which is the distinguishing character of John the Baptist—that he was the harbinger, or the forerunner, of the Messiah. This is the true and genuine character of John. He would not have existed, he never would have been at all, if it had not been for the sake of another, who was to come after him and was greater than he.

Concerning Jesus, John testified: *This is he of whom I said: After me cometh a man which is preferred before me. And I knew him not: but that he should be made manifest to Israel, therefore am I come baptizing with water, &c.* John i. 30, 31. And see Matt. iii. 11, 12; Mark i. 6....8; Luke i. 16, 17, 76, 77; iii. 16, 17; John iii. 28, and other places. Josephus's entire silence about this true and genuine character of John the Baptist, by which he is distinguished from all the men and prophets that ever were, affords a cogent argument that Josephus is not the author of the paragraph concerning Jesus, now found in the same book of his Antiquities; wherein Jesus is said to have been 'more than a mere man, a worker of miracles, the Christ,' and the like.

I hope my honoured friend will accept of these answers to the principal objections which he has sent me.

III. I now intend to recollect and sum up the argument with some additional observations.

That this paragraph, concerning the Lord Jesus Christ, is not Josephus's, but an interpolation, is argued from these several following¹ considerations.

1. It is not quoted nor referred to by any Christian writers before Eusebius, who flourished at the beginning of the fourth century, and afterwards.

2. This paragraph was wanting in the copies of Josephus, which were seen by Photius in the ninth century.

3. It interrupts the course of the narration.

4. It is unsuitable to the general character of Josephus, who is allowed not to have been a Christian.

It is here said that 'Jesus was a wise man, if he may be called a man,' so that the writer of the paragraph was uncertain whether Jesus was not somewhat greater, and a more extraordinary person than a mere man. 'He performed wonderful works:' or, 'was a worker of wonders.' The original word, rendered wonders, is equivalent to miracles in Josephus and in Eusebius,

¹ See p. 120....129,

who first quoted this paragraph. And if Josephus had ascribed miracles to Jesus, he must have owned him to be a teacher come from God. Afterwards it is said: 'This was the Christ.' That is the genuine and only meaning of the Greek words, *ὁ Χριστός αὐτός ην*. And every thing else said in that paragraph confirms that sense.

'And when Pilate, at the instigation of the chief men among us, had condemned him to the cross, they, who before had conceived an affection for him, did not cease to adhere to him. For on the third day he appeared to them alive again, the divine prophets having foretold these and many other wonderful things concerning him.' All very Christian. And every thing here said is in all our copies of Josephus, and in the first quotation made by Eusebius, and in all the quotations since made by other ancient writers.

That this last clause, 'the divine prophets having foretold these, and many other wonderful things concerning him,' was always in this testimony, we are assured by Eusebius, who so quotes it. And presently after quoting it, makes a remark upon the passage; which shews he so read it. For he presently adds: 'And in the book of the Acts of the apostles assures us, that many thousand Jews believed him to be the Christ of God, whom the prophets had foretold.' See Acts xxi. 20.

How Christian is all this? And said likewise to be agreeable to the predictions of the divine prophets? which is suitable to many texts of the New Testament, and even resembles them: Luke xxiv. 25, 26, 44; Acts xx. 22, 23; Rom. i. 1...4; 1 Cor. xv. 4. Throughout all the works of Josephus there is not any the least notice taken of Christ, or the Christians, or their affairs. But in this short passage are inserted almost all the articles concerning Jesus Christ, which were in the ancient Christian creeds, except his miraculous nativity, and his ascension to heaven: 'suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried: the third day he rose again from the dead.'

And, to complete this testimony, the great progress of the Christian religion in the world is here asserted, and that this Jesus had 'brought over to him many Jews and many Gentiles.' The steadiness of his followers in their zeal for him is also plainly intimated. 'They who had conceived an affection for him did not cease to adhere to him. And the sect of the Christians,

^m Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἀποστόλων γραφή, ὅτι πολλὰι μυριάδες ἦσαν Ἰουδαίων ἀνδρῶν πεπεισμένων αὐτοῦ εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν τὸ Θεῖον, τοὺς ὑπο τῶν προφητῶν κατηγγελάμειν. Dejn. Ev. p. 124. D.

‘so called from him, still subsists.’ Which are the expressions of a person who lived some good while after the rise of Christianity, and later than the time of Josephus. Nor is it any great wonder that his followers should be so attached to him, since they were men who received the truth with pleasure, and had at first given up themselves to him as a teacher of it. The bishop of Gloucester therefore, in considering this^a passage, aptly calls it ‘preaching up of Christ,’ and assigns a reason why Josephus should studiously decline the so doing: and therefore makes no scruple to call this passage spurious.

5. If Josephus were the author of this paragraph, it would be reasonable to expect in him frequent mention of Christ’s miracles: whereas he is every where else silent about them.

All these considerations were mentioned formerly. But I have now made enlargements under the fourth. And I beg leave to add here a thought or two more.

6. The word Christ, or Messiah, appears not in any place in all the works of Josephus, excepting two: namely, the paragraph which we have been considering, which is now in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities; and another in the twentieth book of the same Antiquities, where is mention made^o of ‘James, the brother of Jesus who is called Christ.’

This appears to me a good argument that these two passages are interpolations. For Josephus had many, yea innumerable occasions, for mentioning that word, and speaking of the expected Messiah. But ** that word is not to be found any where in him, excepting these two passages where he is made to speak of Jesus Christ. He must have designedly and studiously avoided that expression. And it is incredible that he should bring it in for the sake of Jesus, our Saviour, for whom he cannot be supposed to have had any favourable regard.

7. Finally, to conclude, it appears to me to be the wisdom and the interest of Christians, to adhere to and improve the genuine works of Josephus, and to maintain their integrity, instead of attempting to vindicate passages which are so justly suspected to be interpolations.

^a The Divine Legation of Moses. B.v. Sect. 4, vol. 2, p. 432, &c.

* Και παραγαγων εις αυτο τον αδελφον Ιησν τη λεγομενη Χριστω, Ιακωβος ονομα αυτω, και τινας ετερους. Ant. 20, c. ix. § 1, p. 976.

** I understand the learned author of the Dissertation to allow this where he says, p. 34, 55, ‘Not as the adversaries of this passage on the one hand, or it’s advocates

‘on the other, equally misled by Christian notions, have generally interpreted it: ‘This was the Christ, or the person said TO BE THE CHRIST, viz. as a Jewish appellation, or title of office and dignity, concerning which he has carefully avoided dropping the least hint throughout his whole history.’

His works are valuable and useful, and highly deserving the esteem of Christians upon divers^p accounts.

First, his rehearsal, or paraphrase^q of the books of the Old Testament, as it is called by Isidore of Pelusium, is very valuable, notwithstanding some alterations by way of omission, or addition.

Secondly, his account of the state of things among the Jewish people from the conquest of Judea by Pompey to the commencement of the war, and during the ministry of our Saviour and his apostles, is very valuable indeed above all price.

Thirdly, his testimony to the fulfilment of our Saviour's predictions concerning the destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish nation by Vespasian and Titus, is also invaluable, and has always been so esteemed by all Christians in general.

Such a testimony to all these several things from a learned Jew, contemporary with the apostles of Jesus, zealous^r for the law, and in some respects an enemy to us, deserves the attentive regard, and high esteem of all friends to Christianity.

^p See the judgment of Fabricius, before alleged, p. 135, note¹.

^q και την παλαιαν διαθηκην μετα αληθειας παραφρασας.... Isidor. l. 4, cp. 225.

^r Εγενετο δε τις Ιωσηπος Ιουδαιος ακρος, και τε νομω ζελωτης. κ. λ. *ibid.*

TESTIMONIES OF ANCIENT HEATHEN AUTHORS.

C H A P. IX.

PLINY the younger, and TRAJAN.

The letter of Pliny the younger to Trajan concerning the Christians, and Trajan's rescript, with notes and observations, and an account of the persecution in the time of that emperor, generally reckoned the third Heathen Persecution.

I. *The history of Pliny, and the time of his provincial government.* II. *Pliny's letter to Trajan, and Trajan's rescript.* III. *Eusebius's account of the persecution in the reign of Trajan.* IV. *Pliny's letter rehearsed, with notes and observations.* V. *Trajan's rescript rehearsed, with notes and observations.* VI. *Whether Trajan did by any edict put an end to the persecution.* VII. *The judgments of divers learned men upon the preceding letter and rescript.* VIII. *The characters of Pliny and Trajan represented with freedom, candour, and impartiality.* IX. *Observations, shewing the uses of the two foregoing epistles.*

I. CAIUS PLINIUS CÆCILIVS SECUNDVS, or Pliny the younger, ^a son of Lucius Cæcilius, and a sister of the elder Pliny, by whom he was adopted for his son, was born at Como, near Milan, in the year of Christ 61 or 62. He was prætor under Domitian, and afterwards præfect of the treasury of Saturn; which trust seems to have been conferred on him jointly by ^b Nerva and Trajan. He ^c was consul in the third year of the reign of Trajan, in the year of our Lord 100; when he pronounced his celebrated panegyric upon that emperor. He was also augur, and for a while governor ^d of Pontus and Bithynia. It is very probable that he did not survive Trajan, who died ^e on

^a Vid. Voss. de Hist. Lat. l. i. cap. 30. Fabr. Bib. Lat. l. 2. c. 22. Masson de Vita Plin. Jun. Tillemont H. E. Trajan art. 28.

^b Ut primum me, Domine, indulgentia VESTRA promovit ad præfecturam ararii Saturni. Lib. x. ep. 20.

Sed primum mea, deinde patris tui valetudine, postea curis delegati à VOBI

officii retentus, &c. Ib. ep. 24.

^c Nondum biennium compleveramus in officio laboriosissimo et maximo, quum tu nobis, optime principum, ... consulatum obtulisti. Paneg. cap. 91.

^d Vid. Ep. L. x. ep. 109, et 113.

^e Pagi Ann. 117. num. vi, Basnag. ann. 117. num. ii.

the tenth of August, in the year 117. It is more reasonable to think that he died several years before him; forasmuch as there is nothing extant, either in his epistles, or elsewhere, that should induce us to think he lived long after his provincial government.

Pliny had not the title of proconsul, but was sent into the province by the emperor, as his lieutenant and proprætor, with proconsular power; as appears from some ancient inscriptions still remaining.

But learned men are divided about the time of his government, and consequently of his letter to Trajan, which must be alleged presently. The great Joseph Scaliger ^s acknowledged the difficulty of this point.

Some think he ^h went into the province in the year 101, and that the persecution which the Christians underwent in his time, happened in the year 103. Others suppose that ⁱ he got into the province in the latter part of the year 103, and left it in the summer of 105, staying there about eighteen months; which term of his government is generally agreed to. Basnage and cardinal Noris were inclined to think that ^k Pliny went thither in the year 109, and left it in 111. Pagi's computation makes it still later: for he says that ^l Pliny did not enter into the province before the year 110. Le Clerc, in his Ecclesiastical History of the first two centuries, follows Pagi, placing Pliny's letter concerning the Christians in the year 111.

In order to form a judgment concerning this point, some things may be observed by us. In the first place it is generally allowed that ^m the emperor Trajan was at Rome all the

^r C. PLINIUS
CAECILIUS. SECUNDUS
COS. AUGUR. LEGAT. PRO. PRAET
PROVINC. PONTI. CONSULARI. PO
TESTATE. IN. EAM. PROVINCIAM. AB.
IMP. CAESARE. NERVA TRAIANO
AUG. GERMANICO. MISSUS

Ap. Gruter. pag. 454. 3. Et Conf. p. 1028.

^r Vid. ejus Animadversiones in Euseb. Chron. p. 207.

^h That was the opinion of James La Baune, editor of the ancient Panegyrist in usum Delphini. De Vita Plinii. It was likewise the opinion of Mr. Dodwell. Missus est in provinciam Bithyniam anno sequente, c1....Ita inciderit persecutio illa Plinii in annum Domini, c111. accuratissime. Dodw. Diff. Iren. i. § xvi.

ⁱ So Tillemont. Persecution de l'Eglise sous Trajan. art. iv. Hist. des Emp. Tom. 2. Which was also the opinion of J. Masson de Vita Plin. Jun. A. c111. p. 129, &c.

^k Currente anno injunctam

esse Plinio Bithyniæ legationem, cum eruditissimo Norisio, probabilissimum existimamus. Basn. Ann. 109. num. ii.

^l Plinius igitur anno Christi centesimo decimo Bithyniam intravit. Pagi Crit. in Baron. ann. 102. num. vi.

^m Tandem supponendum, per totum illud temporis spatium, quo noster in provincia moratus est, Trajanum Romæ egisse. Quod certum ex lib. x. ep. 13, 14, 15, &c. Masson ubi supra. Cæterum recte Loydio observatum, totum illud tempus Trajanum Romæ egisse, quo Plinius in Bithynia fuit. Pagi ann. 102. num. viii. Vid. et Basnag. ann. 107. num. iii.

time

time that Pliny was in the province; which appears to be very evident from his letters written to Trajan in that space. This does not favour the early date of Pliny's governments; for at that time Trajan must have been engaged in the Dacian wars. Secondly, another thing, which much weakens the supposition of that early date, is this: Pliny was consul in the year of our Lord 100; but he did not go into his province the year after; several years passed between his consulship and his provincial government; as has been shewn by divers learned ⁿ men.

Nevertheless I do not see sufficient reason to defer his government so long as some have done. And I am inclined to think that Pliny was sent into the province in the year 106, and left it in 108. I see no good reason to believe that Trajan was absent from Rome in that space of time. The Dacian wars, and the two triumphs for them, ^o might be over by the end of the year 105, or the middle of 106.

We can perceive from Pliny's panegyric, pronounced in the beginning of September, in the year 100, that ^p the war against the Dacians was even then designed by Trajan, and that, probably, preparations were then making for it.

The Dacian wars began in that ^q same year, or ^r in the year following, and ^s lasted five years. They ended therefore in the year 105, or the beginning of 106.

In the year 102, Trajan obtained a signal, though difficult, victory over the Dacians, and triumphed at Rome upon that account in the year 103: of this there is full ^t proof. The first war therefore was completed ^u in two years. The second could not last much longer.

ⁿ Vid. Pagi Crit. in Baron. ann. 102. n. vii. viii. Bagnag. ann. 109. num. ii.

^o Optime facis, quod bellum Dacium scribere paras. Nam quæ tam recens, tam copiosa, tam lata, quæ denique tam poetica materia? Dices, immissa terris nova flumina, novos pontes fluminibus injectos....pulsam regiâ, pulsam etiam vitâ, regem nihil desperantem. Super hæc, actos bis triumphos: quorum alter ex invita gente primus, alter novissimus fuit. Plin. ad Caninium. Ep. 4. L. 8. Conf. Dion. Cass. l. 68. p. 1123—1133. ed. Reimar.

^p Quod si quis barbarus rex eo infolentia furorisque processerit, ut iram tuam indignationemque mereatur, nã ille, sive interfuso mari, seu fluminibus immensis, seu præcipiti monte defenditur, omnia hæc tam prona, tamque cedentia virtutibus tuis sentiet, ut subdidisse montes, flumina exaruisse, interceptum mare, illa-

tasque sibi non esse classes nostras, sed terras ipsas, arbitretur. Paneg. cap. 16.

^q Primum ab octobri mense, A. U. C. 853 [A. D. 100.] usque ad finem anni 855 duravit, triumpho acto sequenti anno 856. Reimar. ad Dion. 1130.

^r Anno præterito Trajanus expeditionem in Dacos susceperat, in quo magna quidem cades hostium facta, multo tamen sanguine Romanorum victoria constitit. Bagnag. ann. 102. ii. Vid. et Ann. 101. i.

^s Επραχθη δε μοι το εργον τετο εν εναντοις ηνω περ πεπτε. Trajan. ap. Julian. Cæs. p. 327. D. ed. Spanheim.

^t Trajanus hoc anno e Dacia Romam redux de Decebalò Dacorum rege Triumphavit, ut certum facit nummus a Card. Norisio in Epistola Consulari ex Thefauro Mediceo productus. Pagi ann. 103. viii. et Bagn. ann. 103. i.

^u Quare biennium in id insuntum, Reimar. ad Dion. p. 1130.

After these wars Trajan staid a long while at Rome. For, though some learned men have thought otherwise, it seems to me to have been well shewn by ^x Pagi, and ^y Basnage, that Trajan did not go into the East before the year 112. During that stay at Rome he received the solemn embassies of divers eastern princes, raised many new buildings, and repaired others, built his forum, and erected the famous column, which was not finished and dedicated ^z before the year 112 or 113.

What has been already said must be sufficient to render it probable that Trajan was at Rome in the year 107, and afterwards.

Another argument for the time of Pliny's government offers itself here from the martyrdom of Ignatius, which must be supposed to have some connection with the rescript of Trajan, to be produced hereafter, and which cannot be removed ^a from the tenth of Trajan, and the hundred and seventh of our Lord, where it is placed by Eusebius in his chronicle, and by Jerom in the chapter of Ignatius, in his book of Illustrious Men. Eusebius could not be mistaken about the time of the martyrdom of a bishop of a city so near his own.

And by the Acts of Ignatius, which we have, his martyrdom is placed in the time of Sura and Senecio, who were consuls in the tenth of Trajan, and the year of Christ 107.

Those Acts indeed are not sincere and incorrupt, nor, perhaps, of the highest ^b antiquity. In them it is supposed that Ignatius was condemned at Antioch by Trajan in person, and sent by him to Rome; which is inconsistent with the just mentioned consulship: at which time Trajan was not at Antioch, as was before shewn. Nor does Eusebius, or Jerom after him, say any thing of Ignatius having been condemned by Trajan himself; a remarkable circumstance, which, if true, could not have been omitted by writers, who have enlarged so much in their accounts of this bishop and martyr. Moreover, if Trajan had been at Antioch, Ignatius would have suffered in that city. His being sent to Rome is an argument that Trajan was there. So now, as we shall see presently, Pliny having some Christians brought before him, who were citizens, he sent them to Rome, where Trajan certainly was at that time. And that Trajan was at

^x Ann. 105. ii. iii. et 112. iii.

^y Ann. 107. iii. et 112. ii. iii.

^z Pagi ann. 104. ii. 113. i. Basn. ann. 113. i.

^a Eius certum tempus habemus in Actis Ignatii, Consulatum Suræ et Senecionis, annum Domini cvii. Dodw.

Diff. Cypr. xi. § 18. Vid. et Basnag. ann. 107. v....viii. And the Credibility, &c. vol. ii. p. 69.

^b Nos vero sententiæ sumus ejusmodi, post Eusebium nata esse Acta hæc Ignatii, Basnag. Ann. 107. viii.

Rome, when Ignatius suffered there, is expressly said by a Christian writer ^c of the ninth century.

Pliny, then, was sent from Rome in the summer of the year 106. He went by the way ^d of Ephesus, and arrived in Bithynia ^e on the eighteenth of September, which was the genuine, or natural birthday of Trajan. He seems also in one of his epistles ^f to speak of the same birthday in another year. Whilst he was in the province he twice ^g celebrated the day of Trajan's accession, or the anniversary of his empire. The first time may have been on the 27th of January, in the year 107; the next, or second, on the same day of January, in the year 108. It is likely that he did not leave the province before the summer of that year. Consequently he was there eighteen months, or longer. According to this computation, Pliny's letter to Trajan, concerning the Christians, was written in 107, and the emperor's rescript, or answer to it, in the same year.

II. The letter of Pliny is in these words.

'Pliny to the emperor Trajan wisheth health and ^h happiness.

'It ⁱ is my constant custom, Sir, to refer myself to you in all matters concerning which I have any doubt. For who can better direct me where I hesitate, or instruct me where I am ignorant? I have never been present at any trials of Christians: so that I know not well what is the subject matter of punishment, or of inquiry, or what strictness ought to be used in

U 2

'either.

* Quod si audiat Ado, Romæ adfuit Trajanus, cum excessit Ignatius, ut legitur in libello de Festivitatibus Apostolorum. Bafnag. ann. 107. viii.

^d Vid. l. x. ep. 26. et 28.

^e Rursus, quum transissem in orarias naviculas, contrariis ventis retentus, aliquanto tardius quam speraveram, id est, xv. Calend. Octobris, Bithyniam intravi. Non possum tamen de morâ queri, cum mihi contigerit, quod erat auspiciatissimum, natalem tuum in provinciâ celebrare. L. x. ep. 28.

— diem illum, triplici gaudio lætum, qui principem abstulit pessimum, dedit optimum, meliorem optimo genuit. Paneg. cap. 92.

^f Opto, Domine, et hunc natalem, et plurimos alios, quam felicissimos agas. L. x. ep. 89. Vid. et ep. 90.

^g Diem, Domine, quo servasti imperium, dum suscipis, quantâ mereris lætitiâ celebravimus. &c. L. x. ep. 60.

Quantâ religione ac lætitiâ commilitâtes cum provincialibus, te præeunte,

diem imperii mei celebraverint, libenter, mi Secunde carissime, cognovi ex literis tuis. Ep. 61. Vid. et ep. 103, et 104.

^h C. Plinius Trajano Imp. S. Lib. x. ep. xcvi.

ⁱ Solenne est mihi, Domine, omnia, de quibus dubito, ad te referre. Quis enim potest melius vel cunctationem meam regere, vel ignorantiam instruere? Cognitionibus Christianorum interfui nunquam. Ideo nescio quid et quatenus aut puniri soleat, aut quæri. Nec medicriter hæsitavi, sit ne aliquod discrimen ætatum, an quamlibet teneri nihil a robustioribus differant: deturne poenitentia venia, an ei qui omnino Christianus fuit, desuisse non profit: nomen ipsum, etiam si flagitiis careat, an flagitia coherentia nomini puniantur. Interim in iis qui ad me tanquam Christiani deferebantur, hunc sum secutus modum. Interrogavi ipsos, an essent Christiani. Consistentes iterum ac tertio interrogavi, supplicium minatus: perseverantes duci jussi. Neque enim dubitabam, qualescunque esset quod faterentur,

‘either. Nor have I been a little perplexed to determine whether
 ‘any difference ought to be made upon account of age, or
 ‘whether the young and tender, and the full grown and robust,
 ‘ought to be treated all alike: whether repentance should en-
 ‘title to pardon, or whether all who have once been Christians
 ‘ought to be punished, though they are now no longer so:
 ‘whether the name itself, although no crimes be detected, or
 ‘crimes only belonging to the name, ought to be punished.
 ‘Concerning all these things I am in doubt.

‘In the mean time I have taken this course with all who have
 ‘been brought before me and have been accused as Christians.
 ‘I have put the question to them, whether they were Christians.
 ‘Upon their confessing to me that they were, I repeated the
 ‘question a second and a third time, threatening also to punish
 ‘them with death. Such as still persisted, I ordered away to be
 ‘punished; for it was no doubt with me, whatever might be the
 ‘nature of their opinion, that contumacy, and inflexible obsti-
 ‘nacy, ought to be punished. There were others of the same
 ‘infatuation, whom, because they are Roman citizens, I have
 ‘noted down to be sent to the city.

‘In a short time, the crime spreading itself, even whilst under
 ‘persecution, as is usual in such cases, divers sorts of people

faterentur, pervicaciam certe, et inflexi-
 bilem obstinationem, debere puniri. Fu-
 erunt alii similis amentie: quos, quia
 cives Romani erant, annotavi in Urbem
 remittendos. Mox ipso tractu, [al. tracta-
 tu] ut fieri solet, diffundente se crimi-
 ne, plures species inciderunt. Propositus
 est libellus sine auctore, multorum nomi-
 na continens, qui negarunt se esse Chris-
 tianos, aut fuisse, quum, præeunte me,
 Deos appellarent, et imagini tuæ, quam
 propter hoc jusseram cum simulachris nu-
 minum afferri, vino ac thure sacrificarent,
 præterea maledicerent Christo: quorum
 nihil cogi posse dicuntur, qui sunt revera
 Christiani. Ergo dimittendos putavi.
 Alij ab indice nominati, esse se Christia-
 nos dixerunt, et mox negaverunt: fuisse
 quidem, sed desisse, quidam ante trien-
 nium, quidam ante plures annos, non ne-
 mo etiam ante viginti quoque. Omnes et
 imaginem tuam, Deorumque simulachra
 venerati sunt. Hi et Christo maledixe-
 runt. Affirmabant autem, hanc fuisse
 summam vel culpæ suæ, vel erroris, quod
 essent soliti statò die ante lucem con-
 venire, carmenque Christo, quasi Deo,
 dicere secum invicem: seque sacramento
 non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne

furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria com-
 mitterent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depoi-
 tum appellati abnegarent: quibus perac-
 tis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque
 coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscu-
 um tamen, et innoxium: quod et ipsum
 facere desisse post edictum meum, quo
 secundum mandata tua hæteras esse ve-
 tueram. Quo magis necessarium credidi,
 ex duabus ancillis, quæ ministræ dice-
 bantur, quid esset veri et per tormenta
 querere. Sed nihil aliud inveni, quam
 superstitionem pravam et immodicam. I-
 deoque dilata cognitione ad consulendum
 te decurri. Visa est enim mihi res digna
 consultatione, maxime propter periclitan-
 tium numerum. Multi enim omnis æta-
 tis, utriusque sexus etiam, vocantur in
 periculum, et vocabuntur. Neque enim
 civitates tantum, sed vicos etiam et agros
 superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est.
 Quæ videtur sisti et corrigi posse. Certe
 satis constat, prope etiam desolata tem-
 pla cœpisse celebrari, et sacra solemnia
 diu intermissa repeti: passimque vœnire
 victimas, quarum adhuc rarissimus emp-
 tor inveniebatur. Ex quo facile est opi-
 nari, quæ turba hominum emendari pos-
 sit, si sit penitentia locus.

‘came

' came in my way. An information was presented to me without mentioning the author, containing the names of many persons, who upon examination denied that they were Christians, or had ever been so; who repeated after me an invocation of the gods, and with wine and frankincense made supplication to your image, which for that purpose I had caused to be brought and set before them, together with the statues of the deities. Moreover, they reviled the name of Christ. None of which things, as is said, they, who are really Christians, can by any means be compelled to do. These therefore I thought proper to discharge.

' Others were named by an informer, who at first confessed themselves Christians, and afterwards denied it. The rest said they had been Christians, but had left them; some three years ago, some longer, and one, or more, above twenty years. They all worshipped your image, and the statues of the gods: these also reviled Christ. They affirmed that the whole of their fault, or error, lay in this, that they were wont to meet together on a stated day before it was light, and sing among themselves alternately a hymn to Christ, as a god, and bind themselves by an oath, not to the commission of any wickedness, but not to be guilty of theft, or robbery, or adultery, never to falsify their word, nor to deny a pledge committed to them, when called upon to return it. When these things were performed, it was their custom to separate, and then to come together again to a meal, which they ate in common, without any disorder: but this they had forborn, since the publication of my edict, by which, according to your commands, I prohibited assemblies.

' After receiving this account I judged it the more necessary to examine, and that by torture, two maid-servants, which were called ministers. But I have discovered nothing, beside a bad and excessive superstition.

' Suspending therefore all judicial proceedings, I have recourse to you for advice: for it has appeared unto me a matter highly deserving consideration, especially upon account of the great number of persons who are in danger of suffering. For many of all ages, and every rank, of both sexes likewise, are accused, and will be accused. Nor has the contagion of this superstition seized cities only, but the lesser towns also, and the open country. Nevertheless it seems to me that it may be restrained and corrected. It is certain that the temples, which were almost forsaken, begin to be more frequented. And the sacred solemnities, after a long intermission, are re-

‘vived. Victims likewise are every where bought up, where-
 ‘as for some time there were few purchasers. Whence it is easy
 ‘to imagine what numbers of men might be reclaimed, if par-
 ‘don were granted to those who shall repent.’

So writes Pliny. We are now to observe the emperor’s re-
 script.

‘Trajan to Pliny wisheth health and ^k happiness.’

‘You ^l have taken the right method, my Pliny, in your pro-
 ‘ceedings with those who have been brought before you as
 ‘Christians; for it is impossible to establish any one rule that
 ‘shall hold universally. They are not to be sought for. If
 ‘any are brought before you, and are convicted, they ought to
 ‘be punished. However, he that denies his being a Christian,
 ‘and makes it evident in fact, that is, by supplicating to our
 ‘gods, though he be suspected to have been so formerly, let him
 ‘be pardoned upon repentance. But in no case, of any crime
 ‘whatever, may a bill of information be received without be-
 ‘ing signed by him who presents it: for that would be a dan-
 ‘gerous precedent, and unworthy of my government.’

I have put together these two letters, that we may make our
 remarks upon them jointly, and without interruption.

It may be observed here, that the genuineness of these letters
 is unquestioned. They are found with the other letters of Pliny
 to Trajan, and Trajan’s letters to him. And they are both par-
 ticularly mentioned by ^m Tertullian, in his Apology for the Chris-
 tians, and by ⁿ Eusebius from him, not now to mention any later
 writers.

III. But before we enter upon any particular remarks upon
 these epistles, it may be of use to take Eusebius’s account of the
 persecution of the Christians in the reign of Trajan.

In the thirty-second chapter of the third book of his Eccle-
 siastical History, he expresseth himself to this purpose: ‘After
 ‘Nero and Domitian, in the time of him of whom we are now
 ‘speaking, we have understood that in several places, and in di-
 ‘vers cities, there was a persecution occasioned by the tumults
 ‘of the people.’ After which he there relates the martyrdom of
 Simeon, son of Cleophas, bishop of Jerusalem: who at the age

^k Trajanus Plinio S.

^l Lib. x. ep. 98. Actum quem de-
 buisti, mi Secunde, in executendis causis
 eorum qui Christiani ad te delati fuerant,
 secutus es. Neque enim in universum a-
 liquid, quod quasi certam formam habeat,
 constitui potest. Conquirendi non sunt.
 Si deferantur, et arguantur, puniendi
 sunt: ita tamen, ut qui negaverit se Chris-

tianum esse, idque re ipsa manifestum
 fecerit, id est, supplicando Diis nostris,
 quamvis suspectus in præteritum fuerit,
 veniam ex pœnitentiâ impetret. Sine
 auctore vero propositi libelli, nullo in
 crimine, locum habere debent. Nam et
 pessimi exempli, nec nostri seculi est.

^m Apol. cap. 2.

ⁿ H. E. l. 3. cap. 33.

of an hundred and twenty-years was crucified by order of Atticus, governor of Judea under Trajan.

In the next chapter he writes thus: 'And indeed so heavy a persecution was there against us in many places, that Pliny, a governor of great eminence and distinction, being moved at the multitude of the martyrs, could not forbear writing to the emperor concerning the multitude of those who were slain for the faith. At the same time informing him that he had not discovered any wickedness they were guilty of, or any thing done by them contrary to the laws: only that rising early in the morning they sang together a hymn to Christ, as a god: that they condemned adultery, murder, and all such crimes: and that they acted in all things according to the laws. In answer to which Trajan sent an edict to this effect: "That the Christians should not be sought for, but if any were brought before him they should be punished." By which means the violence of the persecution against us was in some measure abated. Nevertheless, they who had a mind to disturb us did not want pretences for so doing: in some places the people, in other places the governors of provinces, laying snares for us. So that, though there was no open [or general] persecution, there were persecutions in several places and provinces, and there were many faithful men who underwent divers kinds of martyrdom.'

So writes Eusebius, I believe very truly, and I think judiciously, and with good temper, though not with elegance or accuracy of expression. He then proceeds to transcribe a part of Tertullian's Apology, where he speaks of Pliny and Trajan, of which I may take farther notice hereafter. At present I transcribe below * what we find upon this subject in Eusebius's Chronicle.

IV. I now intend to go over the two epistles above transcribed.

'It is my constant custom, Sir, to refer myself to you in all matters concerning which I have any doubt.'

That this was Pliny's constant custom, sufficiently appears from his many letters sent to Trajan, whilst he was in the pro-

* Plinius Secundus, quum quandam provinciam regeret, et in magistratu suo plurimos Christianorum interfecisset, multitudine eorum perterritus, quaesivit de Traiano, quid facto opus esset, nuncians ei, praeter obstinationem non sacrificandi, et antelucanos cœtus ad canendum cui-

dam Christo, ut Deo, nihil apud eos reperiri: præterea ad considerandam disciplinam vetari ab his, homicidia, adulteria, latrocinia, et his similia. Ad quæ commotus Trajanus rescripsit, hoc genus quidem inquirendos non esse, oblatos vero puniri oportere. Euseb. Chron. p. 165.

vince. He seems to have had some particular encouragement from the emperor ^p so to do. But the introduction to this letter is rather more formal than ordinary, because of the importance of the present subject of inquiry. And indeed it was a frequent practice of the governors of provinces, upon special occasions, to consult the Roman emperor, the supreme ^q magistrate.

‘I have never been present at any trials of the Christians.’

This manner of speaking shews that the Christians were then well known in the world. Pliny does not say to the emperor that he had now unexpectedly met with a certain sort of men in his province, called Christians. No. There were people well known to himself, and the emperor, who bore the denomination of Christians. When he says, ‘he had never been present at any trials of the Christians;’ it seems to be implied that he knew of some such trials, though he had not been concerned in them. And there ^r may have been such trials in this province before he came into it.

‘So that I know not well what is the subject matter of punishment, or of inquiry, or what strictness ought to be used in either.’

Hence it may be argued, that when Pliny came into his province there ^s were no edicts in force against the Christians. If there had, Pliny, who was a learned man, and well acquainted with the Roman laws, must have known them. The reason why there were then no edicts in force against the Christians, I

^p Summas, Domine, gratias ago, quod inter maximas occupationes, iis, de quibus consului, me quoque regere dignatus es: quod nunc quoque facias, rogo. L. x. ep. 64.

^q Vid. C. Kortholt. Comment. in Ep. Plinii et Trajani de Christian. p. 11.

^r Certe iam ante se cognitiones in provincia fuisse de Christianis habitas, initio literarum sitarum noster significat. Ac eum quidem, qui proxime ante Plinium Bithyniæ præfuerat, fuisse persecutorem, inde manifestum puto, quod Plinius refert nonnullos ad se productorum dixisse, se jam ante triennium desuisse esse Christianos. Suâ autem sponte eos, non metu supplicii, id fecisse, verisimile non est. C. A. Heumannii Disput. de Persecutione Christian. Plinian. § iv. p. 124. Ap. Diss. Syllog. Tom. i. P. i.

^s Fuisse aliquod Trajani de interficiendis Christianis certum edictum ante Plinii relationem, non existimo. Si quod enim fuisset, Plinius non dubitaret: aut Trajanum certe consulendo, ejus edicti mentionem fecisset. Fr.

Balduin. Comm. ad Edict. Princ. Roman. de Christianis. p. 28. Quid Trajanus A. C. 103, seq. contra eos tentaverit, ex Plinio constat, cujus Epistola indicat, vexatos quidem esse Christianos variis in locis, absque ulla tamen hæcenus Cæsarum rescripto. Unde Plinius ea de re Trajanum consulere necessum habuit. Lampe Synops. Hist. Ec. l. 2, c. 3, num. xxxiii. p. 112. Quum Trajanus, primus imperatorum hujus sæculi, reipublicæ gubernationi admoveretur, nullæ aderant in Christianos leges et edicta. Quod cum aliæ res, tum Plinii notissima epistola, extra omnem dubitationem ponit, quâ imperatori significat, nescire se, quomodo cum Christianis agendum esset: quod vir juris et consuetudinum Romanarum consultissimus non ignorasset, si leges in Christianos extitissent. Neronis nimirum leges Senatus, Domitiani Nerva imperator abrogaverat. Mosheim. De Reb. Christian. ante C. M. Sec. 2, § viii. p. 231.

suppose

suppose to be that the edicts of Nero and Domitian had been abrogated.

‘Nor have I been a little perplexed to determine whether any difference ought to be made on account of age, or whether the young and tender, and the full grown and robust, ought to be treated all alike.’

Mr. Melmoth's translation is thus: ‘Whether therefore any difference is usually made with respect to the ages of the guilty, or no distinction is to be observed between the young and the adult....’ I have allowed myself to be more diffused, and somewhat paraphrastical, because I have imagined that Pliny's question relates not only to those who were tender upon account of their age, but also upon account of their sex.

Some have thought that ‘Trajan gives no answer to this question. Whether he does or not will be considered hereafter.

Le Clerc is much offended that Pliny should not know whether a difference ought to be made between the young and the adult, especially in matters of religion, where children are very likely to follow the judgment of their parents. However, I apprehend that this question is proposed by Pliny with a good intention, and hoping that Trajan would determine favourably, that ‘the young and the tender’ should not be treated in the same manner with those of mature age and robust constitution.

Another commentator upon Pliny observes, ‘that * in other cases regard was had to age by the Roman laws; but that this equity was not shewn in the treatment of Christians;’ as indeed is well known from the ancient apologists, and other ancient Christian writers, who often speak of the sufferings and of the courage, resolution, and patience, of young people and women: of which a few instances shall be placed † below in their own words.

And

* *Nec mediocriter hesitavi, sit ne aliquod discrimen ætatum.* Huic dubitationi non respondet Trajanus. Balduin. ubi supra.

† In aliis criminibus ratio ætatis habebatur. Neque enim pueri, rerum omnium imperiti, eodem modo atque adulti, qui scientes et prudentes deliquerant, habebantur. Mirum est, in religionis negotio, dubitare posse Plinium, an esset aliquod discrimen ætatum, an quamlibet teneri nihil a robustioribus differrent: cum liquidum sit, teneram ætatem sequi parentum iudicium.... Hic homo, alioqui doctus, et acutus, talpâ caciorem se præbuit. Usque adeo verum est, pravis religionibus hebetes homines fieri. Cleric. H. E. p. 547.

* Ætatis magna omnino in pœnis irrogandis haberi solet ratio. Unde non tantum definiunt Icti, quæ ætas delicti sit capax: sed etiam, docent, si maxime capax sit, ob ætatem tamen tenellam et florentem, mitiorem debere pœnam infligi.... Cæterum ut hæc ita sint, de fide tamen Christianâ quando res erat, omni ætatis discrimine posthabito, in ipsos etiam pueros puellasque crudeliter sæviebatur. Kortholt. ubi sup. p. 12.

† Pueri et mulierculæ nostræ cruces et tormenta, feras, et omnes suppliciorum terribiles inspiratâ patientiâ doloris illudunt. Min. Fel. c. 37. Nostri autem (ut de viris taceam,) pueri, et mulierculæ tortores

And perhaps Pliny himself did really hesitate here. In other cases regard was usually had to age. But the persecutions of the Christians were carried with so much violence, and there was such vehemence in the complaints against them brought before him as enemies to the gods, and for neglecting the worship at the temples, and all the sacred solemnities, that he was in doubt whether they ought to partake in the common equity.

‘Whether repentance should entitle to pardon, or whether all who have been once Christians should be punished, though they are now no longer so.’

Upon this Le Clerc observes that, ‘if ² Christianity were supposed to be an error only, nothing more could be expected of him who had erred in embracing it, than renouncing it upon being convinced of his error. And as the Christians were charged with no crime that should expose them to punishment, it was highly reasonable that pardon should be granted upon repentance.’

And I am apt to think that this is what Pliny aimed at in this inquiry. We may be rather disposed to think so, because he plainly recommends it afterwards nearer the end of his letter.

‘Whether the name itself, although no crimes be detected, or crimes only belonging to the name, ought to be punished? Concerning all these things I am in doubt.’

This is Pliny’s third question, and of great importance. If rightly determined, the Christians could no longer suffer upon account of their religion. But I do not discern any hint from Pliny in favour of the right answer, nor any intimation how he wished to have it answered.

Pliny speaks in the language of those times. We find this complaint frequently in our ancient apologists, that ^a they were punished for the name only, as Christians, without proof of any crimes they were guilty of.

tortores suos taciti vincunt....Ecce sexus infirmus, et fragilis aetas, dilacerari se tota corpore, urique perpetitur. &c. Laët. Inf. l. 5, c. 13.

² Dubitabat idem, an dari oporteret penitentiae veniam, &c. At si statuamus errorem esse Christianisimum, quid potuit ab errante aliud postulari, nisi ut erroris convictus se errasse fateretur, et meliora edoctus rectius de religione sentiret? &c. Cleric. H. E. Ap. cxi. n. v.

^a Hanc itaque primam causam apud vos collocamus iniquitatis odii erga nomen Christianorum. Tertull. Ap. cap. i.

.... Sed illud solum expectatur, quod ergo publico necessarium est, confessio no-

minis, non examinatio criminis. Ib. c. 2.

Ideo torquemur confitentes, et punimur perseverantes, et absolvimur negantes, quia nominis praelium est. Ib. c. 2, p. 4. B.

Porro sententiae vestrae nihil nisi Christianum confessum notant. Nullum criminis nomen extat, nisi nominis crimen est. Id ad Nation. l. i. c. 3. et alibi passim.

Όνοματος μὲν ἔν πρόσωπον, οὐτε ἀγαθὸν οὐτε κακὸν κρίνεται, ἀπὲν τῶν ἐποπιπτευομένων ὀνοματι πράξεων. Justin. M. Ap. p. 54. D. Paris. 1636. Vid. et p. 55. A. B.

Οὐ γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα μίσος ἀξία, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀδικημα δίκης καὶ τιμωρίας. Athen. Ap. p. 3.....ἐπὶ μόνῳ ὀνοματι προσπορευμένων τῶν τῶν πολλῶν. Ib. Par. p. 280. Bened.

When

When Pliny first formed these three questions, this last in particular, he might possibly be in doubt whether the Christians were not guilty of some crimes. But, before he wrote this letter and sent it away to Trajan, he had good proof and must have been well satisfied that there were no crimes, 'belonging to,' or 'inherent in the name,' or the profession of Christianity; as we shall see by and by: at present we go on.

'In the mean time,' says Pliny, 'I have taken this course with all who have been brought before me, and accused as Christians.'

Le Clerc thinks ^b it strange that whilst Pliny had such doubts he should proceed to act as if he had been well satisfied what was fit to be done, and treat the Christians very severely.

'I put the question to them whether they were Christians. Upon their confessing to me that they were, I repeated the question a second and a third time, threatening also to punish them with death. Such as still persisted I ordered away to be punished.'

Mr. Melmoth very softly and cautiously translates in this general manner: 'If they confessed, I repeated the question twice again, adding threats at the same time; when, if they still persisted, I ordered them to be immediately punished.' But to me it seems that Pliny's expressions ^c require the interpretation that I have given: which is also agreeable to Mr. Tillemont's ^d French version.

The obvious meaning of the last words, *perseverantes duci iussi*, is that of being had away to be punished with death. The phrase ^e frequently occurs in that sense in the Latin authors, and is equivalent to the ^f Greek word in Acts xii. 19 — *and commanded that they should be put to death*.

However, the word is also used for being had away to ^g prison. And Tertullian, representing Pliny's conduct in the province, as from his own letter, which we are now considering, says:

^b *Quamvis Plinius animi, ut vidimus, penderet, ac proinde rem deferre debuisset, quasi exploratum ei fuisset, quid factu opus esset, pessime habuit Christianos. Ib. n. vii. in.*

^c *Perseverantes duci iussi.* nempe ad mortem. Sic enim, ut omnes norunt, loqui solent Latini scriptores. Cleric. ibid.

^d Quand ils ont avoué, je leur ai fait deux ou trois fois la même demande, en les menaçant même de la mort, s'ils ne renonçoient à cette religion. Ceux qui ont persisté dans leur aveu, je

les ai fait mener au supplice. Tillem. La Persecution sous Trajan. art. iv. H. Emp. T. 2.

^ea calvo ad calvum duci imperavit. Suet. Calig. c. 27....ducique ad supplicium imperavit. Tib. c. 37.... paucis duci iussis. Tertull. ad Scap. c. ult.innocentes duci jubentur. L. Cæc. de Mart. Persec. c. 40. ad supplicium deductæ. Ib.innocentes occisas esse testatur. Ib.

^f ἐκτελέσθαι ἀπαχθῆναι.

^gducique in carcerem iussit. Sueton. Cæs. cap. 20.

^h Some

‘Some ^b Christians he condemned to death, others he degraded.’ And in like manner Eusebius ⁱ in his Greek quotation of Tertullian’s Apology. Possibly, therefore, Tertullian supposed that in the word *duci* were included several kinds of punishment; or else he understood *duci*, as I have translated, ‘put to death;’ and by ‘degrading others’ he explains what Pliny says of sending some, who were citizens, to Rome. Nevertheless, in the Chronicle before ^k transcribed by us, Eusebius writes that ‘Pliny, when he presided in a certain province, and had put to death many Christians in the time of his government, being concerned on account of the multitude of those who were in danger of suffering, he wrote to the emperor for advice what should be done.’

Pliny here says: ‘I put the question to them whether they were Christians. Upon their confessing to me that they were, I repeated the question a second and a third time, threatening also to punish them with death.’

Here I must say that, so far as I am able to judge, Pliny acted the part of a true and thorough persecutor: ‘advising these persons well to consider of the matter, and to have a due regard to their own welfare. If they departed from their first confession, mercy might be shewn them: but if they persisted in it, nothing less than death could be expected.’

But there is no real argument in such fine speeches, or such threatenings. Indeed Pliny did all that was in his power to make them recant without, and contrary to, conviction. And undoubtedly he subdued the consciences of some, and made them fall from the faith. It is implied in what he says presently afterwards: ‘Such as still persisted, I ordered away to be punished.’ Therefore all did not persevere. Some were overcome by his promises and threatenings. I must transcribe below some observations of ^l Le Clerc upon this passage of Pliny, which to me seem very just and not at all too severe.

Nevertheless some learned men have of late apologized for Pliny, and they blame ^m Le Clerc, and propose to correct him.

They

^b Plinius enim Secundus, cum provinciam regeret, damnatis quibusdam Christianis, quibusdam gradu pulsus, ipsa tamen multitudine perturbatus, &c. Apol. c. 2.

ⁱ καταξινας χριστιανους τινας, και της αξιοιας εκβαλων, &c. Euseb. H. E. l. 3, c. 33, p. 105. D.

^k See before p. 295, note o.

^l Cur vero interrogabat, an essent Christiani? Si ex animo essent, an volebat homines mentiri, et id quod erant

se esse negare?...Qui religioni ducebant alium, præter rerum omnium Creatorem, colere, an erant vi adigendi, ut se aliter sentire falso dicerent? Attamen hoc ipsum volebat Plinius, qui supplicium utique non minabatur, nisi ut eos negare cogeret. Quod erat improbum et impium, si revera cum Christianis sentiebant, &c. Cleric. ibi. n. vii. p. 549. ^m Adjungo Jo. Clericum, qui Hist. Eccl. sec. 2, p. 546...553. suas

They say that 'Pliny' did all this out of kindness and good-will to the Christians; hoping they might be induced to dis-own their first profession,' that is, I think, to deny Christ; 'and that he might not be obliged to put them to death.'

This appears to me exceeding strange. I think that Pliny had as much kindness for the Christians as other heathen persecutors; and that this treatment of them was exactly the same with what they met with from their worst enemies in the times of the worst persecuting emperors.

The Irenarch, who apprehended Polycarp, said: 'What harm is it to say, Lord Cæsar, and sacrifice, and save your life?' And afterwards the proconsul himself, endeavouring to persuade him to deny Christ, said: 'Reverence^a thine age,' and other things common upon like occasions: 'Swear by Cæsar's fortune. Repent. Swear, and reproach Christ, and I will dismiss thee.' To all which Polycarp made a resolute and proper answer.

Eusebius, giving an account of the martyrdoms of Phileas, bishop of Thmuis in Egypt, and Philoromus, receiver-general at Alexandria, who suffered under the persecuting emperor Maximin, says: 'When many of their kindred, and other honourable friends, and some of the magistrates, and even the judge himself, advised them to take pity upon themselves, and to consider their wives and children, they would not by all their entreaties be induced, out of a regard to their own lives, to transgress the divine laws concerning denying and confessing our Saviour; and, having withstood all the threatenings and abuses of the judge, they were beheaded.'

Lactantius^s is far from reckoning them merciful governors, who

suas ad totam hanc epistolam protulit meditationes: sed, ut ex hac meâ Dissertatione apparebit, justo festinanti excusillas. Illud in primis errat vir doctissimus, quod longe aliter in Christianos putat affectum fuisse Plinium, quam revera fuit. Heuman. Disput. de Persecutione Christianor. Plinian. n. i. ubi supr. p. 120, not. c.

^a Interrogavit igitur eos, an essent Christiani, non ideo, ut se Christianos faterentur, sed ut negando effugerent supplicium. Quapropter non semel eos interrogavit, sed iterum, sed tertio, et, quasi cum ignaris periculi ageret, addita tandem comminatione mortis. Quam cum essent, qui fortiter contemnerent, invictæ fidei Christiani, hos necessitate magis, quam ira, cogente, duci, hoc est, supplicio affici jussit. Non enim putabat iniquum, contemtore

tantæ suæ humanitatis, et mortem pro vita libenter eligentes, at ne precantes quidem humiliter, ut sibi parcatur, mori. Heuman. ib. § vi. p. 127, 128. De Plinii benigno in Christianos animo mihi non est dubium, quin huc spectarint ipsius interrogationes, ut eos in vitâ potius servaret negantes Christianismum. Rittershusius in loc. et ap. Heuman. l. c. p. 127. not. 2. ^p Euseb. H. E. l. 4, c. 15, p. 131. B ^q Ibid. p. 131. D. ^r H. E. l. 8, c. x. p. 301. And see the Credibility, vol. iii. p. 352, 353.

^s Illud vero pessimum (Præsidum) genus est, cui clementiæ species falso blanditur. Ille gravior, ille sævior est carnifex, qui neminem statuit occidere. Itaque dici non potest, hujusmodi judices quanta, et quam gravia tormentorum genera excogitaverint,

who took great care to save the lives of Christians by inducing them to deny their first confession, and who sometimes mightily pleased themselves, when they left their provinces, that their government had been unbloody. And he speaks with great disdain of a governor of Bithynia, and therefore a successor of our Pliny, 'who exulted as if he had gained a victory over a whole nation of barbarians, when one Christian at last seemed to give way, who with signal fortitude had for two years withstood all his cruel attacks.'

But it would be endless to rehearse all the ancient instances of this kind.

The true and only kindness of any in such cases, whether they be magistrates or others, can be none but this only: they who have power ought to discharge men brought before them and accused, if, upon inquiry, they appear to be innocent and free from such crimes as deserve punishment; and real friends should exhort them to persevere in the profession of the truth, and not to do or say any thing contrary to conviction through fear of suffering.

'For it was no doubt with me, whatever might be the nature of their opinion, that contumacy and inflexible obstinacy ought to be punished.'

'Whatever might be the nature of their opinion,' 'that is,' says ^u an author, favourable enough to Pliny, 'whether their religion tended to make them wicked or good men.'

The observation of Le Clerc is to this purpose: 'But the constancy of these men, who were convicted of no crimes or wicked principles, as our president will acknowledge by and by, ought not to be called "contumacy," and obstinacy. Perseverance in what is good deserves commendation; so far is it from exposing men to punishment. By what law was death ever ap-

cogitaverint, ut ad effectum propositi sui pervenirent. Hæc autem non tantum ideo faciunt, ut gloriari possint, nullum se innocentium peremisse: (nam et ipse audivi aliquos gloriantes, quia administratio sua, in hac parte, fuerit incruenta:) sed invidiæ causa, ne aut ipsi vincantur, aut illi virtutis suæ gloriam consequantur. Itaque in excogitandis pœnarum generibus, nihil aliud, quam victoriam excogitant.... Vidi ego, in Bythinia, præsidem, gaudio mirabiliter elatum, tanquam Barbarorum gentem aliquam subegisset, quod unus, qui per biennium magna virtute resisterat, postremo cedere viuis est. Infit. l. 5, c. xi. ^t They who desire to see more instances, may consult Kortholt, as

before, p. 37, &c.

^u *qualecunque esset quod faterentur*: hoc est, siue improbos redderet ipsos religio sua, siue bonos. Heuman. ubi supr. n. vi. p. 128.

* Atqui *pertinacia* et *obstinatio* dici nullo jure potuit eorum constantia, qui nihil flagitiosum, (quod mox de Christianis agnosceret noster,) fatebantur. Perseverantia in re bona non potest non laudari, nedum ut jure pœnas dare debeat. Præterea quibus legibus *pertinaciæ* mors erat imposita, nisi res per se mala esset, quæ *pertinacius* fieret? Itaque debuisset Secundus, antequam *duci* Christianos juberet, in eorum religionem inquirere, non, *qualecunque esset quod faterentur*, eos damnare. Cler. ib. n. viii. p. 549.

'pointed

'pointed for obstinacy, without any other fault? Pliny, therefore, before he ordered any Christians away to be punished, should have inquired into the principles of their religion, and not have resolved to condemn and punish them whatever their opinions were.' So says that rational and judicious writer.

The learned lawyer, Fr. ^y Balduinus, does not speak more favourably of this determination of Pliny than Le Clerc.

Indeed these are hard words, very improperly applied to men who were open to conviction, and willing to satisfy others if they might have leave to speak. But they would not be persuaded by fair promises, and severe menaces, to deny what they thought to be truth. And, as Kortholt says: 'Who ^z can forbear to admire such magnanimity?'

'There were others of the same infatuation, whom, because they are Roman citizens, I have noted down to be sent to the city.'

Upon this part of Pliny's epistle we may farther remark, as follows:

First, I believe we may hence reasonably conclude that the Christians underwent many hardships in several places from governors of provinces, when there was no general persecution.

Secondly, it appears to me that Pliny acted very arbitrarily and unrighteously in his treatment of the Christians in his province. Some perhaps, yea probably many, ^{**} he put to death; and others, who were Roman citizens, he sent from their native country, or the place of their usual abode, to Rome. What they suffered we cannot say: but he sent them away to be dealt with as Christians. But what right had Pliny to act in this manner? By what law, or laws, did he punish those with death, who, upon examination before him, persisted in the profession of Christianity? There was not at that time any imperial edict in force against the Christians, as was observed some while ago.

There had been such laws in the time of Nero and Domitian: but they were abrogated. Nor were any like edicts since pub-

^y Mira vero profani hominis, et caussam, de qua pronunciat, non intelligentis, confidentia, cum de religione, hoc est, de re maximâ quærebatur. Causa capitis agebatur. Audit, reos quidem factum fateri: sed constanter defendere, se jure facere, atque adeo pie et religiose. Quid illud tandem sit, neque intelligit, neque inquirat. Et tamen non dubitat damnare. Certe religionem non abicere, improba obstinationis non est, sed optimæ constantiæ. Balduin, ubi sup. p. 49.

^z Et quis eorum non suspiceret *apostasiam*, quos nec exilium, nec carcer... nec gladius, nec crux, ad abnegandam fidem adigere potuit? Kort. ibl. p. 59.

^{**} So says Eusebius in his Chronicle, cited above at p. 295, note ^o. Plinius Secundus, quum quandam provinciam regeret, et in magistratu suo plurimos Christianorum interfecisset multitudine eorum perterritus, quæsit de Trajano, quid facto opus esset.... &c.

lished.

lished. And upon other occasions Pliny expresseth great dislike of those two emperors, as enemies to liberty and mankind.

The old Romans protected people of all sects and religions; as was largely shewn by us ^a formerly. Nor were any of their priests or worshippers molested, or their rites prohibited, unless they were guilty of some misdemeanor, contrary to good manners, and inconsistent with the welfare of society. Nothing of that kind had been proved to Pliny against the Christians. I do not therefore perceive how they could be punished by virtue of any laws of the emperors, or any ancient laws of the senate and people of Rome. I think that there were not, and could not be, any laws against them as Christians. When St. Paul pleaded before Festus and Agrippa, and that numerous and august assembly at Cæsarea by the seaside, the residence of the Roman governor, he gave a large and distinct account of himself, and his doctrine, and his conduct; what he had preached to Jews and Gentiles, and with what zeal he had acted in recommending this doctrine to all men. And when he had finished his discourse they all agreed in their verdict, *saying, This man doth nothing worthy of death or of bonds. Then said Agrippa to Festus: This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæsar: Acts xxvi. 31, 32.*

Therefore there were no Roman laws against the Christian religion, or it's professors or teachers. Consequently Pliny, in putting Christians to death as such, acted without law and authority.

That they suffered without law appears from himself. He punished them for 'inflexible obstinacy.' But who can allege any law of the Roman empire which condemned men to death for 'contumacy and obstinacy, whatever might be the nature of 'their opinion?' We proceed.

'In a short time, the crime spreading itself, even whilst under 'prosecution, as is usual in such cases, divers sorts of people 'came in my way. An information was presented to me, without mentioning the author, containing the names of many persons, who, upon examination, denied that they were Christians, or had ever been so: who repeated after me an invocation of 'the gods, and with wine and frankincense made supplication 'to your image, which for that purpose I had caused to be 'brought and set before them, together with the statues of the 'deities. Moreover they reviled the name of Christ. None 'of which things, as is said, they, who are really Christians, can

^a See Vol. i. p. 172, &c.

' by any means be compelled to do. These therefore I thought
' proper to discharge.'

This is a remarkable paragraph. We hence learn that ^b Trajan was worshipped as a god in his lifetime. And here we see many people brought before Pliny and accused as Christians, who were not so, and, as it seems, never were. But they were mentioned by name in an information which was not subscribed. It appears to have been a malicious accusation. Le Clerc says, 'We ^c hence perceive how dangerous a thing persecution is: when also innocent persons are involved in it, or are without reason suspected; which, in the affair of religion, may be of bad consequence.'

Though these persons were not now Christians, and never had openly professed Christianity, they may have been men of a mild and moderate disposition. Possibly, they had sometimes spoken favourably of the Christians, and intimated that they thought they were treated too rigorously, and were not so bad people as some insinuated. These we may consider as low-church Gentiles, though they were not Christians.

All these persons Pliny, our prætor, discharged: but not without strict examination, and good assurance, that they were not Christians. First, he puts the question to them; and they deny that they were Christians, or had ever been so. And, as he says, they afterwards invoked the gods in a form prescribed by himself: *me præeunte*. It is implied, and to be understood, that they did every thing else, hereafter mentioned, in the like manner: that is, in a form prescribed by him, they 'made supplication to Trajan's image, and reviled the name of Christ.'

A learned man, who not long since wrote a commentary upon this letter of Pliny, and, with a design to correct the mistakes of former commentators, says, that 'Pliny ^d seems to have considered Christ as another Socrates, who both, by a pious life and a pious doctrine, excited his disciples to the love of virtue and an abhorrence of vice.' I think we may do well to take our notion of Pliny's character and sentiments from himself, rather than from our own imagination. How he treated the name or person of Christ, and how he required others to treat

^b Vel hinc apparet, quid habendum de assertione Eutropii, l. ix. et Cassiodori, et Eusebii in Chronicis, quod inter imperatores primus ut Deum adorari se jussit Diocletianus. Kortholt. Comm. in Plin. et Trajan. Ep. p. 81. ^c Vel hinc quam periculosa sit persecutio, intelligere est: cum etiam innocentes ea involvantur,

aut certe immerito suspecti fiant. Quod est, in religionis negotio, periculosissimum. Ib. num. ix. p. 550.

^d Christum quidem pro altero Socrate videtur habuisse, qui cum piâ vitâ, tum piâ doctrinâ, discipulos suos excitavit ad studium virtutum, fugamque vitiorum. Heuman. ib. n. v. p. 126.

it, we have just seen. What he thought of the Christian religion, we saw before, when he called it 'infatuation,' or madness, *amentia*. Moreover he inflicted death upon several of the faithful followers and steady disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ.

'Others were named by an informer, who at first confessed themselves Christians, and afterwards denied it. The rest said they had been Christians, but had ceased to be so, some three years, some longer, and one, or more, above twenty years.' [or, as Mr. Melmoth, 'a few above twenty years ago.'] 'They all worshipped your image, and the statues of the gods. They also reviled Christ.'

These were presented to Pliny in a libel, or information; and, as we may reasonably think, properly subscribed with the name of the accuser. Nevertheless his accusations seem to have been malicious; for they were not all true. Some whom he accused as Christians were not so at that time.

The persons first mentioned are described by Pliny after this manner: 'they confessed themselves to be Christians;' that is, when brought before Pliny, and interrogated by him, they said they were Christians, 'and afterwards denied it.'

Here we are to recollect what Pliny assured Trajan was his constant method of proceeding. 'I have taken this course,' says he, 'with all who have been brought before me, and accused as Christians; I put the question to them whether they were Christians. Upon their confessing to me that they were, I repeated the question a second and a third time, threatening also to put them to death.' So he had acted toward those of whom he is now speaking. Upon his first putting the question to them whether they were Christians, they confessed they were. But when he repeated the question the second or the third time, adding menaces, they denied that they were 'Christians; that is, they gave way, and their courage failed them, being terrified by the governor's threatenings. Here we see more persons overcome by the artifices and menaces of our proprætor, who was an ingenious man, and soon became an expert persecutor.

After them he mentions others, 'who said they had been Christians, but had ceased to be so, some three years, some longer, and one at least above twenty years.'

What were the occasions of their leaving the Christians we cannot say particularly, but probably it was not willingly, and

* Quamquam admiranda erat, et plane inusitata Christianorum plerorumque, si persecutiones aestuarent, constantia, *τραπεζα*, et *αγροια*; multi tamen tormentorum metu, multi etiam ex merâ animi levitate, vel seculi *vanitate* fascinati, a fide defecerunt. Northolt, in loc. ubi supr. p. 95.

of their own choice, but rather through fear of suffering for the profession of the Christian religion. However, the change of some may have been owing to the fickleness and inconstancy of their own temper, or to some wordly considerations, less moving than open persecution. All these are deserters, and apostates, some made so by Pliny himself, others by other governors, and some possibly through their own unsteady temper. All these Pliny examines, and reports their testimony; which we are next to observe.

‘They affirmed, that the whole of their fault, or error, lay in this,—that they were wont to meet together on a stated day before it was light, and sing among themselves alternately a hymn to Christ as a god, and to bind themselves by an oath not to the commission of any wickedness, but not to be guilty of theft, or robbery, or adultery, never to falsify their word, not to deny a pledge committed to them, when called upon to return it. When these things were performed, it was their custom to separate, and then to come together again to a meal, which they ate in common, without any disorder. But this they had forborn, since the publication of my edict, by which, according to your commands, I prohibited assemblies.’

Here, perhaps, some may wish, that Pliny had expressed himself more distinctly. For they who had deserted the Christians several years ago, could not of their own knowledge inform him about what had been done by them since he came into the province. However, we before observed, that the persons first mentioned professed themselves Christians when they were brought before him. They therefore could inform him of their late conduct. And concerning other times all here present could bear witness.

‘They affirmed,’ they solemnly attested, ‘that the whole of their fault, or error, lay in this, that they were wont to meet together on a stated day:’ doubtless, meaning the Lord’s-day, or Sunday: on which, as Justin relates particularly in his first Apology, all the Christians in general, in any city, and in the neighbouring country, came together for divine worship.

— ‘before it was light.’

Justin Martyr, in his large and particular account of the Christian worship, says nothing of this circumstance. It is likely therefore, that ^h this was not chosen, but only out of necessity,

X 2

ty,

^f Καὶ τῇ τῇ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενοντων ἐπὶ ταῦτα συνάλευσις γίνεται. Ap. i. p. 98. D. Par. 83. D. Bened. Τὴν δὲ τῇ ἡλίου ἡμέραν

κοινῇ πάντες τῇ συνάλευσιν ποιῶμεθα. p. 99. B. al. 84. A. § Vid. Ap. i. sub fin.

^h Stato die ergo, hoc est, Dominico, convenire solebant, idque ante lucem, ne persecutionis,

ty, when they were disturbed by enemies, either the common people or magistrates.

‘And sang among themselves alternately a hymn to Christ, as ‘a god.’ Mr. Melmoth thus: ‘And addressed themselves in ‘a form of prayer to Christ, as to some god.’ What Pliny means by ‘secum invicem,’ which I have rendered ‘among ‘themselves alternately,’ I cannot say distinctly. Justin says, ‘they ⁱ stood up, and offered up prayers and thanksgivings together, and when the president had concluded, all the people ‘said, Amen.’ Perhaps, this is what Pliny means. The prayers were common, the people joined therein with the president, and signified their assent by a loud Amen at the ^k conclusion.

Tertullian, representing Pliny’s account, says: ‘He ^l discovered nothing beside their meeting together before it was light, ‘and singing to Christ and God:’ or, as some would read, ‘to ‘Christ as a god.’ And Eusebius, speaking of the same matter from Tertullian, says, ‘they ^m sang a hymn to Christ, as to a ‘god.’ Such are their expressions, though ‘carmen,’ the word used by Pliny, does ⁿ not always signify a composition in metre, but may denote a prayer in any form.

‘And sing together a hymn to Christ, as to a god.’ This is a heathen way of speaking; and it has been questioned whether ^o Pliny speaks here in his own words, or those of the Christians who were brought before him, heathen people being willing to

persecutioni, quæ in ipsos sæviebat, se obnoxios redderent. Bevereg. Cod. Can. cap. 3. n. vii. Non fugiebant certe lucem, non quærebant tenebras Christiani. Sed quid facerent? Interdictum iis erat locis publicis, et ipsa prope luce solis, ut igni et aquâ. Certe ubi licuit, in apertâ et publicâ luce convenerunt. Fr. Balduin. in loc. Ap. Edict. Prin. Roman. p. 46. Vid. et Kortholt. ubi supr. p. 105.

ⁱσυντελεσάντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ εὐχαριστῶν, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπεφθμει λέγων Ἀμήν. Ap. i. p. 97. D. al. 82. E.ἐπειτα αὐσαμένθᾳ κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς πεμπομεν.....καὶ ὁ πρὸς τὴν εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπτεται, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπεφθμει λέγων τὸ ἀμήν. p. 98. D. E. al. p. 83. D. E.

^kat confiteor tamen, nihil obfistere arbitremur, Plinium eximere hoc uno vocabulo voluisse, quod Christiani pluribus ipsi verbis narraverant, presbyterorum unum, seu episcopum, formulam precum dicere, populum vero eam repetere, atque voculâ Amen claudere solere. Mosheim, De Reb. ant. C. M. p. 148,

^lnihil aliud se de sacramentis eorum comperisse, quam coetus antelucanos ad canendum Christo et Deo. Ap. cap. 2. p. 3.

^mκαὶ τοὺς χριστοὺς θεοὺς διὰ τὴν ὑμῶν. H. E. 1. 3. c. 33.

ⁿ Alias carmen Romanis vocatur quicquid conceptis verbis dicitur: sic ut quancumque præscriptis verbis conceptam precatorem Pliniana innuere possit narratio. Kortholt ut supra, p. 109.

Plinius carmen vocat, Romano more, quod conceptis verbis dicitur. Justinus scribit, præeunte ministro conceptas fuisse publicas Christianorum preces, totumque populum assentientem respondisse: Amen. Nullius autem cantus meminit. Et sane carmen quoque Latine dicitur, precatio, præscriptis verbis concepta. Sed Tertullianus hic intelligit, quod canebatur. Balduin. ib. p. 46.

^o Vocabula, ‘quasi Deo,’ qua vi prædita hic sint, determinare, haud-audeo. Incertum enim est, suis hic verbis Plinius loquatur, an Christianorum. Mosheim. ut supr. p. 148.

deify eminent men. Jesus Christ was such an one, especially in the esteem of Christians. All knew he had died, and that the Christians said he was risen again from the dead, and was ascended to heaven. Heathen people therefore might naturally enough say, they worshipped Christ, as a god.

Justin Martyr nevertheless says: 'In^p all our oblations we praise the Creator of all through his Son Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit.' And, 'The^a president gives praise and glory to the Father of all in the name of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.' And, says Tertullian, 'the⁹⁹ God, whom we worship, is the God who made this whole universe, and every thing therein, by his powerful word.' Again, 'We^r worship God through Christ. Call him a man, if you think fit. It is by him, and through him, that we have been brought to the knowledge and the worship of God. And the Jews themselves were taught how to worship God by the man Moses.'

Mr. Melmoth, as before seen, translates those words in this manner: 'And addressed themselves in a form of prayer to Christ, as to some god.' And I must acknowledge that his translation appears to me as proper as my own. For *carmen*, or *υμνος*, (as before hinted) does not always denote a metrical composition. Julian concludes his Oration upon The Mother of the Gods, with what * he calls A Hymn to her Honour, which is a prayer in prose: and, unquestionably, Julian speaks properly. Therefore Pliny's *Carmen Christo quasi Deo*; may have been a prayer to God in the name of Christ; a prayer upon Christian principles, in which God was praised for all the blessings of the Christian revelation. I may here observe likewise, that Marinus, in his life of Proclus, says, some † hymns to the gods are in metre, others in prose.

— 'and to bind themselves by an oath, not to the commission of any wickedness, but to forbear adultery, theft, and all vice in general.'

About the interpretation of these first words learned men have differed. It is plain that Pliny does not here send Trajan an account of the several parts of the Christian worship, reading, and

† *Επι πασι τε οἷς προσφερομεθα, εὐλογοῦμεν τοὺς ποιητὰς τῶν πάντων δια τῆς υἱᾶς αὐτῆς ἰσθῆ χριστοῦ, καὶ δια πνεύματος τῆς ἀγίας.* Ap. i. p. 98. C. al. 83. C. † *Καὶ αὐτοὺς λαβὼν, αἰνοῦν καὶ δοξάζον τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὁλῶν δια τῆς υἱᾶς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς πνεύματος ἀγίας, ἀνατίθενται.* p. 97. C. al. 82. D.

‡ *Quod colimus, Deus unus est, qui totam molem istam, cum omni instrumento elementorum.... verbo quo jussit... de nihilo expressit in ornamentum majestatis sue.* Ap. cap. 17. p. 18.

† *Dicimus, et palam dicimus.... Deum colimus per Christum. Illum hominem putate. Per eum, et in eo se cognosci vult Deus, et coli. Ut Judæis respondeamus. Et ipsi Deum per hominem Moysen colere didicerunt.* Id. cap. 21. p. 23.

* *Ἀλλὰ τί σπεύς εἶναι μοι τῶν λόγων, ἢ δηλοῦν ὡς ὁ τῆς μεγάλης ὑμνος Θεὸς;* Orat. v. p. 179. Spanh.

† *Καὶ ὅτι καὶ τῆς ὑμνῆς κομψότερον ἐργάζεται τῆς μὲν ἐν μέτροις τῆς δε καὶ ἀνευ μέτρων.* Martin, de Vita Procl. cap. i.

explaining the scriptures, and delivering explications and exhortations from them, nor of the eucharist. To me therefore it seems, that in these words Pliny aimed to represent the general design of their worship in their religious assemblies: which was to engage themselves to the practice of all virtue, and to avoid all vice. This seems to be the meaning of Tertullian's expressions, though perhaps somewhat obscure. Who says, Pliny tells Trajan, 'that,' excepting an obstinate refusal to sacrifice, he had detected nothing in their mysteries, beside their assembling together early in the morning, before daylight, to enforce the observation of their discipline; forbidding murder, adultery, fraud, cheating, and all manner of wickedness.' Eusebius, representing the same thing, speaks exactly to the like purpose. In short, Pliny tells Trajan, that the design of their religious assemblies, so far as he could discover, was to establish themselves, and each other, in the firm belief of the principles of their institution, and to engage themselves, not to the practice of any wickedness, but to avoid all wickedness of every kind. This Pliny calls 'binding themselves by an oath.'

So Justin Martyr, in his account of the Christian worship, says: 'the' memoirs of the apostles, and the writings of the prophets, 'are read: when the reader has finished, the president makes a discourse, recommending, and exhorting to the imitation of 'the good examples that have been recorded.' To the like purpose Tertullian.

Mr. Mosheim^y explains Pliny after the same manner that I have now done.

'Which things being performed, it was their custom to separate, and after some time to come together again to a meal, which they ate in common. But this they had forborn since the publication of my edict, by which, according to your commands, I had prohibited assemblies.'

There can be no doubt but that Pliny, by this meal or sup-

³ ...allegans, præter obstinationem non sacrificandi, nihil aliud se de sacramentis eorum comperisse, quam cætus antelucanos ad canendum Christo et (vel ut) Deo, et ad confederandam disciplinam: homicidium, adulterium, fraudem, perfidiam, et cætera scelera prohibentes. Tert. Ap. c. 2. p. 3.

⁴ ...Και προς το την επισημνην αυτων διαφυλασσειν. x. λ. Euf. H. E. l. 3. cap. 33. p. 106. A.

⁵ Ap. i. p. 98. D. al. 83. D.

⁶ Coimus ad literarum divinarum commemorationem....Certe fidem fæctis vobiscus palcimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam

figimus, disciplinam præceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus densamus. Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, et censura divina. Ap. cap. 39.

⁷ Ego quidem Christianos dixisse opinor, se, quoties congregarentur, supremo numini sancte vitam puram, et omnis criminis expertem promittere. Id Plinius, religiosum promissum, et iusiurandum parum discernens, formulâ Romanâ, 'sacramento obstringere,' quo fortius mentem Trajani moveret, exprimebat, Mosheim. ubi supr. p. 150. in notis.

per, means what was called by the Christians *agapæ*, or a love-feast: of which mention is made by ² Tertullian, and other ancient writers. Of which likewise, as is generally supposed, St. Peter speaks 2 ep. ii. 13. and St. Jude, ver. 12. It is plain, from what Pliny says, that this meal was not eaten in the morning at the time of their solemn worship, but some while afterwards; and probably in the evening.

Some have thought that this feast generally accompanied the eucharist. But Mr. Hallett, in his discourse on the *Agapæ*, or Love-Feasts, of the ancient Christians, having considered the testimonies of ancient writers, says, 'it ^a was a supper, and that the eucharist did not attend it, either before or after.' Again: 'the *agapæ*, or love-feasts, being suppers, were not concomitants, or appendages of the eucharist. They were entirely distinct and independent things.' 'This may be farther confirmed by observing that Justin Martyr, in his account of the public worship of the church, and particularly of the eucharist, does not say one word of the *agapæ*, or love-feasts, as tacked to it, either before or after.'

Others represent this in a different manner: 'As ^b the worship of the Christians in Bithynia was for some reasons performed early in the morning, they were obliged to have their love-feast separate; though, at other seasons, when they had more liberty, this and their solemn worship were joined together, both by them and by other Christians. The morning was not a time for a meal. This therefore they deferred till noon, or after.' So Mr. Mosheim.

The accounts which Pliny had received of this meal, represented it as harmless, and free from disorder. And it may be

² *Cæna nostra de nomine rationem sui ostendit. Id vocatur, quod dilectio penes Græcos. Quantiscunque sumtibus consistet, lucrum est pietatis nomine facere sumtum: siquidem inopes quosque refrigerio isto juvamus....nihil vilitatis, nihil immodestæ admittit. Non prius discumbitur, quam oratio ad Deum prægustetur. Editur quantum esurientes cupiunt: bibitur, quantum pudicis est utile. Ita saturantur, ut qui meminerint, etiam per noctem adorandum Deum sibi esse. Ap. cap. 39.* ^a See his notes and discourses on several texts of scripture. vol. 3. p. 235. &c. ^b Hoc igitur [stato] die binos conventus agebant Bithynienses Christiani: alterum ante lucem, Dei colendi, firmandæque pietatis causa; alte-

rum sole lucente, meridiano sine dubio tempore, communis sibi capiendi causa. Non divellebant hac ratione officia, quæ Deo debebantur, reliqui Christiani, verum uno omnia conventu, quæ cultus publici lex imperabat, nullo intervallo, peragebant. Bithyniensibus vero cur in duo tempore divisos actus cultum divinum distribuerent, hæc erat magni momenti ratio. Propter hostium insidias in die ad cultum publicum congregari non poterant, sed ante lucem convenire debebant. Id vero antelucanum tempus cibo capiendo haud commodum erat. Quare differendum erat convivium amoris in illud diei tempus, quo corpora reliqui cives reficere solebant. Mosh. de Reb. Christ. ante C. M. p. 147.

reasonably supposed ^c to have been very frugal, and without delicacies, as Tertullian says, and Pliny ^d seems to intimate.

However, this meal or feast, as Pliny was assured, the Christians in Bithynia had forborn and discontinued, since he published the emperor's order, forbidding fellowships or assemblies. Mr. Dodwell thought that ^e Trajan's order did not include a prohibition of their meetings for religious worship. But Tillemont ^f does not assent to this. Whether that opinion be right or not, the Christians continued to meet early in the morning for religious worship, to enforce and secure the great design of their institution, but omitted the other assembly.

And, as seems to me, we have here a remarkable instance of that sincere regard which the primitive Christians had for the commands of civil magistrates in all things, within the compass of their authority. These love-feasts were of early original, and had been long in use. Nevertheless, they were not considered as a divine command, or an institution of the ^g gospel. When therefore Pliny published his edict, forbidding assemblies, they omitted them, whilst they continued their other meeting; forasmuch as the great design of these, the providing for the poor and destitute, might be secured some other way, by private contributions and benefactions.

We may form an idea of the assemblies prohibited in Pliny's edict, by observing another letter of his to Trajan. There ^h had been a dreadful fire in Nicomedia, the chief city of Bithynia, whilst Pliny was absent in some distant part of the province. By that fire had been consumed many private houses and two public buildings. Of this Pliny informs the emperor, and makes a proposal to this effect: 'You ^h will consider, Sir, whether it may: not be adviseable to institute a college of smiths,' or a company of firemen, 'consisting only of one hundred and fifty.' And he tells Trajan that 'as this college will consist of so small a number, it will be easy enough to keep them under a proper regulation.'

^c See before note ^z p. 311.

^d Promiscuus cibus opponitur hic, ut arbitrer, exquisito et delicato. Moshem. ib. p. 151.

^e Sed et illud Agapas duntaxat spectavit, non item synaxes ecclesiasticas, quæ quidem Eucharistiæ percipiendæ gratia celebrarentur. &c. Diss. Cypr. xi. sect. 25.

^f Persecution de l'Eglise sous Trajan. art. v. ^g Says Mr. Hallett, as before, p. 255. 'I cannot find that the Christians looked upon their love-feasts, as religious, or divine

institutions, like the Lord's supper. If they had, their councils would no more have banished them out of the churches, than the Lord's Supper itself.'

^h Quum diversam partem provincie circumirem, Nicomediæ vastissimum incendium, multas privatorum domos, et duo publica opera....absumsit. l. x. ep. 42.

ⁱ Tu, Domine, dispice, an instituendum putes collegium fabrorum, duntaxat hominum cL....Non erit difficile custodire tam paucos. Ibid.

Nevertheless,

Nevertheless, the emperor did not approve of that proposal; and says, in his answer to Pliny: 'Whatever name we give them, and for whatever purposes they may be founded, they will not fail to form themselves into assemblies, however short their meetings may be.' This is sufficient to shew how jealous Trajan was of such societies. I shall refer to two other letters, which have some affinity with these.

By Philo¹ we are assured that 'Flaccus, president of Egypt, near the end of the reign of Tiberius, prohibited their *straipsas*, fellowships, or assemblies at Alexandria; which they held under a pretence of religion indeed, but made use of for drunkenness and other excesses.' However, such were not the love-feasts of the Christians, as we are well assured, but sober and harmless meals.

'After receiving this account, I judged it the more necessary to examine, and that by torture, two maid-servants, which were called ministers. But I have discovered nothing beside a bad and excessive superstition.'

We may be apt to think that Pliny might have been satisfied with the accounts received from deserters or apostates: who were several in number, who had ceased to be Christians, some many years ago, others more lately, at different times; who had all given a clear and an agreeing testimony to the innocence of the Christian worship, and the sobriety of their manners. Nevertheless he is still dissatisfied, and now proceeds to an examination by torture. Surely this governor's moderation is not here very conspicuous! However he gets into his hands two of the weaker sex, hoping, I presume, that if the Christians had among them any secrets still concealed from him, he should now find them out. One or other of these women must needs give way, and open all, when put to the question.

'Two maid-servants.' Some think that these were chosen because they were slaves. But I suppose that others, beside slaves, might be legally put to the torture, though Roman citizens might not. I cannot easily believe that deaconesses in Christian churches were slaves. Nor do I think it very likely that ^m they should be domestic or hired servants. We now all know what is meant by a deaconess in Christian writings. But I suspect that Pliny was misled by the ambiguity of the Greek

ⁱ Quodcunque nomen, ex quacunque causa dederimus iis qui in idem contracti fuerint, heteriae quamvis breves fient. Ep. 43.

^k L. x. ep. 117, 118.

^l Phil. in Flac. p. 965.

^m Ancillas vocat Plinius. Sed vix crediderim Diaconissas fervili conditione fuisse, in tanto apud Bithynos Christianorum numero. Cleric. H. E. p. 551. not. 15.

word *διακονος*, which ⁿ is sometimes used for slaves, or such as performed the lowest services, usually appropriated to slaves. I say, I am apt to think that Pliny was not sufficiently aware of the different meanings of the word *διακονος*, 'deacon,' in common use, and in the ecclesiastical sense. Rom. xvi. 1. *I commend unto you Phœbe our sister, who is a servant of the church which is in Cenchrea.* οὐσαν διακονον της εκκλησιας της εν Κενχρεαις. She was a servant of that church: but it does not follow that she was either a slave, or a hired servant, to any one member of it.

A thought offers itself here which will aggravate the severity of this torture; for very probably these women were in years; such only being qualified for the office of deaconesses: see 1 Tim. v. 9. However, Pliny made no scruple to try the torture upon them. For their office and their age would lead him to think that they were thoroughly acquainted with what passed among the Christians, in their assemblies and in their own houses. Lord Orrery, in his Notes upon Pliny's Epistles, Vol. 2, p. 430, says: 'Age might have pleaded in defence of these unhappy *ancilla*. But no circumstance was sufficiently strong to stem the torrent of religion.'

Well. Pliny put to the question, and examined these two women, deaconesses among the Christians in Bithynia. But all he could discover was no more than 'a bad and excessive superstition.' By 'bad, *pravam*,' meaning I think absurd, wrong, different from the commonly received religion. And he calls it 'excessive, *immodicam*,' because they who embraced it were fond and tenacious of it, and would rather die than deny and forsake it. And many of them were active in propagating it and recommending it to others.

By 'bad,' he could mean nothing more than wrong and absurd, and contrary to the prevailing religion. If Pliny in these examinations had discovered any thing vicious, any lewdness, any cruelty, practised in their worship; any seditious principles, any attempts or designs to subvert the government of the province, or the state of the Roman empire; he must have given hints of it: he must have mentioned it distinctly. His regard for the welfare of Roman people, his respect for the emperor, which is well known to have been very great, would have prevented all concealment, and would have obliged and induced him to be very explicit and particular. We may hence therefore absolutely conclude, that the Christians held no principles, and were guilty

ⁿ και διακονοι ωραιοι...την εσθητα, και τραπεζας, και εκπωματα, και διακονους. κ. λ. Lucian. Gall. p. 168. Tom. 2, ed. Grav. Et sic passim apud Græcos auctores.

of no practices, that could justly expose them to punishment from civil magistrates. Their only offence was their religion, and that was innocent in all respects; though different from the idolatrous worship of the nations.

'Suspending therefore all judicial proceedings, I have recourse to you for advice. For it has appeared to me a matter highly deserving consideration, especially upon account of the great number of persons who are in danger of suffering: for many of all ages, of every rank, of both sexes likewise, are accused, and will be accused. Nor has the contagion of this superstition seized cities only, but the lesser towns also, and the open country.'

Thus does ^o Pliny bear witness to the great number of converts to Christianity in Pontus and Bithynia, over which he presided. The words of Tertullian, who wrote some while afterwards, representing ^p the great increase of Christianity and the multitude of its professors of all ranks and orders of men, are very strong and emphatical. And yet Pliny does in a manner confirm the whole of what he says.

'Nevertheless, it seems to me that it may be restrained and corrected. It is certain that the temples, which were almost forsaken, begin to be more frequented; and the sacred solemnities, after a long intermission, are revived. Victims likewise are every where bought up, whereas for some time there were few purchasers. Whence it is easy to imagine what numbers of men might be reclaimed if pardon were granted to those who shall repent.'

From what Pliny says of the desolation of the temples, and the neglect of the sacred solemnities, and the few purchasers of victims, which there had been for some while, it has been argued, that 'this ^q persecution was begun and fomented by the priests

^o Hinc liquet, in Bithynia ingentem Christianorum, jam iis temporibus, numerum fuisse: ac proinde per Asiam longe lateque religionem Christianam, invitis Ethnicis et Judæis, solâ suâ præstantiâ, propagatam fuisse. Cleric. A. cxi. p. xii.

^p Obsessam vociferantur civitatem. In agris, in castellis, in insulis, Christianos. Omnem sexum, ætatem, conditionem, et jam dignitatem transgredi ad hoc nomen quasi detrimento mœrent. Ap. cap. i.

Hæsterni sumus, et vestra omnia complevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia... Sola vobis relinquimus templa. Ib. c. 37. Conf. c. v. et ad Nat. l. i. c. 1. et alibi.

^q Hos vero delatores Christianorum sacer-

cerdotes fuisse, manifestum esse reor ex his Plinii verbis....Caussam hic moti ergo Christianos belli clarissime proconsul indicat: 'Templa in Bithynia desolata erant, sacra solemnities intermissa, victimæ raro offerebantur. Hæc vero cuncta nullo tangebant, nisi sacerdotes, sacrorumque antistites, quorum intererat unice, ut templa frequentarentur, et victimæ cederentur. Questi ergo hi sine dubio apud Plinium erant, religiones Deorum, in summo discrimine versari, atque populum fortassis etiam incitaverant, ut clamoribus supplicia Christianorum posceret. Moshem. ut supr. p. 232, notis.

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‘and their adherents, and such others as had a dependence on the sacred solemnities.’ Which may be true in this as well as some other persecutions.

And I am willing to allow that Pliny here adopts the language of those people who brought these complaints, and who magnified the danger of the downfall of their religion. However, we are hereby assured that the progress, which the Christian religion had made in Pontus and Bithynia, was very considerable.

Learned men, I say, observe that this persecution was begun and fomented by the priests; to whom, as I suppose, many others would join themselves who had a zeal for the prevailing religion. But learned men seem to forget that Pliny himself, our proprætor, was a priest, and that the emperor, to whom he writes, was high-priest, pontifex maximus. We need not, we ought not, to impute to Pliny any thing mean and sordid. He was above such things, which must have been far from his temper. But I think we may reasonably suppose that he was sincerely concerned for the honour of the gods and the priesthood; that he was desirous the sacred solemnities should be upheld in all their splendour, and that the priests should continue to enjoy their usual emoluments and perquisites without diminution. I should think therefore, that it is not at all unreasonable to suppose that Pliny himself was not a little moved at the abovementioned complaints, when made to him.

Some learned men have of late said that what Pliny did against the Christians was done by him unwillingly, and not without some sort of compulsion. But I cannot discern any the least reason for this persuasion in his letter.

I am unwilling to advance any thing without ground and reason; and therefore I forbear to say that, very probably, the arrival of this proprætor, who was augur in the province, a man well known for his exactness in all the solemnities of the ancient religion, raised great expectations in the minds of many in the province, zealous for the established rites, and encouraged accusations and persecutions against the Christians. However, I must say that this severe persecution under Pliny is a strange pheno-

* Cum his sociabat sese innumerabilis varii generis turba, cui superstitiones publicæ quæstui erant, mercatores, qui thura, bestias, aliæque vendebant Deorum cultoribus necessaria, architecti, caupones, aurifices, Aët. xix. 25. fabri lignarii, statuarii, sculptores, tibicines, citharædi, et alii, quibus omnibus Dii, eorumque mi-

nistri, templa, cæremonie, dies festi magnas afferebant ad vitam beate ducendam opportunitates. Moshem. ut supr. p. 103.

† Certum est ex hac epistola, Plinium ipsum Christianos non aggressum fuisse, sed invitum a delatoribus et accusatoribus coactum, ut eos in jus vocaret, et puniret. Moshem. ib. p. 232.

menon; and would appear still stranger, and almost unaccountable, if it had no encouragement from him.

Though great numbers of men had embraced the Christian religion, or, as Pliny's expressions are, 'though the contagion of this superstition had seized many;' he was of opinion that it might be 'restrained and corrected.' For this end he proposeth that 'pardon should be granted to those who repent.' And says, 'it is easy to imagine what numbers of men might' then 'be gained.'

Every one should judge for himself: but to me it seems that in all this there is no indication of favour to the Christian religion, or good will to the professors of it. I think that Pliny proposes these measures to the emperor, as the most likely to secure the interests of the old religion. He really thought this method the most likely and most effectual to abolish what he calls an 'absurd superstition,' and to reduce, and gradually extirpate, the professors of it. And I suppose that from our remarks upon his epistle it may appear that Pliny himself had found the benefit of this scheme, and he had too much success in drawing men off from the open profession of the Christian doctrine. The earl of Orrery, p. 431, has already said the same that I now do. For he allows that Pliny expresses a detestation of Christianity, calling it *amentia, superstitio prava et immodica*. 'And the proposal,' he says, 'which Pliny made to the emperor, to give room for repentance, seems rather an act of policy than of good nature.'

Having now gone over this letter, I beg leave to say: it seems to me that there is a remarkable omission. Pliny fails not to tell Trajan that the Christians worshipped Christ, 'as a God,' and that they refused to worship his image. He should also have told Trajan, 'they assured him, however, that they offered supplications to the God of the universe, for the health and long life of the emperor, and for the peace and prosperity of the empire, and that God would grant him wise counsellors, and faithful servants and officers: and that they were obliged by the rules of their religion so to do.' These things do so often occur in the ancient apologists, and other Christian writers, that it may be reckoned certain, and taken for granted, that some of

¹ Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum, ac potestatibus, pro statu seculi, pro rerum quiete, pro morâ finis. Tertull. ap. cap. 39. Conf. cap. 31.

Colinus ergo et imperatorem sic, quomodo et nobis licet, et ipsi expedit, ut hominem a Deo secundum: et quicquid est, a Deo consecutum, et solo Deo munere.

Itaque et sacrificamus pro salute imperatoris, sed Deo nostro et ipsius, sed quomodo præcepit Deus, pura prece. Non enim eget Deus, conditor universitatis, odoris aut sanguinis alicujus. Ad Scap. c. 2. Vid. et Athenag. Leg. sub fin. et Origen. Contr. Cels. l. 8, et passim.

the Christians who pleaded before Pliny, whether Roman citizens or others, did sufficiently assure him of their dutiful respect for the emperor, and other magistrates, and of their love toward all mankind, even enemies as well as others. This one omission alone, so far as I am able to judge, is enough to persuade us there was some defect of equity and candour in Pliny's treatment of the Christians.

It has been said that 'Pliny's' Letter is throughout an apology for the Christians.' If so, is it not also his own condemnation? He had received many testimonies to the Christian innocence. These he reports to the emperor. Nor could he do less. In this report the Christian principles, worship, and manners, appear in a good light. But then, is not Pliny blameable who inflicted death, and other penalties, upon such men, and that without any express law?

I am willing to make allowance for prejudices. And I believe that the Supreme Judge, when he shall take the final cognizance of human affairs, will pass an equitable sentence upon all, according to the advantages and disadvantages of their condition in their state of trial. The farther vindication of Pliny I leave to those who are pleased to undertake it. And I am very willing that my readers should observe and consider what is said by such advocates as are favourable to him.

Having done this, I must applaud the steadiness of those Roman citizens, and others, in Pontus and Bithynia; who, when interrogated by the proprætor a second and a third time, persevered in their first confession of the name of Christ, unmoved by his fair promises and cruel threatenings. Who can forbear to think that those Christians were mindful of what St. Peter had written to them? 1 ep. iv. ver. 12, to the end.

To them, and other such men, I humbly conceive it is owing that there is now any such thing as virtue in the world. To them, and others like them, it is owing that many great men so apprehensive of inquisitiveness in things of religion, have been at length awakened, and induced to examine, and consider, and also to embrace, the Christian doctrine, and then to adorn it by the practice of all the virtues becoming their reasonable nature, and their high stations.

V. We now come to Trajan's Rescript, which *** is short and concise,

^u *Apologia enim Christianorum est, quod facile patet, tota Plinii epistola, quâ calumnias, quibus illi premebantur, convellere studet, et mentem Trajani ad lenitatem et clementiam erga homines, quos*

ille a Romanorum quidem religione alienos, rerum sceleris puros cognoverat, inclinare. Mosheim. ut sup. p. 147.

*** The earl of Orrery, in his preface to the tenth book of Pliny's Epistles. Vol. 2, p. 323,

concise, written in the style best becoming lawgivers: and which is now to be rehearsed by us, with notes and observations.

'You have taken the right method, my Pliny, in your proceedings with those who have been brought before you as Christians.'

Pliny's proceedings, as I suppose, had been in some respects extraordinary, and unsupported by express law: and yet Trajan declares his approbation of them. And hereby he also ratifies and confirms the proceedings of other governors of provinces, if any of them had acted in a like manner, without express law: as very probably several had.

'For it is impossible to establish any one rule that shall hold universally.'

This, as seems to me, relates more especially to Pliny's first question: 'whether the young and tender, and the full grown and robust, ought to be treated all alike.' And Trajan seems to leave this very much to the discretion of governors, to do as they thought best. Accordingly, as we well know, many, in succeeding times, both young people and women, did suffer as Christians.

With regard to Pliny's second question, whether 'pardon should be granted to those who repent,' he allows of it, if good proof be given of repentance.

As to the third question Trajan peremptorily decides that the name is punishable without any crime annexed. But he says, 'they should not be sought for.'

I shall now recite the very words of this part of the Rescript.

2. p. 323, expresseth himself in this manner: 'Such a correspondence between a sovereign and a subject is no less curious than extraordinary. But, if we are to pass an impartial judgment upon the two correspondents, the emperor's epistles will certainly outshine those of Pliny, to which they are answers. The conciseness and sagacity which run through Trajan's style and manner of writing, shew him an artist, if I may use the expression, in the epistolary science.'

* 'Actum quem debuiisti,' &c. Actum vocat extraordinariam Plinii questionem. Extraordinarium hoc crimen, de quo agebatur, erat. Nulla enim de eo lex certa erat. Trajanus esse etiam debere hoc iudicium extraordinarium, hoc est, magistratum cognitioni et imperio relinquendum esse putat. Balduin. ut supr. p. 63.

† Cum Trajanus simpliciter referibit, Christianos esse puniendos, neque aliam causam pœnæ requirit: satis significat, nomen ipsum puniri. Et Tertullianus in Apolog. ostendit, nihil fuisse, quod in Christianis puniretur, præter nomen. Fr. Balduin. ut supr. p. 36. Quæsierat Plinius, nomen ipsum Christianorum, etiam si flagitiis careat, an flagitia coherentia nomini punienda sint? Trajanus dum rescribit simpliciter, si deferantur Christiani, et arguantur, id est, ejus esse sectæ convincantur, puniendos esse, nec aliam pœnæ causam requirit; quod nomen ipsum debeat puniri, satis indicat. Atque sic confirmat nominis illud prælium, quod præter jus omne et fas sustinuisse fideles, ex queribundo tot veterum ore supra, ad Plinii consultationem, audivimus. Kortholt, ut supr. p. 194.

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‘They are not to be sought for. If any are brought before you, and are convicted, they ought to be punished. However, he that denies his being a Christian, and makes it evident in fact, that is, by supplicating to our gods, though he be suspected to have been so formerly, let him be pardoned upon repentance. But in no case, of any crime whatever, may a bill of information be received without being signed by him who presents it.’ And what follows. This last clause is very reasonable, as will be allowed by all. The rest we must consider.

As I said just now, Trajan allows pardon to be granted, if good proof be given of repentance; ‘If he makes it evident in fact by supplicating to our gods.’ It has been said, by some commentators, that here is a sign of Trajan’s modesty, in that he does not add, ‘and by sacrificing to our image;’ and that here is a proof of his moderation, in not adding, ‘and by reviling the name of Christ.’ But I cannot persuade myself to think that such observations are at all material. Trajan ² knew very well that the governors of provinces would not fail to supply those articles, though omitted by him. Trajan approves of Pliny’s method, and what had been his, would be the method of other governors, and actually was so, as is well known.

Tertullian has ridiculed this decree of Trajan as inconsistent and contradictory. ‘He ^a forbids the Christians to be sought for, supposing them to be innocent; and he orders them to be punished as guilty. If they are criminal, why should they not be sought for? If they are not to be sought for, why should they not be absolved?’

However, for certain, here is fresh proof of the Christians ^b innocence. If they had been criminal; if Trajan had not known, and been well satisfied, that they were guilty of no great crimes, he would not have forbid inquiring after them. And since they were guilty of no offences contrary to the peace of society, they should have been protected; and Trajan’s rescript should have been very different from what it is. It should have been to this effect: ‘You have well done, my Pliny, to inquire into the principles and conduct of the Christians. As you have detected

² Satis interim sciebat provinciarum præfides hac parte non defore suo officio. Voss. Comment. ^a Tunc Trajanus rescripsit, hoc genus inquirendos quidem non esse, oblatos vero puniri oportere. O sententiam necessitate confusam. Negat inquirendos, ut innocentes, et mandat puniendos, ut nocentes. Parcit, et sævit.

Disimulat, et animadvertit. Quid temet ipsum censurâ circumvenis? Si damnas, cur non et inquiris? Si non inquiris, cur non et absolvis? Ap. cap. 2.

^b Ex his iterum liquet, nullius criminis reos factos fuisse Christianos, nisi deorum minime cultorum. Cleric. ib. n. xiv.

'no crimes committed by them, and you recommend pardon upon repentance, and forsaking their error; I readily grant it, if it be needful. And I hereby declare that no Christians ought to suffer without proof of some crime; for to inflict penalties upon innocent men would be a disparagement of my government. And it has been a maxim with me, from the beginning of my empire, not to let any good men suffer death.'

So, I think, Trajan might, and should have said: and so he would have said, were it not that people were not then disposed to treat Christians as they did other men. But the time was not yet come that Christians should be exempted from suffering as such, and on account of their Lord and Master, who had died for them and was risen again.

This rescript of Trajan, which we are now considering, was designed not for the direction of Pliny only, but of all governors of provinces in general; as is observed by ^d that judicious lawyer, Fr. Balduinus. And, as Tillemont ^e says, 'this unreasonable edict subsisted for almost an age, and was the rule of action to the Romans till the persecution of Severus.'

VI. Before we proceed any farther, it may be fit that we should consider a question, whether Trajan ever put an end to the persecution by an order from himself.

Suidas ^f says that 'Trajan relaxed the persecution against the Christians. For Tiberian, who was governor of what was called the first part of Palestine, wrote to him that he was weary of killing the Christians, because they offered themselves to punishment. Wherefore Trajan gave orders to all his subjects that they should no more punish the Christians.'

This is supposed to be taken by Suidas from ^g John of Antioch, or John Malala, a writer near the end of the sixth century, and of little credit.

To this purpose then writes Malala: 'While ^h the emperor Trajan was at Antioch of Syria, consulting about the affairs of war, he received a letter from Tiberian, governor of the first Palestine, to this effect. "To the invincible emperor, Cæsar,

^c Ως δὲ αυτοκρατορ ἐγένετο, ἐπέσειλε τῇ βασιλῇ αυτοχειρῇ ἀλλὰ τε, καὶ ὡς ἕδενα ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀποσφάζει, ἢ ἀτιμάσκει. Dion. L. 68, p. 1122.

^d Tandem Trajanus, quid opus esse facto putet, rescribit: ut non solum in causa Ponticorum aut Bithynorum Christianorum id sequatur Plinius, sed et alii Præsides in suis provinciis observent. Atque hoc quidem primum rescripto lex Romana de Christianis certa-

que constitutio aliqua edita fuisse videtur. Fr. Bald. ut supr. p. 29.

^e Cependant cette ordonnance si deraisonnable subsiste près d'un siècle, et fut la règle des Romains jusques à la persecution de Severe, &c. Tillem. *Persec. de l'Egl. sous Trajan.* art. v.

^f Suid. V. Τραπεζανός.
^g Vid. Valef. *Excerpta ex Johanne Antiochena.* p. 818.
^h J. Malala *Chronogr.* p. 356. Oxon. 1691.

“the most divine Trajan. I have to the utmost of my power performed your order for killing the Galileans, who go under the denomination of Christians. But they cease not to discover themselves, and offer themselves to be put to death. I have discountenanced this by my advices, and even by threatenings, telling them that they should not come to me to accuse themselves of holding that opinion: but all to no purpose. I must therefore entreat you to determine in this point as shall seem meet to your invincible majesty.” And the emperor sent an order to him, and to all the præfects every where, that they should no longer put to death any that were called Christians. After which the Christians had a short breathing time from the afflictions which they had endured.’

So writes Malala. But Mr. Dodwellⁱ has examined this letter of Tiberian, and has argued that it is a downright forgery. He says that if there had been such a letter written to Trajan by a governor of Palestine, Eusebius could not have been ignorant of it. He also says that the province of Palestine was not divided into two parts till long after the reign of Trajan. He likewise observes that the titles here given to Trajan by Tiberian, are not suited to that age. For these, and other considerations, he rejects that letter as a forgery. And his argument has been approved of by all learned critics^k in general.

As Trajan directed that the Christians should not be sought for, it is not unlikely that toward the latter part of his reign the persecution was moderated in some places. The account which Sulpicius Severus gives of this persecution is to this purpose: ‘Not^l long after Domitian, the third persecution was raised by Trajan, who, when after strict inquiries made by racks and tortures, no discovery was made of any thing done by them worthy of death, or other punishment, he forbade their being any longer persecuted.’ The expression is strong; yet, perhaps, no more is intended than this emperor’s prohibition to seek for them, which is in his rescript to Pliny.

VII. The observations of commentators and ecclesiastical historians upon the foregoing letter and rescript are so numerous that I am induced to mention some more general remarks, be-

ⁱ Dissertat. Cyprian. xi. § xxiii. xxiv.

^k Vide Pagi ann. 116. num. ii. Basnag. ann. 117. n. iii. Cleric. H. E. ann. 113. Dr. Jortin’s Remarks upon Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 2, p. 82, 83. Where that learned writer having alleged such reasons as shew the Letter of Tiberian not to be genuine, concludes: ‘So I hope we shall

no more hear of it henceforward, either for or against the behaviour of the martyrs.’

^l Non multo deinde intervallo, tertia persecutio per Trajanum fuit: qui cum tormentis et questionibus nihil in Christianis morte aut poenâ dignum reperisset, seviri in eos ultra vetuit. Hist. Sacr. l. 2, c. 31, p. 244. edit. Cleric.

side those which have already appeared under the several paragraphs of each of them.

It is certainly a just observation that ^m some writers have aggravated the severity of Trajan, and that we ought to exercise moderation in our reflections upon the proceedings of former times, and even of those who have been unfriendly to us. Paul Orosius, a Christian writer not far from the beginning of the fifth century, speaks 'as if the persecution had been begun by Trajan's order, and that Pliny and other presidents were sent by him into the provinces for this very purpose, to carry on the persecution of Christians:' which is evidently contrary to Pliny's letter, which we have largely considered. He carried not with him any edict against the Christians, nor any particular directions concerning the method of treating them: but they were brought before him after his arrival in the province; and he had occasion to refer himself to the emperor for advice in several things relating to them.

Moreover Eusebius, as before quoted, acknowledgeth that the persecution in the time of Trajan was first occasioned by the clamours and tumults of the people.

It seems to me likewise that in the Martyrdom of Ignatius, ⁿ in all the editions of it, whether Greek or Latin, Trajan's earnest concern to extirpate the Christian religion by a general persecution is aggravated: which, together with other things, may be reckoned an argument that it was not composed, as is generally said, by such as were contemporaries of the emperor and the martyr.

On the other hand, I think the mildness of Trajan has been beyond measure extolled, and the benefits of his edict too much magnified by some ^o of late times: as if, after the publication of

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^m Apparet hinc, cum grano salis accipiendum quod ait Orosius, lib. 7. cap. xii. 'In persequendis sane Christianis errore deceptus, tertius a Nerone, cum passim repertos cogi ad sacrificandum idolis, ac detractantes interfici præcepisset, plurimique interficerentur, Plinii Secundi, qui inter cæteros judices persecutor datus fuerat, relatu admonitus, eos homines, præter confessionem Christi, honestaque conventicula, nihil contrarium Romanis legibus facere, fiducia sane innocentis confessionis nemini mortem gravem ac formidolosam videri, rescriptis illico lenioribus temperavit edictum.' Nam, ut recte hic monet Franc. Balduinus, si quod fuisset Trajani de interficiendis

Christianis edictum certum ante Plinii relationem, non dubitasset iste, aut sane, Trajanum consulendo, ejus edicti mentionem fecisset. Neque Plinius judex datus est, ut Christianos persequeretur, sed aliis de causis in Pontum et Bithyniam missus, (Vid. Ep. l. x. 29, 41, 118.) non nisi casu quodam, in eorundem cognitionem incurrit, quibus tunc provinciæ illæ redundabant. Kortholt. Comm. in Plin. et Traj. Ep. p. 11.

ⁿ Vid. Patr. Apost. T. 2. ^o Peccavit quidem in eo non leviter, quod Christianos desertæ majorum religionis convictos, et cedere nolentes, capitali pœna jussit affici.... Sed valde tamen profuit Christianis, quod inquisitionem et investigationem eorum vitavit.

the abovementioned rescript, Christians might meet together and worship God securely in their own way, provided they observed only the common rules of prudence.

I think that Tertullian's censure of this edict above taken notice of, in which he shews the inconsistency of it, is very just. And in another paragraph he acknowledges all the benefit of it, saying that 'Trajan^p had in some measure defeated, restrained, or moderated, the decrees of Nero and Domitian against the Christians, by forbidding inquiry to be made after them.'

What that amounts to I should think might be easily computed. It implies no more than this—that the presidents of provinces or other magistrates should not, or need not, send out their irenarchs, their serjeants, or other peace officers, to search for and apprehend the Christians, as was usual to be done for apprehending heinous criminals. But it does not hence follow that the presidents of provinces always observed this rule. And as to other people, they are left at liberty to do as they saw good. Among them certainly the Christians had many enemies. And if they were brought before the governors, and accused as Christians, the governors are required to punish them, unless they denied their Christianity, and gave proof of it by sacrificing to the gods: all which was frequently done. This must be the truth of the case, as it is agreeable to what Eusebius says, who could not but know very well what was the state of affairs after the publication of this edict. 'Nevertheless,' says he in the place before cited, 'they who had a mind to disturb us did not want pretences for so doing: in some places the people, in other places the governors of provinces, laying snares for us: so that, though there was no general persecution, there were persecutions in several places and provinces; and there were many faithful men who underwent divers kinds of martyrdom.'

Le Clerc therefore justly says that^q in this rescript there is little more than an appearance of moderation, without any real kindness. And the learned writer, whom I have already quoted several times, and who, I think, sometimes too much magnifies the kindness and the benefits of this rescript, acknowledges

tuit. Hac enim sublata secure Christiani secretos conventus suos celebrare, atque hostium suorum invidiam, modo prudentiæ obedirent, effugere poterant. &c. Mothem. de Reb. Chr. ante C. M. Sec. 2, § i. p. 233, 234.
^p Quales ergo leges istæ, quas adversus nos soli exequantur impii, iniusti, turpes, truces, vani, dementes? Quas Traianus ex parte frustratus est, vetando inquiri Christianos. Ap. c. 5.

^q Re vera species tantum erat moderationis in Traiani rescripto. Nam quamvis magistratus in Christianos publice quæstiones non haberent, inimicis tamen suis tradebantur Christiani, quos satis erat deferri ad magistratus, ut plecterentur, nisi Religioni Christianæ nuncium remittere vellent. Numquam autem iis defuisse inimicos apud Ethnicos, facile est intellectum. Cleric. A. cxi, n. xv.

That 'it' being placed among the laws of the empire, and being long in force, occasioned the death of many excellent men under divers succeeding emperors of good character; and that, by virtue of this very edict, Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, and Ignatius of Antioch, were put to death.' And yet the same learned writer, in the very next words, says that, 'however severe this law may appear, the Christians of a warm temper were displeased at it, because it deprived them of the honour of suffering a glorious death for Christ.' But if the Christians disliked this edict as too mild, how came it that so warm a man as Tertullian complained of it as unjust and severe? And why were there so many apologies written soon afterwards by Justin, Athenagoras, and others, complaining of the severities with which they were treated, and offering every argument that could be thought of by innocent and good men, for moderating and averting the sufferings which they underwent, or were liable to? However, for proof of this assertion is alleged a story told by Tertullian, who says: 'When^{ss} Arrius Antoninus in Asia grievously persecuted the Christians, all the Christians of the city in which he was came together in a body to his tribunal, offering that he might do with them as he saw good. He, ordering away a few of them to be put to death, said to the rest: "O miserable people, if you have a mind to die you may find precipices and halters enough."

As this passage has been alleged by Mr. Dodwell also, I shall now immediately put down his argument upon it. Only promising, that whereas the learned man beforementioned placeth

* Hæc Trajani lex inter publicas Romani Imperii sanctiones relata, efficiebat, ut deinceps etiam sub imperatoribus optimis et iustissimis multi Christiani perirent. Hæc igitur lege jubente, Simeon, Cleopæ filius, antistes Hierosolymitanus, centum et viginti annorum, senex in crucem agi debebat. Ex ejusdem legis præscripto, ipse imperator eodem anno magnum illum Ignatium, Antiochenum episcopum, a sacerdotibus delatum, et ipsius Imperatoris minas spernentem, Romam abduci et bestiis objici jubebat. Moshem. ib. § x. p. 234.

* Quod vero valde mireris, dura satis hæc et inhumana lex fervidioris animi Christianis displicebat, quod viam eis ad gloriosam pro Christo mortem obeundam, magistratu non inquirente, et accusatore sæpe deficiente, occluderet. Hinc multi passim ipsi nomina sua deferrebant apud judices. Ibid. p. 235.

^{ss} Arrius Antoninus in Asia cum persequeretur instanter, omnes illius civitatis Christiani ante tribunalia ejus se manu facta obtulerunt. Cum ille, paucis duci jussis, reliquis ait: Ω δειλοι, ει θελετε αποθνησκειν, κρημνας η βροχης εχετε. Ad Scap. cap. ult.

Eodem ni fallor tempore, quo persecutus est in Bithynia Plinius, persecutus etiam est in Asia Proconsulari Arrius Antoninus, avus maternus Antonini Pii, ad quem scripsit etiam nonnullas epistolas ipse Plinius. De hujus persecutione ita Tertullianus. Arrius Antoninus in Asia. Et hic sese offerentium multitudine, ut Plinius multitudine periclitantium, impeditus est, quo minus pro libitu suo sevirer....Cæterum multos fuisse probabile non est, quos ita paucos, tam frigide censuit esse animadvertendos. Diss. Cyp. xi. § xxvii.

this affair in the reign of Adrian, and as consequent upon Trajan's rescript, Mr. Dodwell supposeth it to have happened in the reign of Trajan, at the same time that Pliny was persecuting the Christians in Bithynia. He argues that many did not suffer in that persecution; because, when the Christians of that place offered themselves at the governor's tribunal, it is said he 'ordered away a few of them to be put to death.' But does not this learned writer forget the word *instante*, in the former part of the sentence? Antoninus had persecuted some while. And that word implies somewhat very grievous, either for the manner, or the length and duration, of the persecution, carried on by that president in Asia. So that it may be reckoned not improbable that many Christians had suffered death by his order.

Which also overthrows Mr. Mosheim's observation. Those Christians did not offer themselves because of the mildness of Trajan's rescript, and "accuse themselves because there were none to accuse them: but it was the governor's severe treatment which occasioned their acting in that manner. Which interpretation is manifestly the sense of the paragraph itself, and is confirmed by the coherence in * Tertullian. The persecution of Arrius was so violent, and so long continued, that the Christians in Asia were reduced to great distress. Under this affliction they came in a body to the governor, and told him 'he might even take them all, if nothing else would satisfy him; for they were not afraid to die.' This resolution of mind in those generous Christians astonished him. And, putting a good countenance upon his proceedings, he shut up that disagreeable scene, and concluded the persecution in the manner before related.

If this account be right, these Christians were ^y not so contemptible as has been insinuated: and Mr. Mosheim might have spared a reflection unworthy of himself, which so generous minds do not deserve.

Before we quite dismiss this affair, it may be worth the while to consider who this Antoninus was, and the time of his persecution.

There were three of this name, proconsuls of Asia, in the space

"....omnes illius civitatis Christiani ante tribunalia ejus se manufacta obtulerunt: moleste nimirum ferentes, nullum sibi accusatorem obtigisse, et proconsulem inquirere nolle, quod Imperator vetuerat, ipsi accusatorum sibi partes sumebant. Mosh. ibid. p. 235, notis.

* Crudelitas vestra est gloria nostra. Vide tantum ne hoc ipso, quod talia sus-

tinemus, ad hoc solum videamur erumpere, ut hoc ipsum probemus, nos hæc non timere, sed ultro vocare. Arrius &c. Tertull. eod. cap. ad Scap. p. 88. A.

^y Itaque paucis, ut terreret cæteros, condemnatis, reliquam multitudinem cum indignatione ac contemptu dimittebat. Mosheim. ut sup. p. 235. notis.

of a century, or less. The² first I take to be Arrius Antoninus, of whom Tertullian here speaks; the second Antoninus, afterwards emperor, and surnamed Pius; the third, named Arrius Antoninus, was proconsul of Asia afterwards, in the time of Commodus. Casaubon supposeth this to be the person intended by Tertullian. Several^a other learned men have been of opinion that the person intended by Tertullian was the emperor Antoninus's grandfather by the mother's side, and the same to whom some of Pliny's letters are sent. Which opinion, as already hinted, appears to me very probable. Hereby we may be led to the time of this event. By Mosheim, as before observed, it is placed in the reign of Adrian, and also^b by Mr. Lampe; but by Mr. Dodwell, as already mentioned, in the time of Trajan, and whilst Pliny was in Bithynia. But, if he be the same to whom Pliny wrote, it must have been sooner. For Pliny, in one^c of his letters to him, speaks of his having been twice consul, and then proconsul of Asia some time before: consequently he had been proconsul of Asia before Pliny went into Bithynia. For I cannot discern that any of Pliny's letters, now extant, were written after his provincial government. Indeed, Arrius Antoninus was an old man at the time of Pliny's writing to him. And if this be the person intended by Tertullian, here is another consideration that overthrows Mr. Mosheim's reasonings.

When Arrius Antoninus was proconsul of Asia, I cannot say exactly; whether in the time of Domitian, or some while afterwards: but plainly before Pliny was sent into Bithynia.

This Antoninus was a learned and ingenious man, and has a

² Proconsulatum Asiæ sic egit, ut solus avum vinceret. Jul. Capitol. Antonini Pii. cap. 3. Here I put down part of Casaubon's note upon the above place. Avus hic, quem intelligit, est Pii avus maternus, Arrius Antoninus. Ambo Proconsules Asiæ fuerunt, et Pius, et avus. De Pii proconsulatu loquitur Marcianus libro secundo de judiciis publicis.... De avo illius proconsule Asiæ, et immortalī laude, quam inde reportavit, Plinius in epistola ad ipsum Arrium Antoninum. Quod semel. Invenio et tertium Arrium Antoninum, Asiæ itidem proconsulem, virum longe clarissimum, qui principe Commodō occisus scelere Cleandri, tantum Imperatori invidiam apud vulgus, et omnes bonos concitavit, ut eam ferre Commodus cum non posset, Cleandrum plebi ad pœnam donaverit. Historiam

habes apud Lampridium. [Vit. Commodi cap. 7.] Hic videtur esse, de quo Tertullianus ad Scapulam. Casaub.

^a See Casaubon in the preceding note.

^b Neque sub Hadriano Imperatore res Christianorum in Oriente satis pacatæ erant: sub quo Asiā administravit Arrius Antoninus, qui Christianos male habuit. Lampe Synopf. H. E. p. 113.

^c Quod semel atque iterum consul fuisti, similis antiquis: quod proconsul Asiæ, qualis ante te, qualis post te vix unus et alter, (non finit enim me verecundia tua dicere, qualis nemo:) quod sanctitate, quod auctoritate, ætate quoque princeps civitatis, est quidem venerabile et pulchrum. Ego tamen te vel magis in remissionibus miror, &c. lib. 4, ep. 3. vid. et ep. 18, et l. 5, ep. 10.

good character in ^d Pliny, and other ^e writers. Nor do I think he was a bad man. I only say he acted badly for some while toward the Christians, whom the great men of those times did not suppose entitled to the common equity vouchsafed to all other people. However, he also, like our Pliny, was at length overcome by their resolution and steadfastness in the cause of what they were persuaded was the truth, and important truth.

I have taken notice of the sentiments of some learned men, of late times, who have been very ready to magnify the moderation of Trajan, and his proprætor Pliny. I shall now take notice of some other things. For Grotius, who ^f thought Trajan to be pointed at by St. John [Rev. xiii. 18,] says that ^g Trajan shed as much Christian blood as Nero and Domitian. Which may be true: for the cruel edicts of Nero and Domitian were soon abrogated: but Trajan being generally reckoned by the Romans a good emperor, his rescript subsisted long in force, and by virtue of it many suffered in every part of the empire for a long time; as Pliny says in a letter to Trajan, in which he proposeth his making an ordinance for settling some affairs relating to Pontus and Bithynia: 'For ^h it well becomes you, whose every word and action deserves immortality, to give laws that shall be for ever permanent.'

I shall now also subjoin some other observations of Grotius, in which he declares it to be his opinion that ⁱ the persecution ordered by Trajan began in the tenth year of his reign, and that, by virtue of his edict, Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, and Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, suffered martyrdom.

VIII. As I have enlarged in my remarks upon the foregoing letter and rescript, and have passed very free censures upon

^d See before note ^c. ^e Vid. Jul. Capitolin. Antonin. cap. i. et Victoris Epit. cap. xii.

^f Vid. Annot. ad Apoc. cap. xiii. ver. 18. et Comment. ad loca quædam N. T. quæ de Antichristo agunt, p. 470. Opp. Tom. 3.

^g Multum vero errant, qui sub Trajano, quamvis cætera non malo principe, minus sanguinis effusum putant quam sub Nerone et Domitiano. Horum enim sævitia ferme circa Romam stetit, illius per omnes provincias pervagata est. Nec quisquam est qui hujus persecutionis oblitus sit veterum Christianorum, qui persecutionum nobis numerum recensent, ut Eusebius, Augustinus, Orosius, alii. In Epistola ad Plinium inquiri quidem eos vetat: sed puniri vult, si accusentur. Accusatores autem nusquam deerant. Grot. Respons. ad St. Curcell. in calc. Annot. ad N. T.

^h Nam quod in perpetuum mansurum est, a te constitui debet, cujus factis dictisque debetur æternitas. l. x. ep. 113.

ⁱ Sub Domitiano, ut omnes sciunt, acerbissima fuerat Christianorum vexatio. Nerva uno edicto omnia Domitiani edicta sustulit, inter quæ et alia contra Christianos, quorum plurimi ab exiliis reversi, ut Eusebius in Chronico et Historia notat. Resuscitavit sævitiam novo edicto Trajanus anno principatus sui decimo, ut idem Eusebius notat Historiæ iii. 27.... Quibus addi potest notissima Plinii epistola de pœnitis Christianorum, et Tertullianus Apologetico. Ex eo edicto crucifixus Simon filius Cleopæ, Hierosolymorum Episcopus: Ignatius Antiochenæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus Romæ feris objectus, notante utrumque Eusebio. Grot. ut supr. T. 3, p. 471.

the writers of them, it may be of some use to observe their several characters more distinctly; whereby, possibly, we may be able to discern how it came to pass that so renowned men as Pliny and Trajan treated the Christians so hardly.

Pliny, as I suppose, was a dutiful child, and he was very respectful to the memory of his uncle, by whom he was adopted for his son. He evidently was a loving husband, a good master, a faithful friend, and a kind and generous benefactor to many. He was also a friend to civil liberty, and an enemy to tyrants. Withal he was a good writer. To that he owes the immortal fame of which he^k was desirous. To that we likewise are indebted for the advantages which we may receive from his Panegyric and Epistles, still remaining. If to a friendly temper for particular persons he had added a love of mankind in general, his conduct might have been more unexceptionable than it was. His virtue and his wisdom had a trial when he met with Christians in the province which he was sent to govern. And when they were brought before him he failed, as seems to me, in a proper regard to the rules of justice and equity.

But before I proceed to any such things, as may be imagined to have been in part the sources of some wrong conduct, I must expatiate farther in the detail of his amiable qualifications, which may be easily collected from his letters, and are such as may deserve the imitation, and excite the ardour, of Christians themselves.

Several of his letters are written to his friend Tacitus, all of them very agreeable. One^l of them, particularly, is a mirror of intimate, sincere, and delightful friendship.

Many of his letters express compassion and tenderness for the distressed and afflicted. His letter to Marcellinus, where^m he laments the death of Junius Avitus, is very affecting. Catanaeusⁿ admires and commends it as superior to all the rest.

In another letter he well represents the benefit of sickness. 'Then,' says^o he, 'we recollect that there are gods, and we know ourselves to be but men. And he thinks it may be laid down as a short rule, more valuable than many volumes of

^k Me autem nihil æque ac diuturnitatis amor et cupido sollicitat: res nomine dignissima, præsertim qui nullius sibi conficius culpæ, posteritatis memoriam non reformidet. L. v. ep. 8.

ep. 20.

^l Lib. 7. ^m Lib. 8, ep. 23. ⁿ Impar igitur tanto dolori, (concepto ex Junii Aviti morte,) Marcellino remotam per hanc epistolam exponit, inter

pulchriores pulcherrimam, inter tristiores tristissimam, inter amantiores amantissimam. Catan.

^o Tunc Deos, tunc hominem esse se meminit... Possum ergo, quod pluribus verbis, plurimis voluminibus philosophi docere conantur, ipse breviter tibi mihiq; præcipere, ut tales esse sani perseveremus, quales nos futuri profitemur infirmi. L. 7, ep. 26.

' philosophical speculations, that we should endeavour to be in health, what we promised to be when sick.'

He has an excellent letter, written in a fine turn of expression, in behalf of forgiving injuries, or at least covering and hiding any offences which we have received. I must transcribe ^r below a large part of this letter, though I do not translate it. However, he recommends it as a good rule ' to be inexorable to our own failings, whilst we treat those of the rest of the world with tenderness, not excepting even such as forgive none but themselves.'

After reading these, and other letters, written in a moving and affectionate manner, we may be disposed to wish that Pliny had never met with those people called Christians, whose only fault was, that they differed from him, and most others, in things of religion; and whose great unhappiness it was, that they were generally despised, and their principles unknown, and supposed to be unworthy to be inquired into and considered.

When old Simeon saw the child Jesus presented by Joseph and Mary at the temple, he said, under the influence of the prophetic Spirit: *Behold this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against....that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed:* Luke ii. 34, 35. Which prophecy was afterwards fulfilled among the people of Israel, in the times of our Saviour and his apostles: and has been oftentimes verified since in other people and other countries. By the proposal of the gospel men have been tried; and it has been discovered whether they were lovers of truth, and open to conviction, or not. I therefore proceed.

It has been said that ^r Pliny was indifferent about things of religion. On the other hand, I think, he was credulous and superstitious. His credulity is sufficiently manifest from his long letter, in ^s which he gravely relates divers silly stories in

^r Atque ego optimum et emendatissimum existimo, qui cæteris ita ignoscit, tanquam ipse quotidie peccet: ita peccatis abstinet, tanquam nemini ignoscat. Proinde hoc domi, hoc foris, hoc in omni vitæ genere teneamus, ut nobis implacabiles simus, exorabiles istis etiam, qui dare nisi sibi nesciunt.....Fortasse quæris, quo commotus hæc scribam? Quidam nuper. Sed melius coram. Quamquam ne tunc quidem. &c. L. 8. ep. 22.

^s Unum gessit interdum, ne ignorata damnetur..... nolentes audire, quod auditum damnare non possint. Hanc itaque dramam causam apud vos collocamus ini-

quitatis odii erga nomen Christianorum,ignorantia scilicet. Quid enim iniquius, quam ut oderint homines quod ignorant, etiam si res meretur odium? Tunc enim meretur, cum cognoscitur, an mereatur. Vacante autem meriti notitia, unde odii iustitia defenditur? Tertull. Ap. cap. i.

^r Quare nec oderat eos, licet deorum contemtores, quos quippe et ipsemet, homo philosophus contemnebat, ac secum animo suaviter ridebat. Exemplo scilicet avunculi sui, qui Hist. Nat. 2. vii. patriæ suæ deos ridet, et socordiam esse judicat, credere deos innumeros. Heuman. De Persec. Plinian. sect. v. ^s L. 7. ep. 27.

support

support of the reality of apparitions. I might also refer to ' his long letter concerning the dolphin at Hippo, that carried boys upon its back: though that letter is written with more pleasantry. And perhaps we may hereafter observe more proofs of this weakness of our author.

His veneration for the gods is apparent, and shews itself upon every * occasion.

Pliny begins ^u and ends ^x his panegyric upon Trajan in very devout addressees and thanksgivings to Jupiter, and the other deities, founders and guardians of the Roman empire. I before referred to some of his letters to Trajan from the province, shewing how ^y devoutly he and the people there celebrated the anniversary of his empire.

Upon occasion of private, as well as public, concerns, he always adores the gods. His wife, having had an abortion, he writes to her grandfather, that ^z he should however give thanks to the gods for her safety, and that there were still hopes of her having children.

In a letter to one of his friends, he tells him he ' had lately ' purchased, with a legacy that was left him, a statue of Corinthian ' brass, which appeared to him to be antique, and was so highly ' finished as to deserve the attention of the curious.' Well, how is this masterpiece to be disposed of? He goes on: ' I bought ' it ^a not with any intent of placing it in my own house, (for I ' have nothing of that kind there,) but with a design of fixing ' it in some conspicuous place, in my native country, and in the ' temple of Jupiter; for it is a present worthy of a temple and ' a god.'

He built several temples at his own expense. His letter relating to the temple of Ceres deserves to be read throughout.

¹ L. 9. ep. 33. * I cannot but wonder that this should have been overlooked by any learned men. It is acknowledged again and again by Colonia, tom. 2. p. 49, 50. Il fit toujours gloire d'être fort religieux. &c. See him quoted more at large by and by.

^u Bene ac sapienter, Patres C. majores instituerant, ut rerum agendarum, ita dicendi initium a precationibus capere: quod nihil rite, nihilque providenter homines sine deorum immortalium ope, consilio, honore auspicarentur..... Quo magis aptum piusque est, te Jupiter optime maxime, antea conditorem, nunc conservatorem imperii nostri, precari, ut mihi digna Consule, digna Senatu, digna Principe contingat oratio. Penag. cap. i.

* In fine orationis præfides custodisque imperii deos ego Consul pro rebus humanis, at te præcipue, Capitoline Jupiter, precor, ut beneficiis tuis faveas, tantisque muneribus addas perpetuitatem. Cap. 94. ^y Lib. x. ep. 44, 45, 60, 61, 101....104. Vid. et ep. 9.

^z Igitur....sic debes agere diis gratias, quod ita in præsentia pronepotes negaverint, ut servarint neptem. &c. L. 8. ep. 10. Conf. l. 8. ep. 1.

^a Emi autem, non ut haberem domi, (neque enim ullum adhuc Corinthium domi habeo,) verum ut in patriâ nostrâ celebri loco ponerem, ac potissimum in Jovis templo. Videtur enim dignum templo, dignum deodorum, L. 3. ep. 6.

It begins with these words: 'In ^b compliance with the advice of ' the Aruspices, I intend to rebuild and enlarge the temple of ' Ceres, which stands upon my estate.'

Concerning another temple of his building he writes in a letter to Fabatus, his wife's grandfather. He and his wife were going to make him a visit; but Pliny makes excuses for a short delay, because he would first go and consecrate that temple. 'We' ' shall stop only once, and that for a short time; intending to ' turn a little out of the way in order to go to Tuscany.... There ' is a town near my estate, called Tifernum, upon the Tiber, ' which put itself under my patronage when I was yet a youth.... ' that I may return their good offices, I have built a temple in ' this place at my own expense. As it is finished, it would be ' a sort of impiety to omit the dedication of it any longer: "dis- ' ferre longius irreligiosum est." We design therefore to be ' there on the day that the ceremony is to be performed. And I ' have resolved to celebrate it with a grand feast.'

He speaks of erecting another temple, which was entirely new, in a place where had been none before; where ^d he intended to place all the statues of the Roman emperors which he had in his possession. And he asks leave of Trajan that he might set up his statue there also.

In a letter to Maximus, who was going into Achaia, he writes to this purpose: 'You' ^e will consider yourself as sent to that ' noble province of Achaia, the real and genuine Greece.... Re- ' vere the gods their founders, those venerable deities. Respect ' the ancient glory of this people.... Pay a regard to their anti- ' quity, to their noble exploits, and even to their fictions.'

This letter of advice is written with uncommon earnestness, that Maximus might act worthy of himself, and not lose in Greece any part of that reputation which he had gained by his quæstorship in Bithynia, and the discharge of other offices in which he had been employed. And can we think that Pliny neglected such rules himself when he was governor in Bithynia?

Pliny, as before said, was augur. It was an office which he much valued, and which he asked of Trajan in this manner: 'I' ^f beg you would be graciously pleased to add either the office ' of augur, or septemvir, (both of which are now vacant,)

^b Aruspicum monitu reficienda est mihi ædes Cereris in prædiis in melius et in majus. L. 9. ep. 39. ^c L. 4. ep. 1.

^dego statim decurionibus scripseram, ut assignarent solum, in quo templum pecuniâ meâ exstruerem. L. x. ep. 24.

^e Cogita, te missum in provinciam A-

chaïam, illam veram meram Græciam.... Reverere conditores deos, numina deorum. Reverere gloriam veterem.... Sit apud te honor antiquitati, sit ingentibus factis, sit fabulis quoque. L. 8. ep. 24.

^f L. x. ep. 8. al. 13.

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to the dignity which I already enjoy by your indulgence, that I may have the satisfaction of offering up those vows for your prosperity, from the duty of my office, which I daily prefer to the gods in private from the affection of my heart.'

Pliny was greatly delighted with his being appointed augur: 'My advancement,' says he to Arrian, 'is indeed an honour that justly merits the congratulation which you give me....It is also an ancient and sacred institution, which has this high and peculiar privilege annexed to it—that it is for life. Other sacerdotal honours, though they may be not much inferior in dignity, yet as they are given, so they may be taken away; upon this, fortune has no power but to bestow it. What recommends this dignity to me still more is, that I have the honour to succeed so illustrious a person as Julius Frontinus; who for many years, upon the nomination-day of proper persons to be taken into the sacred college, constantly proposed me, as if he had a view to my being his successor.'

This last mentioned particular certainly deserves some notice. Pliny's usual character was such as to shew him to be a very fit person for this honourable priesthood.

In another letter also he relates how^h that eminent man Virgilius Rufus often recommended him as a person well qualified for the priesthood.

The business of the augurs, as is said, was to interpret dreams, oracles, prodigies, and to foretel whether any action should be fortunate or prejudicial to particular persons, or to the whole commonwealth. And it appears, from our Pliny's lettersⁱ to his friends, that he thought he had a happy talent for interpreting dreams, and could give a shrewd conjecture, at least, how far they were to be depended upon, and whether they foreboded success or disappointment in any undertaking.

None can contest his credulity and superstition who observe what he says describing the river Clitumnus. 'Near it,' says^k he, 'stands an ancient and venerable temple, wherein is placed [the river god] Clitumnus, clothed in a splendid robe; whose immediate presence the prophetic oracles, there delivered, sufficiently testify.'

I am not singular in my judgment concerning Pliny's respect

^l L. 4. ep. 8. ^h sic illo die, quo sacerdotes solent nominare quos dignissimos sacerdotio judicant, me semper nominabat. L. 2. ep. 1.

ⁱ Vid. l. i. ep. 18. Conf. l. 5. ep. 5.

^k Adjacet templum, priscum et religiosum. Stat Clitumnus ipse amictus ornatusque prætexta. Præsens numen, atque etiam fatidicum, indicant sortes. L. 8. ep. 8.

for the heathen deities, and his zeal for upholding their worship. Colonia expresseth himself very clearly to the like ¹ purpose.

I think I ought not to omit that Pliny did not condemn combats of gladiators, or other things usually accompanying those cruel entertainments. He seems to have approved of them upon some occasions. This appears from a letter to his friend Maximus. 'You ^m were extremely in the right,' says he, 'to propose a combat of gladiators to our good friends, the citizens of Verona; not only as they have long distinguished you with their peculiar esteem and veneration, but as it was thence also you received the amiable object of your affection, your late excellent wife. And ⁿ since you owed some monument, or public shew, to her memory, what other spectacle could you exhibit more proper to the occasion?... The readiness with which you granted this request, and the magnificent manner in which you performed it, is much to your honour.... I am sorry that the African panthers, which you had largely provided for that purpose, did not arrive time enough. But though they were delayed by the tempestuous season, the obligation to you is equally the same, since it was not your fault that they were not exhibited.'

The emperor Trajan has been admired and applauded by many. And it must be owned that he was an eminent person, and had many good qualities. Crevier begins his history of this emperor in this manner: 'Trajan is justly esteemed the best and greatest prince the Romans ever had.' His distinguished title was that of Optimus, given ^o him by the senate, and all the people in general. 'But,' as a learned man says, 'that ^p title among the

¹ Mais il eut encore une attention plus particuliere à faire fleurir par tout la culte des Dieux. Car il fit toujours gloire d'être fort religieux, comme il paroît entre autres choses, par les grands mouvements qu'il se donna pour faire transporter dans un lieu plus decent le vieux temple de la Grand Mere des dieux, c'est-à-dire de Cybèle, qui étoit à Nicomédie, [l. x. ep. 58.] et par le soin qu'il eut de faire bâtir à ses propres frais un temple dans une de ses terres, assez près de Tifernum.

Cet entêtement singulier de Plinie pour les dieux, et pour les erreurs de Paganisme, doit paroître certainement quelque chose d'assez bizarre dans un aussi bel esprit que lui, qui devoit, ce semble, par mille raisons s'être mis fort au dessus des frivoles préjugés du vulgaire. Colonia

La Religion Chrétienne autorisée, &c. T. 2. p. 49, 50. ^m Recte fecisti, quod gladiatorum munus Veronensibus nostris promissisti. L. 6. ep. 34.

ⁿcujus memoriæ aut opus aliquod, aut spectaculum, atque hoc potissimum, quod maxime funeri, debeatur. Ibid.

^o Jam, quid tam civile, tam senatorium, quam illud additum a nobis Optimi cognomen? Plin. Pan. cap. 2. Justinus de causis Senatus Populusque Romanus Optimi tibi cognomen adjecit? Ib. cap. 88.

Conf. Dion. l. 68. p. 1138. Vid. ibid. Reimar. not. sect. 44. Tilleim. note vi. sur Trajan. et Pagi ann. 103. n. ix. et ann. cxi.

^p Cum Trajanus nominatus fuit a Romanis Optimus, hoc vocabulum non significat hominem virtutum moralium, et aliterum quasi Socratem. Romani enim tales

'the Romans does not denote a man of excellent morals, as if he were another Socrates, but only kind, courteous, obliging, agreeable; implying that ^a he behaved respectfully toward the senate, and was gracious and condescending toward the people, conversing familiarly with them, indulging them in their pleasures, gratifying their humour, and affording them magnificent spectacles.'

And it may be not unfitly observed by us, that we have not Pliny's panegyric upon Trajan, as it was pronounced by him in the senate. For, as we know from himself, he ^r afterwards enlarged and improved it, not only for more fully doing justice to the emperor himself, but also that it might be the model of an excellent prince, for the imitation of others in time to come.

Trajan's piety to the gods is acknowledged. The emperor's and his panegyrist's piety go hand in hand. In that justly admired performance Pliny celebrates his master as ^a a humble worshipper of the gods. And he says, that ^r Trajan ^t placed his predecessor, Nerva, among the gods, not to please the people, nor out of any disrespect to the deities, nor with a view of honour to himself upon that account, but because he really believed him to be a god.' And, in a letter formerly referred to, representing his own vows, and the vows of the province in which he was, he says: 'We ^u implored the gods to preserve you and the republic in safety and prosperity, with that peculiar mark of their beneficence, which not only your other many and great virtues, but particularly your distinguished piety and reverence of them, deserve.'

tales homines non magni faciebant.....
Quid ergo sibi volebat ille Romanorum titulus? scilicet significabant eos Trajanum habere mores, qui ipsis placerent maxime. Faciebat enim quicquid gratum esse Senatui intelligebat, quicquid Populo. Huius voluptatibus, illius ambitioni indulgendi nullam dimittebat occasionem. En Imperatorem iudicio populi optimum. Heuman. De Persecutione Christian. Plinian. p. 146.

^a Καὶ τότε δὴ μὲτ' ἐπιεικῆς συνεγενέτο, καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ σεμνότερος ὡμίλει' ἀγαπητός μὲν πᾶσι, φοβερὸς δὲ μηδενί, πλὴν πολέμουσι ὡν. Dion. p. 1124.

^r Officium consularis injunxit mihi, ut Reipublica nomine Principi gratias agerem. Quod ego in Senatu quum ad rationem et loci et temporis ex more fecissem, bono civi convenientissimum credidi eadem illa spatiosius et uberius volumine amplecti: primum ut Imperatori nostro virtutes suæ veris laudibus commendaren-

tur: deinde, ut futuri principes non quasi a magistro, sed tamen sub exemplo præmonerentur, quâ potissimum viâ possent ad eandem gloriam niti. Plin. l. 3. ep. 18. Conf. ep. 13. Vid. et l. 6. ep. 27.

^s Tu delubra non nisi adoraturus intras. Tibi maximus honor excubare pro templis, postibusque prætexi. Paneg. cap. 52.

^t Quem tu lacrymis primam, ita ut filium decuit, mox templis honestasti: non imitatus illos, qui hoc idem, sed aliâ mente fecisti....Tu sideribus patrem intulisti, non ad mentem civium, non in contumeliam numinum, non in honorem tuum, sed quia Deum credis. Paneg. cap. xi.

^u Precati Deos, ut te remque publicam florentem et incolumem eâ benignitate servarent, quam super magnas plurimasque virtutes præcipua sanctitate consequi Deorum honore meruisti. L. 10. ep. 101. Conf. ep. 9.

Though

Though Trajan has been much applauded by men of former and later times, as ^x excelling in the arts of peace and war, temperate, mild, equitable; such was the impartiality of divers of the ancient historians, that they have not scrupled to record some very great faults which he was guilty of.

He is said to ^y have indulged himself at some seasons in excess of eating and drinking: and he is charged ^z with a vice not fit to be named. Some ^a would set aside this charge, as if the testimony of Dion Cassius was liable to suspicion; but there is no reason for it: Dion was as likely to be well informed as any man. His only fault is, that he does not condemn the vice with the severity which it deserved: and ^b Trajan's guilt is attested also by other witnesses, altogether unexceptionable.

Trajan was fond of the combats of gladiators. Dion says that, 'after ^c he had triumphed for his first victory over the Dacians, he exhibited in the amphitheatre shews of gladiators, of whom he was very fond; and introduced dancers into the theatre, being enamoured with one of them.' And after the second victory over the Dacians, the same historian, or Xiphilinus from him, says, there ^d were shews continued for an hundred and three-and-twenty days, in which were slain eleven thousand beasts, wild and tame; and there were combats of ten thousand gladiators.

The emperor's great fondness for gladiators has been sup-

^x Hôc ægre clarior domi, seu militiæ reperietur....Æquus, clemens, patientissimus, atque in amicos perfidelis. Sextus Aur. Vict. de Cæsaribus, cap. 13. Conf. Victor. Epit. c. 13. in Eutrop. l. 8. Dion. Cass. l. 68. p. 1122. &c. Julian Cæs. p. 327, 328. ed. Spanhem.

^y Trajanum familiaris prosecutus est: quandoquidem et indulgisse vino se dicit, Trajani moribus obsequentem: atque ob hoc se a Trajano locupletissime numeratum. Spartian. de Adrian. cap. 3.

Quinetiam vinolentiam, quo vitio, uti Nerva agebatur, prudentiâ molliverat, curari vetans iussa post longiores epulas. Victor. de Cæsaribus, cap. 13.nisi quia cibo vinoque paululum deditus erat. Victor. Epit. cap. 13. de Trajano.

Illa tamen, quibus Trajanus aspersus est, vinolentiam, et cupiditatem triumphandi, usque eo detestatus est, ut bella non moverit, sed invenerit: prohibueritque lege ministeria lasciva, psaltriasque commilationibus adhibere. &c. Id. cap. 48. De Theodosio. Ου γὰρ η̄ ἐξω τε δυνασθαι ῥητορευειν, ὑπο δὲ τῆς φιλοπουσίας, ἀμβλυτερος ἐαυτῇ πολλανικῆς η̄ν. Julian. Cæs. p. 327. C. Spanh. et Conf. ib. p. 318. C.

^z Οὐδ' ἐστὶν ὁ τίς οὐκ ἀριστερὸν εἶχε. Καὶ οἶδα μὲν ὅτι καὶ περὶ μετράκια, καὶ περὶ οἶνου εὐποδακεῖ· ἀλλ', εἰ μὲν τίς ἐκ τῶν τῶν αἰσχυρῶν ἢ κακῶν ἢ ἐδεδρακεῖ, ἢ ἐπεποθεῖ, ἐπηγορεύει αὐτὸν εἶχε· νῦν δὲ τῇ τε οἷν διακορῶς ἐσθίει, καὶ πῶν η̄ν, ἐν τε τοῖς παιδικαῖς ἐδενα εὐπορῶσεν. Dio. l. 68. p. 1124.

^a A Dione, fortasse ex odio in Romanorum Imperatorum Græcis insito, ebrietatis et præpostera libidinis notatus. J. de la Baune De Vita Traj. sub fin.

^b Fuitque in amore Trajani, nec tamen ei per pædagogos puerorum, quos Trajanus impensius diligebat, Gallo favente, defuit. Spartian. Adrian. cap. 2. Corruptissimè eum Trajani libertos, curasse delicatos, eosdemque sepelisse per ea tempora, quibus in aulâ familiarior fuit, opinio multa firmavit. Id. ib. cap. 4.

Ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Σεβήσιος εἶπεν....οὐρα γὰρ τῷ δεσποτῇ Διὶ σκοπεῖται, ὅπως ὁ Γανυμήδης αὐτῷ φερρῆσεται. Julian. ib. p. 311. C.

^c Τραϊανὸς δὲ ταῖς νικητήριας πᾶσι...τῇ τῷ θεατρῷ μορμαχίας συνέβαλε· καὶ γὰρ ἐχάειρεν αὐτοῖς· καὶ τῆς ὀρχήσεως ἐς τὸ θεάτρον ἐπαίνογαγε· καὶ γὰρ ἐνὸς αὐτῶν τῇ Πυλαδῇ η̄ρα. Dion. l. 68. p. 1127. al. 774. B.

^d Dio. ib. l. 68. p. 1131, al. p. 777.

posed by some to be one reason why Pliny speaks so honourably of those shews in his ^e Panegyric.

Trajan's introducing pantomimes into the theatre is the more remarkable, because they had been prohibited or restrained by ^f Domitian. Nerva ^g disliked them, though ^h to please the people he allowed them at Rome. Pliny has more than once plainly condemned them in his ⁱ letters, which is much to his honour. And indeed I take him to be a much better man than his admired master.

It seems to make no small abatement in Trajan's reputation for wisdom, and his regard for the prosperity of the empire, that he so long deferred to nominate his successor. Pliny ^k extols Nerva for appointing Trajan to succeed him. And it is always reckoned a point of wisdom in princes to make early provision against their own mortality. But Trajan, though he reigned almost twenty years, did not adopt Adrian his successor till he was dying, if he did ^l then. And whenever this was done, whether before or after his death, it is ^m represented to be owing to the good conduct of the empress Plotina, who was favourable to Adrian, and has a great character ⁿ for virtue and discretion.

They who will consider all these things, may, perhaps, see cause not to be much surpris'd at the hard treatment which Christians met with from the great men of those times.

It ought not to be thought by any that I take pleasure in detracting from the merit of those who have been distinguished by their high stations, or their eminent abilities, or their useful services to mankind of any sort. For indeed the disadvantageous part of this detail has been made, and carried on, not without

^e Satisfactum, quâ civium, quâ sociorum utilitatibus. Visum est spectaculum inde non enerve, nec fluxum, nec quod animos virorum molliret et frangeret, sed quod ad pulchra vulnera contemptumque mortis accenderet: quum in servorum, etiam noxiorumque corporibus amor laudis et cupido victoriæ cerneretur. Paneg. cap. 33. ^f Interdixit histrionibus scenam, intra domum quidem exercendi artem jure concessio. Sueton. Domit. cap. 7.

Vid. et Nero. c. 16. ^g Dio. l. 68. p. 1119, al. 770. B. ^h Plin. Pan. cap. 46. Conf. Reimar. not. 82. ad Dion. p. 1127.

ⁱ Gymnicus agon apud Viennenses, ex cuiusdam testamento, celebrabatur. Hunc Trebonianus Rufus, vir egregius nobisque amicus, in duumviratu suo tollendum abolendumque curavit. Placuit agona tolli, qui mores Viennensium infe-

cerat, ut noster hic omnia. Nam Viennensium vitia intra ipsos resident, nostra late vagantur. Utque in corporibus, sic in imperio, gravissimus est morbus, qui a capite diffunditur. L. 4. ep. 22. Vid. et l. 7. ep. 24. ^k Tibi terras, te terris reliquit: eo ipso carus omnibus, ac desiderandus, quod prospexerat, ne desideretur. Paneg. cap. 2. ^l At Trajanum non prius Hadrianum adoptasse, si tamen adoptavit, quam in morbum inciderit. . . . certo deducitur. Pagi ann. 117. n. v. And see Crevier's History of Trajan, near the end.

^m Vid. Dion. l. 69. in. Eutrop. l. 8. c. 6. Victor. de Cæsarib. cap. 13. Spartian. in Adrian. cap. 4. ⁿ Plin. Paneg. cap. 33. Dion. l. 68. p. 1123. in. al. p. 771. D. Victor. Epit. in. Constantio, cap. 42. sub fin.

great reluctance, much diffidence, and tenderness; whilst commendable things have been cheerfully acknowledged. And if we now think, and judge, and act, better than many in former times, it is owing to our superior advantages: such especially as we have received from the Christian revelation, by which our minds have been enlightened and enlarged: for which we ought to be ever thankful, still thinking modestly of ourselves, and giving God the glory of all.

IX. There still remains some general remarks upon the foregoing epistles to be mentioned here, though divers of them may have been in part hinted before.

1. These epistles are justly esteemed by learned men as very valuable. They are the only authentic accounts of the persecution in Pontus and Bithynia which we have. Indeed those epistles have been referred to by Tertullian, and Eusebius, and other later writers: but we have no history of it by any Christian writer who lived at that time. Whence this has come to pass, cannot be certainly said. We may regret it, but we cannot help it, and should acquiesce, and improve what we have as well as we can.

2. We see here one ground of offence against Christians—they drew men off from the worship of the heathen deities. Their temples were not so much frequented as formerly. The priests, and all who had a dependence upon the temples, the sacrificers, the statuaries, the painters, the engravers, and others, were deprived of their wonted gain. This must have made the Christians many fierce enemies in all parts. An early instance of this kind is recorded by St. Luke, Acts. xix. 23....41.

3. Here is a remarkable evidence of the great progress of the Christian religion in a short space. There never was any such thing as Christianity heard of in the world before the reign of Tiberius. It was not fourscore years since the crucifixion of Jesus when Pliny wrote this letter, nor seventy years since the disciples of Jesus began to make any mention of him to Gentiles. And yet there were at this time great numbers of men, whom Pliny once and again plainly calls Christians, in that part of Asia where he presided, at a great distance from Judea. Christians there were every where, throughout the whole extent of his province, in cities, in villages, and in the open country. There

• Verum hisce temporibus, et hoc quidem anno, cœpit tertia, quæ vocatur, persecutio, ut liquet ex Epistola Plinii, qui Bithyniæ Proconsul erat, ...quam integram recitabimus, quod sit unicum persecutionis illius tertiæ monumentum,

tempori æquale. Tanta fuit Christianorum eo ævo, in scribendo religionis suæ historia, negligentia, aut scriptorum illius ætatis jactura. Cleric. H. E. Ann. cxi. n. i.

were persons of all ages, of every rank and condition, and of each sex, and some Roman citizens, who had embraced this principle. They abounded so much in those parts, that there was a visible desertion of the temples. Beasts, brought to market for victims, had few purchasers; the annual sacred solemnities were much neglected. So many were accused, and were in danger of suffering upon account of the prevalence of this opinion, as gave the president no small concern.

Moreover, there were not only many at this time who bore that name, but there had been such people there a good while; some several years before; and one, or more, brought before Pliny, had professed Christianity, and forsaken it, twenty years before. By which we are assured that there were Christians here before the year of our Lord 90, and within sixty years after the crucifixion of Jesus. And indeed the great number of Christians found in this country by Pliny affords good reason to believe that Christianity had been planted there many years before his arrival. Such an increase must have been the work of time.

I do not say, nor think, that the Christians were the majority of the people in Pontus and Bithynia: but I suppose we may conclude, from what Pliny writes, that there were then many Christians in every part of those * countries.

4. They who were called Christians were very resolute and steady in this profession, which must have been owing to some cause or other. Jesus had been crucified as a malefactor; and yet there were great numbers of men who had a great respect for him, and could not by any means be compelled, as Pliny was assured, to speak ill of him. And this governor found those informations, which had been given him, to be true. For there were men brought before him, who, when he interrogated them whether

* Says Mr. Mosheim: Tota igitur provincia, non quædam ejus pars, Christianis repleta erat. Postremo non obscure significat, Deorum causam magno in discrimine paullo ante versatam esse, pluresque Christo, quam Diis servivisse. Hoc ex eo manifestum est, quod templa deserta fuisse, sacra solemnia diu intermissa, sacrificia perpauca Diis oblata memorat. 'Certe, satis constat, prope jam desolata templa coepisse celebrari. &c.' Aut fabulam hero suo narrare Plinium statue... aut certum puta, provinciam Ponticam plures ejus tempore Christianos habuisse, quam deorum superstitioni deditos, saltem maximam incolarum partem ad deferendam avitam religionem inclinasse. Mosh. De

Reb. Christian. ante C. M. p. 218, 219.

But it seems to me that, in a preceding note, the same learned man speaks more judiciously in a remark upon Tertullian, Oracula fundere Tertullianus plurimis videtur in Apologetico. cap. 37. 'Hesiterni sumus, et vestra omnia implevimus.....palatium, senatum, forum. Sola vobis relinquimus templa.' Ego virum, ad exaggerandum naturâ factum, declamare, modumque excedere, arbitror. Tolle distributionem illam rhetoricam, fallacem certe et insidiosam, et hanc habebis sententiam: Plurimi sunt in orbe Romano Christiani, et nullus fere ordo est, qui prorsus illis careat. Id. ib. p. 217.

they were Christians, confessed they were. And, though threatened by him with death, they persevered in that confession, and therefore were by him ordered away for execution.

It is reasonable to think that this was owing to some authentic informations which they had received concerning Jesus, and his exemplary life and excellent doctrine, confirmed by miraculous works, and a full persuasion of the truth of them, as also of his resurrection from the dead, and his exaltation to power and dominion after his crucifixion.

It could not well be owing to any thing, but such evidences of these things as are contained in the books of the New Testament. What else could have induced so many men to take upon them the name of Christ, and profess themselves to be his followers, though all men knew he had suffered an ignominious death? They lived near enough to the time of Jesus to know whether there had been any extraordinary appearances in his favour, during his abode on this earth, at his death, and after it. Without credible information of some such things, it is unaccountable that any number of men should take upon them this profession, and persevere in it, notwithstanding the many difficulties to which they were exposed.

If it should be said they were not all constant; there were some who abandoned this profession; it is allowed; some such there were: but they seem to have been but few in comparison of those who persevered. For Pliny saw that great numbers of all sorts of people were exposed to danger. Besides, the constancy of a few, in such a case as this, is of more weight than the inconstancy of many. There were many temptations to renounce this profession, even contrary to conviction: but there were no worldly inducements of any kind to persist in it. Unsteadiness might be owing to worldly considerations; perseverance could be owing to nothing but a firm persuasion of the truth.

5. We are here assured of divers important things concerning the religious belief and worship of the first Christians, in which they agree with the principles and precepts delivered in the New Testament.

1. They disowned all the gods of the heathens: they would not worship the images of the emperors, or of their gods. The people, who embraced this religion, forsook the heathen temples and altars, and offered there no sacrifices.

2. They met together on a stated day, undoubtedly meaning Sunday, or the Lord's-day, on which Jesus Christ our Saviour rose from the dead. And we are assured by Justin Martyr, in his

his Apology, written not very many years after this time, that this was the practice of all Christians in general.

3. When they were assembled, as Pliny says, 'they sang a hymn to Christ, as a god: and also engaged themselves, as by an oath, not to commit theft, or robbery, or adultery, never to falsify their word, or betray any trust committed to them.'

Which account is much to the honour of these Christians. Their religion did not lie in abstruse speculations, or numerous rites and ceremonies, but in the worship of the one God, through Jesus Christ, and the practice of moral virtue.

4. The Christians in Pontus and Bithynia had love-feasts, or agapæ, as they are also sometimes called. Many other Christians had the like, as we learn from ^p Tertullian. Those of the Christians in Bithynia were not held at the same time with their more solemn worship, but afterwards; and for avoiding offence they had omitted them.

5. They also had church officers. Pliny expressly mentions two women, who were ministers, or deaconesses, whom he also calls maid-servants. But, as before hinted, he might be mistaken about their condition.

Whence it came to pass that he has mentioned no other officers among the Christians, such as bishops, or presidents, or elders, or deacons, cannot be said. But it may be allowed that the persons pitched upon by him, to be examined by torture, were as likely as any to answer his purpose, of obtaining a knowledge of their secret practices, if the Christians had any such among them.

6. We are here assured of the innocence and virtue of the first Christians. Both these epistles, that of Pliny, and that of Trajan, bear testimony to their innocence, in their solemn worship, in their meal, some time afterwards, and in their whole lives. There was not any crime, beside that of their religion, proved against any of those that were brought before Pliny. Even their accusers and prosecutors appear not to have alleged any thing else against them, but that they were Christians. He examined deserters. He put to the torture two women who were ministers, or deaconesses. And yet he discovered nothing but what was quite harmless. The only charge against them is, an absurd superstition, and obstinacy therein.

Trajan's rescript affords as strong proof of the innocence of these men. He knew not of any offence they were guilty of, excepting only their not supplicating to the gods. He ^a for-

Z 3

bids

^p Ap. cap. 39.

^a Conquirendi non sunt. Si deferantur, et arguantur, puni-
endi

bids inquiries to be made after them; and he allows pardon to those who would give proof of their renouncing Christianity, by a public act of worship paid to the gods, then generally received.

The honesty and innocency of these men, oblige us to pay a great regard to their belief and profession of the Christian religion. If they were sober and discreet before they embraced it, we may hence argue that, there were then such evidences of it's truth as approved themselves to serious persons. If they are supposed to have been in fore time vicious and irregular, here is a strong proof of the truth and goodness of Christianity, in that it had so great an influence on men's minds at a time when they might easily know whether it was well grounded or not. Either way, it is an honour to these principles, that they who embraced them maintained such innocence in their lives, that their enemies, by the strictest inquiries, could discover nothing criminal in them.

7. At the same time that these Christians appear resolute in their adherence to Christ and his doctrine, and will by no means be compelled to give religious worship to the emperors, or the heathen deities, they pay due obedience to the orders of the civil magistate. Their evening meeting, for partaking together in a common meal, was not a sacred ordinance of the Christian institution. When therefore Pliny published an edict forbidding assemblies, which was often done by the Roman governors of provinces, because of the licentious practices which usually attended them, these Christians forbore those meetings, though they had not been used to commit any disorders in them.

8. I would now take occasion to observe the expedience and usefulness, the value and importance, of inquisitiveness in things of religion.

Improvements in any science depend upon inquisitiveness, carried on and continued with diligence. These are the only methods of obtaining a knowledge of the principles of any science, and the grounds, reasons and evidences of them: for the want of which there is so much ignorance in the world. Nor is there any thing less cultivated than the knowledge of religion. How easily might some great men, and many others, have avoided the faults which they fell into, and have acted more for their own honour, and the benefit of mankind, than they did, if they could but have been persuaded to attend to the principles of the

endi sunt: ita tamen, ut qui negaverit se Christianum esse, idque re ipsa manifestum fecerit, id est, supplicando Diis nostris, quamvis suspectus in præteritum fuerit, veniam ex poenitentia impetret. Trajanus,

Christian

Christian religion, and the evidences of their truth and certainty, apparent in their intrinsic excellence and reasonableness, and in the extraordinary works accompanying the original revelation of them, which shewed that they were promulgated with divine authority?

That Christianity had appeared in the world a good while ago; and that there were many Christians at Rome, and elsewhere, in the reign of Nero and Domitian; and that these Christians had suffered much, and still persisted in the faith of Christ; were things well known to Tacitus and Suetonius, friends of our Pliny, and indeed to all the world, at the time when the eminent men, just mentioned, lived and wrote. But how little regard did they shew to this? Did they consider the evidences which those Christians alleged, as the ground and reason of their firm and disinterested belief and profession? Did those persons admit any doubts about the grounds of the ancient worship, or make any serious inquiries about religious truth? It does not appear they did.

We have a collection of Pliny's letters in ten books. The tenth and last contains the correspondence between him and the emperor Trajan. In the other nine books are more than two hundred and forty letters, many of them written to Tacitus and Suetonius, and other men of great distinction for their learning and ingenuity, and high station, and the offices which they had borne in the Roman empire. Is there any thing in these letters relating to the Christian religion, or the Christians, it's honest professors? Not one word: there is total silence upon that subject throughout! Do any of them ask Pliny whether he could inform them concerning the Christian philosophy, which had made such progress in the world in a short time? Or does Pliny ask any of them whether they had examined the pretensions of those people, and considered whether there was not somewhat extraordinary in this new sect? No, there are no inquiries of this sort sent by Pliny to any of his learned and honourable friends; nor to him by any of them, so far as appears! They are all well satisfied in the ancient way. They hesitated not to proceed in the observation of all the idolatrous rites and ceremonies practised by their ancestors. If they would not inquire, how should they know? And if they did not know, how should they act wisely, as the circumstances of things might require?

And in all ages ignorance will be culpable, if men neglect the means of knowledge, and will not inquire. And they must bear the consequences of their own neglects.

I beg leave to transcribe here the pathetic address of Justin

Martyr to Antoninus the pious, and the senate and people of Rome, at the end of his first apology, to induce them to attend to, and examine the evidences of, the Christian religion, and to give such treatment to the professors of it as in all equity they had a right to expect. And I the rather transcribe it here, because I am persuaded the like things were said to Pliny, and repeated to him more than once, by those Christians who were accused before him and examined by him. And possibly, yea very probably, they came also to the ears of the emperor Trajan himself.

‘ On ‘ the day called Sunday we all meet together.... On which
‘ day Jesus Christ our Saviour rose from the dead. On the day
‘ before Saturday he was crucified. And on the day after Satur-
‘ day, which is Sunday, he appeared to his apostles and disciples,
‘ and taught them those things which we have set before you,
‘ and refer to your consideration. If these things appear agree-
able to reason and truth, pay a regard to them. If they appear
trifling, reject them as such. But do not treat as enemies, nor
appoint capital punishment to those who have done no harm:
for we foretel unto you, that you will not escape the future
judgment of God if you persist in unrighteousness. And we
‘ shall say; The ‘ will of the Lord be done.’

C H A P. X.

EPICETUS the stoic philosopher.

- I. *His life and time.* II. *A story representing his great patience.* III. *That he was learned.* IV. *A general account of the stoic principles.* V. *Of Arrian, who drew up the Enchiridion, and Discourses of Epicetetus.* VI. *Passages in Epicetetus relating to the Christians, with remarks and observations.*

I. EPICETUS ^a was a celebrated stoic ^b philosopher. But there are not many particulars of his life that are known with certainty. He is in Suidas: and I shall take the historical part of his article for my text.

‘ Epicetetus,’ says that ^c author, ‘ born at Hierapolis in Phry-
‘ gia, a philosopher, was slave of Epaphroditus, one of the em-

^a Justin. p. 99. Paris. 1636. p. 84. Be-
ned. ^b ο φιλοντωσις, τετο γινεσθω.

^c Vid. Fabr. Bib. Or. l. 4. c. 7. Tom.
3. p. 257. &c. Tillemont Adrien. art. xx,

^b Epicetetus Stoicorum vel maximus.
Ap. A. Gell. l. 1. c. 2. Maximus Phi-
losophorum. Ib. l. 17. cap. xix.

^c V. ΕΠΙΚΤΗΤΟΣ,

‘ peror

peror Nero's body-guards. He was lame in one leg, occasioned by a defluxion. He dwelt at Nicopolis, a city of New Epirus; and reached to the time of Marcus Antoninus. He wrote many things.'

'Epictetus, born at Hierapolis in Phrygia:' which I do not think to be certain. And I have observed that^d divers learned men speak doubtfully of this particular, as not entirely relying upon the authority of Suidas.

The names and quality of his parents are no where mentioned.

'He was a slave of Epaphroditus, one of Nero's body-guards, and was lame in one leg, occasioned by a defluxion.'

That Epictetus was for some while a slave, and always poor, and likewise lame, are things attested by many ancient writers, and need not to be disputed. They are mentioned by^f Aulus Gellius, who was contemporary with our philosopher, but survived him: who mentions a short Greek epigram, which he also ascribes to Epictetus himself, to this purpose:

'A slave, in body maim'd, as Irus poor;

'Yet to the gods was Epictetus dear.'

Simplicius, whose authority is very good, says that 'Epictetus^g was a slave, of an infirm constitution, and lame from early age; and so well satisfied with extreme poverty, that his small house at Rome needed no securities, having nothing in it but his couch and mattresses, upon which he lay.'

Hence I think it may be collected that, while Epictetus lived at Rome, he was, for some time at least, a freeman, and had a house of his own. And it may be supposed that there were some who were willing to support him, and furnish him with such things as were necessary. This may be argued also from some preceding words of Simplicius, where, having represented a like case, he says: 'Who^h would not be willing to maintain such a one, at the same time thinking that he rather receives than confers a benefit?'

^d Natum Hierapoli Phrygiæ tradunt. Lipsi. citat. in notis ad A. G. l. 1. cap. 2.

On le fait natif d'Hieraple en Phrygie. Tillem. ut supr.

^e πρῶθεν δὲ το σκελὸς ἐπορεμματος. Suid. ^f De Epicteto autem, philosopho nobili, quod is quoque servus fuit, recentior est memoria, quam ut scribi quasi obliteratum debuerit. Ejus Epicteti etiam de se scripti duo versus feruntur....

^g Δεὸς Ἐπικτήτος γενομένη, καὶ σώματι πηρὸς, καὶ πεινῇ ἰρὸς, καὶ φίλος ἀθανάτοις.

A. G. l. 2. c. 18. Et Macrobi. l. 1. c. xi. sub fin.

^h ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ ταῦτα λεγὼν Ἐπικτήτος, καὶ δεῖλος ἦν, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀσθενὲς, καὶ χυλὸς ἐκ νεῆς ηλικίας, καὶ πεινῇ ἀκροτάτη ἐπιτηδεύσειν, ὡς τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ οἰκῆμα αὐτοῦ μηδεπότε κλειθεῖν δεηθῆναι, ὅτι μηδὲν εἶδον εἶχον, ἐν μὴ τὴν σκεῦῃ καὶ τὴν ψαλθῇ, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐκαθίστατο. Simpl. in Epictet. Ench. cap. 13. p. 102.

ⁱ τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἀγαπᾷ τρεφεῖν τοῦ τοιούτου, λαμβανὲν χάριν πολλοῦ ἢ περὶ δοῦναι νομίζων. Ib. p. 102.

In another place of the same work Simplicius says: 'The^h admirable Epictetus for the greatest part of his life dwelt alone: but afterwards [or in his advanced age] he was attended by a woman, whom he took to nurse a child, which he intended to bring up, and which otherwise a friend of his, who was very poor, would have exposed.'

Though Simplicius mentions no other furniture of this philosopher's house beside a couch and mattress, undoubtedly there was also a lamp; which, as we learn from ⁱ Lucian, was sold after his death for three thousand drachms, or a hundred pounds of our money: which high price, however, was not owing to the value of the materials, for it was earthen; but the reputation of the proprietor.

Epictetus himself refers to his lameness^k several times. And Origen^l supposeth him to have been a slave.

Suidas says that 'Epaphroditus^m was one of Nero's body-guards:' by whichⁿ some have understood chamberlain: and others, from this place of Suidas, as I apprehend, have been led to think he was^o captain of the guard, or præfectus prætorio: which must be a mistake. Suetonius^p calls him master of the requests. For certain he was^q Nero's freed-man, and one of his favourites. He is generally supposed to be the same to whom Josephus inscribed his Jewish Antiquities, and of whom he speaks honourably.

But I think it doubtful whether Epictetus ever was his slave. 'It is certain,' says^r Tillemont, 'that he was a slave. Suidas says he was slave of Epaphroditus, one of Nero's body-guards.' Of this last particular therefore he speaks doubtfully.

Epictetus has thrice^s mentioned Epaphroditus in his Discourses, recorded by Arrian. In one of those places he calls Epaphroditus Nero's freedman: and tells a story very disadvantageous to his character, exposing him to contempt and ridicule. And it is manifestly fictitious; in part at least. But would Epictetus treat Epaphroditus in that manner if he had been his master and had made him free! Moreover, if Epictetus's master had been so great, and so well known a person as Epaphroditus,

^h Ibid. cap. 46, p. 272.
Indoctr. p. 386. T. 2. Græv.

^k Ap. Arrian. l. 1, c. 8, sub fin. et c. 16, sub fin. Cantabr. 1655.

^l Contr. Cels. l. 3, p. 144, al. § 54.

^m των σωματοφυλακων τη βασιλευς Νερανος.
ⁿ Epaphroditi, qui libertus, et cubicularius Neronis. Fabr. B. Gr. T. 3, p. 257.

^o Capitaine des gardes

ⁱ Adv. de Neron. Morery. p a libellia.
Sueton. Neron. c. 49. Domitian. c. 14.

^q Tacit. Ann. l. 15, cap. 55.

^r Il est certain, qu'il a esté esclave. Suidas dit, qu'il le fut d'Epaphrodite garde du corps du Neron. Ibid.

^s Ap. Arrian. l. 1, c. 1, et 19, et 26. Cantabr. 1655.

p. 99.

he would have been sometimes called his freed-man, as Epaphroditus is called Nero's, and Phlegon Adrian's: and Stephanus Byzantinus, under the word Bithynion, says 'it was the native place of Pinytus, who taught grammar at Rome; who was the freedman of Epaphroditus, as he was Nero's: not now to add any more like instances.

'He dwelt at Nicopolis, a city of New Epirus.'

We know, from Suetonius and other authors, that in the reign of Domitian, about the year of Christ 94, the philosophers were ordered by a decree of the senate to depart from Rome and Italy. Among them was Epictetus, who then went to Nicopolis, and taught philosophy there.

Epictetus may refer to this banishment of the philosophers, when some of them, as may be supposed, to conceal their character and avoid the public resentment, took off their beards.

That Nicopolis was the place of his abode, is expressly said by himself, once at least, in his Discourses, preserved by Arrian; and it is implied in what he says in several other places.

'He reached to the time of Marcus Antoninus.'

And to the like purpose Themistius. Nevertheless, there are divers learned men who do not assent to this: and what they say is of no small weight: for they observe that he is not mentioned by Marcus himself, nor by others, among those philosophers by whose instructions he had been benefited, and who were cherished and favoured by him. And that emperor himself acknowledgeth his obligations to Junius Rusticus for procuring him a sight of Epictetus's Discourses.

Epictetus is mentioned by Spartian among those philosophers to whom Adrian shewed great regard. If that be true Epictetus must have lived to his time. And some have hence argued that he returned to Rome. But I rather think he never left

¹ Vid. Spartian. Adrian. c. 16. et Phot. cod. 97.

² αφ' ἡ Πινυτος ἐγενετο Ρωμαῖος γραμματικὸς Ἐπαφροδίτη τῷ Νερῳ ὡς ἐξ ἐλευθέρου. Steph. Byz.

³ philosophos omnes Urbe Italiaque submovit. Sueton. Domit. 10. Neque illis solum temporibus, nimis rudibus, necdum Græcâ doctrinâ expolitiss, Philosophi ex urbe Româ expulsi sunt. Verum etiam, Domitiano imperante, senatusconsulto ejecti, atque Urbe et Italia interdicti sunt. Quâ tempestate Epictetus quoque Philosophus propter senatusconsultum Nicopolin Româ decessit. A. Gell. l. 15, cap. xi.

⁴ Ἀφ' ἡ, Ἐπικτήτης, διαξυπνισαί. κ. λ. Arrian. l. i. c. 2, p. 89.

⁵ ὅς οἱ κῶν ἐν Νικοπόλει. L. 2, c. 6, p. 184.

⁶ L. i. c. 10, et 19, fin. et c. 25, p. 147, l. 4, c. 1, p. 376.

⁷ Or. 5, p. 93.

⁸ Salmaf. Animadv. in Epictet. et Simp. p. 1....4. Gattaker. ad M. Antonin. l. 8, cap. 31. Kuster. Ann. in Suid. V. Ἐπικτήτης. Fabric. et Tillem. ut supra.

⁹ De Rebus suis, cap. 2, 3.

¹⁰ Vid. J. Capitolin. M. Anton. Phil. cap. 3.

¹¹ Καὶ τὸ ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς Ἐπικτήτειοις υπομνημασί, ὡς οἰκοῦνται ματῶν. De Reb. suis. l. 1, § 7.

¹² In summa familiaritate Epictetum et Heliodorum.... habuit. Spart. Adrian. cap. 16.

Nicopolis

Nicopolis after he had settled ^h there. And he might receive marks of esteem from Adrian without going to Rome.

His own Discourses, as seems to me, afford the best help for settling his time. In the second book he says there ⁱ was then war between the Romans and the Getes, or Dacians. According to a computation formerly ^k made, Trajan's wars with the Dacians lasted five years, beginning in the year 100 or 101, and ending in 105 or 106. In the ^l third book he speaks of there being then peace all over the Roman empire: which may be that time of profound and general tranquillity which succeeded the victories and triumphs over that people. In ^m the fourth book Trajan is mentioned by name; and it may be supposed that he was then living: which may induce us to think that all the philosophical discourses of Epictetus, recorded by Arrian, were spoken before the end of that emperor's reign.

It is allowed that Epictetus lived to old age. He is called an old man ⁿ in A. Gellius and ^o Lucian. He speaks of himself as ^p an old man in the first book of his Discourses.

It is generally allowed by learned men that ^q Arrian did not publish the Discourses of Epictetus till after his decease. It is manifest that Epictetus was dead when ^r A. Gellius published his Noctes Atticæ. And ^s Arrian's Collection was abroad in the world when A. Gellius studied at Athens: which, probably, was in the time of Adrian. Consequently Epictetus did not survive Trajan, or however not long. Lucian, who flourished in the time of M. Antoninus, speaking of the person who bought Epictetus's lamp after his death, says, 'he was ^u one of our time, and might be still living:' which implies that the purchase had been made some good while before. All the discourses of Epictetus, which we have, were delivered at Nicopolis, as is ^v

^h Nec post id tempus Romam illum puto rediisse, sed ibi mortem obiisse. Salmaf. ib. p. 4.

ⁱ Καὶ νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς Γέτας. L. 2, c. 22, p. 244. Cantab.

^k See before, p. 289. ^l L. 3, c. 13, p. 292.

^m Τίνα ἔχει τοῦ χαρακτῆρα τούτου τοῦ τετρασσοῦ; Τραϊανῶ. L. 4, c. 5, p. 390. Cant. p. 602. Upt.

ⁿ L. i. c. 2. ^o τῷ θαυμαστῷ ἐκείνῳ γέροντι. Adv. Indoct. T. 2, p. 386.

^p γέρων χυλός. L. 1, c. 16. fin.

^q Atqui non eos videtur composuisse, nisi post mortem Epicteti. Salmaf. in Epict. et Simp. p. 4. illas dissertationes habuit, quas in literas deinde ipso defuncto retulit Arrianus. Fabr. ut supr. p. 259. Et notabis, jam Epictetum tum

decessisse, cum Enchiridion hoc Messalino inscriberet Arrianus. Salmaf. ib. p. 5.

^r A. G. l. 2, c. 18. ^s Jusitque (Herodes Atticus) proferri Dissertationem Epicteti digestarum ab Arriano, secundum librum, in quo venerandus ille senex. A. G. l. i. c. 2. Atque ibi coram ex sarcinulâ suâ librum protulit Epicteti philosophi, quantum Διαλέξεων, quas ab Arriano digestas congruere scriptis Zenonis et Chrysippi non dubium est. Id. l. 19, cap. 1.

^u ... οὐκ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦς ἐγένετο τις, καὶ ἐτι εἰς οὐμᾶι. T. 2, p. 386.

^v Et profecto omnes ejus sermones ac dissertationes, quas scripto mandavit Arrianus, quæque hodie exstant, Nicopolis habitæ sunt. Salmaf. ut supr. p. 4.

manifest.

p. 94.

manifest. And from his settlement in that city to the death of Trajan (in the year 117,) or thereabout, must be reckoned the time when he chiefly flourished.

Le Clerc, in his Ecclesiastical History, speaks of Epictetus at the year of Christ 104: which is not at all amiss, as must appear from what has been just said. But, as my observations may relate to the whole collection of his discourses, some of which might be spoken later, I have chosen to place him at the twelfth of Trajan, and the one hundred and ninth year of our Lord.

'He wrote many things:' which will be considered by and by.

II. Having now gone over what is said by Suidas, we will observe a story told of Epictetus by Celsus, in his books against the Christian religion: that, 'when' his master tortured his leg, 'he, smiling, and not at all discomposed, said, "you will break it:" and when it was broke, he said, "did I not tell you that "you would break it?"' This Celsus magnifies as exceeding every thing recorded of our Saviour's patience.

Here again ² Tillemont hesitates. And indeed we might have been well pleased to find this account in Aulus Gellius, or some other ancient author, not writing in controversy. However, there certainly is some foundation for it: though ^a the story is not always told in the same way. Epictetus is several times brought in as an example of heathen patience in ^b Gregory Nazianzen, and ^c the Dialogues ascribed to his brother Cæfarius.

Possibly some may think that Epictetus himself refers to this occurrence of his past life, when in the first book of his Discourses, speaking of death, exile, imprisonment, and other pains, which men ought to endure patiently and cheerfully, he says: 'I must ^d die—And must I die groaning too? Be fettered—Must 'it be lamenting too? Exiled—And what hinders me then but 'that I may go smiling, and cheerful, and serene? Betray a secret—I will not betray it: for this is in my power. Then I

Υ ΕΚΕΙΝ ΕΠΙΚΤΗΤΟΥ; ΟΣ ΤΗ ΔΙΟΠΤΗ
ΓΡΕΒΑΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΗ ΤΟ ΣΚΕΛΟΣ, ΥΠΟΜΕΙΔΩΝ, ΑΝ-
ΠΛΗΚΤΩΣ ΕΛΕΓΕ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΣ. ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΞΑΝΤΟΣ,
ΟΚ ΕΛΕΓΟΝ, ΕΠΕΝ, ΟΤΙ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΣ. Orig. C.
Cels. l. 7, p. 268. al. § 53.

² On trouve quelque chose de cela dans les Dialogues de Cæfarius, et dans Gregoire de Nazianze. Mais non pas dans un endroit d' Aulu-Gelle, dont on le cite, et dont le temoignage rendroit cette histoire plus assurée. Tillem. as before.

^a Sed ne crus quidem Epicteti silentio præterierim. Quod cum ipsi a tyranno

quodam vincum fuisset, ac diuturno post tempore ille ex ipso quævisisset, an solvi vellet, inquit, an vincus sum? &c. Elias Cretens. Comm. in Greg. Naz. Or. 3, p. 326.

^b Καὶ τὸ ἐπικτῆτη σκελός. Gr. Naz. Or. 3, p. 77. Vid. et Ep. 64. al. 58, p. 822.

^c Epicteti vero crure, a moroso domino convulso, multis Philosophis silentii, et in periculis, occasio doctrinæ fuit. Cæsar. Dialog. 4, p. 304. B. ap. Bib. PP. T. V.

^d Here I take Mrs. Carter's translation, p. 5.

' will

‘ will fetter you—What^e do you say man? Fetter me? You will
 ‘ fetter my leg; but not Jupiter himself can get the better of
 ‘ my choice....These things ought philosophers to study,...and
 ‘ in these to exercise themselves.’

However, though there may be some foundation for this story, we can perceive that the lameness of Epictetus was not owing to a violent fraction or dislocation; for we are informed by Suidas that his lameness was owing to a defluxion, and by Simplicius that he was lame from early age.

We likewise perceive, from the writers above alleged, that Epictetus was not always a slave. In the latter part, and perhaps the longer part of his life, he was a freeman. He was a philosopher, living at ease in his own house, attended by a woman, with the child of a friend whom he intended to bring up. All which particulars lead us to think that Epictetus had a sufficiency, or competence, though not superfluities. Nor can it be at all doubted that his friends and disciples would, and did, furnish him with all things necessary during his abode at Rome, and afterwards at Nicopolis: where we suppose him to have ended his life; and where he seems to have had many hearers and disciples, and some of good condition, who would not fail to allow him handsome gratuities for his instructions, which they highly valued.

III. We have seen what ancient writers say of the furniture of this philosopher’s house. It consisted, they say, of ‘a couch and matts upon which he lay, and a lamp.’ I have sometimes thought they should have added, ‘and a library,’ the books of which he carefully read and studied; for Epictetus was learned. I cannot say that I have seen this observation in any writers of his life: and yet it is very obvious. Nor is it reasonable to think that the only use of the lamp was to enlighten his room in the dark night, or to dress his victuals by the light of it: very probably he read and studied by it.

Epictetus’s learning is conspicuous in his Discourses. He knows very well the history of Greece and Rome, and ^f the customs of all nations, Jews, Syrians, Egyptians, as well as Romans. He is intimately acquainted with the principles, the history, the sayings, the writings, of the ancient Greek philosophers: the ^g Iliad and Odyssæy are familiar to him. He ^h also quotes Hesiod. He ⁱ had read the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides,

^e Ἄλλα δὴσω σε. Ἀνθρώπου, τί λεγεις; ἐμε; το σκελος μη δῆσεις, τὴν προαιρεσιν δι, ὅτι Σινος νικῆσαι δυναται. L. i. c. 1, p. 85. ^f L. 1, c. xi. p. 114. Vid. et l. 2, c. ix. p. 192. ^g L. 1, c. 28, p. 155. et passim. ^h L. 2, c. 12, p. 201. Vid. Hesiod. Theog. ver. 87. ⁱ L. 1, c. 24, p. 145. et c. 28, p. 157.

p. 96.

and the ^k comedies of Menander, and ^l the orations of Lyfias and Ifocrates. In a word, he was no ftranger to any part of polite literature. And Mrs. Carter fays: 'He^m often quotes, with great applaufe, the fentences of many writers not of his own 'feft.' But how could that be done without having read?

We have no diftinct account of his education: but his own Difcourfes are a proof that he had read, and ftudied, as well as thought.

IV. I am not obliged to give a diftinct account of his philofophical principles. I fhall put down here only a few general obfervations from Mrs. Carter's introduction, feft. 33: 'Stoicism is, indeed, inferior to the doctrine of Socrates; which did not teach that all externals were indifferent; which did teach a future ftate of recompence; and, agreeable to that, forbade fucide.' And, in another fection of her introduction, the fame philofophical lady fays: 'There is, I think, very little evidence to be found that they believed future rewards and punifhments, compared with that which appears to the contrary; at leaft the reader will obferve that Epictetus never afferts either.' Sect. 20, p. xiii.

V. I muft now give fome account of ^{mm} Arrian, to whom we are indebted for what we have of Epictetus.

In Photius ⁿ are feveral articles concerning his works. One of the laft of which was a hiftory of his own country, Bithynia: wherein Arrian fays 'he^o was born, and bred, and educated, in Nicomedia: and that he was prieft of Ceres and her daughter, to whom that city was dedicated.'

In another article Photius, having given an account of feveral of his works, fays: 'This ^p Arrian was by profeffion a philofopher, and one of Epictetus's friends. He flourifhed in the times of Adrian, Antoninus the pious, and Marcus Antoninus. He was called the young Xenophon. On account of his uncommon abilities he was intrufted with divers civil employments, and attained to the dignity of the confulship. Befide ^q thofe already mentioned he wrote other works, as Difertations of his mafter Epictetus, in eight books, fo far as we know; and Homilies [or Difcourfes] of the fame Epictetus, in twelve books; and it muft be owned that his ftyle much refembles that of Xenophon.'

^k L. 3, c. 26, p. 351. ^l L. 3, c. 23, p. 325. ^m Introduction. § 40, p. 31.

^{mm} Vid. Suidam Voff. de Historicis Gr. Fabr. Bib. Gr. L. 4, c. 8, T. 3, p. 269, &c. Biographia Claffica. Vol. 2, p. 67, &c. Lond. 1740. Tillemont Adrien, art. xx, Dictionaire de Morery.

ⁿ Cod. 58, p. 51. Cod. 91, 92, et 93.

^o Cod. 91. p. 233.

^p 52, &c.

^q Εγραψε δι βιβλια και ετερα, των μεν διατριβων Επικτητου τε διδασκαλου, οσα ισμεν βιβλια οκτω των δε ομιλιων τε αυτου Επικτητου βιβλια δωδεκα. Ib. p. 53.

^p Cod. 58.

Suidas^r mightily agrees with Photius, saying: ‘Arrian, of Nicomedia, an admirer of Epictetus’s philosophy, and called the young Xenophon, lived at Rome in the times of the emperors Adrian, Marcus, and Antoninus; and, upon account of his distinguished abilities, attained the dignity of the consulship, as Heliconius says. He wrote very many books.’

Lucian^s says: ‘Arrian, a disciple of Epictetus, was a man of the first rank among the Romans, who employed his whole life in the study of literature.’

I have no concern at present with any works of Arrian, excepting those relating to Epictetus. I therefore now proceed to Simplicius, who has been already cited more than once; who in the sixth century wrote a Commentary upon the Enchiridion of Epictetus. His preface to that work begins with these words: ‘Arrian, who compiled the Dissertations [or Discourses] of Epictetus in several prolix books, wrote concerning the life and death of Epictetus. From him may be learned what a sort of man he was. The same Arrian composed this book which is called the Enchiridion of Epictetus, selecting out of the several parts of his discourses [λογων] such things as are most important, and most necessary in philosophy, and most likely to affect mens minds. As the same Arrian says in his epistle to Mesgalenus, [or Messalinus,] his own friend, and especially a great admirer of Epictetus.’

Hence it may be concluded that Epictetus published nothing himself. Suidas therefore is mistaken when he says that ‘Epictetus wrote many things,’ unless he may be understood to mean by his disciples.

Learned men are now generally of opinion that Arrian published three or four books, one concerning the Life and Death of Epictetus, another called his Dissertations, and a third his Discourses, beside the Enchiridion. I rather think that beside the Enchiridion he composed but one, called his Dissertations, or Discourses, ‘whence may be known what sort of man he was, how he lived, and how he died.’ I understand Simplicius to speak of but one work only, which I suppose to be that which we now have in four books; though possibly something at the end may be wanting; as we have also lost Arrian’s epistle to his friend Messalinus, which he prefixed to the Enchiridion.

Photius speaks of Arrian’s composing two works, the Dissertations, and the Discourses of Epictetus. But he speaks doubt-

^r V. Αρριανος. ^s Pseudom. p. 747. Tom. i. Græc. ^t Περὶ μὲν τοῦ βίου τοῦ Ἐπικ-
τήτου, καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς, Ἀρριανὸς ἐγράψεν, ὁ τὰς Ἐπικτήτου διατριβὰς ἐν πολυτοιχοῖς
συντάξας βιβλίοις· καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν μαθεῖν ἐστὶν, οὗτοι οἱ γεγόνην τὸν βίον ὁ αὐτὸς. κ. λ. Simp. p. i.
fully

fully of the number of books of which the Dissertations consisted. And I am apt to think he had read none of them. He multiplies the works, being led into a mistake by the different titles of one and the same work, sometimes called Dissertations, at other times Discourses.

I do not perceive Marcus Antoninus to speak of more than one work, called by him ^u Memoirs of Epictetus. Which title well suits the discourses now in our hands. Aulus Gellius quotes a ^x long passage of the second book of his Dissertations, which we have: another ^y of the fifth book of the Dissertations, which we do not find. Simplicius, in his preface, useth both these words indifferently, Dissertations and Discourses. Arrian himself, in his epistle to L. Gellius, prefixed to the work which we have, useth the expressions of Discourses and Memoirs: *λογους υπομνηματα*.

Thus I had written long before I had met with Mr. Upton's edition of Epictetus: and it was not without some surprise as well as pleasure that I have observed how nearly we agree in sentiment upon this point. For he likewise supposeth that ^z Arrian published nothing of Epictetus beside the Enchiridion, and his Discourses, some books of which are now lost.

I must now transcribe a part of what Arrian says in his preface or dedication to Lucius Gellius. 'I ^a neither composed the discourses of Epictetus in such a manner as things of this nature are commonly composed, nor did I myself produce them to public view any more than I composed them. But whatever sentiments I heard from his own mouth, the very same I endeavoured to set down in the very same words, as far as possible, and preserve as memorials, for my own use, of his manner of thinking, and freedom of speech.

'These discourses are such as one person would naturally deliver from his own thoughts extempore to another, not such as he would prepare to be read by numbers afterwards.'

^u τοις Επικτητειοις υπομνημασιν. L. 1, § 7.

^x Juslitque proferri dissertationum Epicteti digestarum ab Arriano secundum librum. L. 1, c. 2.

^y librum protulit Epicteti Philosophi quintum Διαλεξεων, quas ab Arriano digestas, &c. L. 19, c. 1. Vid. et l. 17, c. xix. in.

^z Ex hisce locis credas primâ facie, plurimos olim existisse libros, quos de Epicteto composuit Arrianus: I. Περὶ τῶν Επικτήτου διατριβῶν. βιβ. η. II. Περὶ τῶν Επικτήτου ομιλιῶν βιβ. ιβ. III. Περὶ τῆς βίης Επικτήτου καὶ τῆς τῆς τελευταίας.

IV. Επικτήτου λόγοι. V. Επικτήτου εγχειριδίου. VI. Επικτήτου υπομνημάτων. VII. Περὶ τῶν Επικτήτου διαλεξεων. De hisce libris quid sentiam, palam profiteri nullus dubito, licet in aliam a doctis viris iverim sententiam: nempe esse a manu Arriani duo tantum inter tot memorata volumina. Vid. Περὶ τῶν Επικτήτου διατριβῶν: cujus operis nonnulli interciderunt libri: et Επικτήτου Εγχειριδίου: cujus quoque ad Messalinum præfatio seu dedicatio interiit, &c. Upt. Not. in Epictet. p. 4, 5.

^a Here I use Mrs. Carter's translation.

p. xli.

Here therefore it should be observed, that what I am about to transcribe from this work ought not to be considered as said by Arrian, but by Epictetus himself, whose sentiments Arrian has recorded in his own words, as near as could be done.

For this reason I have been careful to settle the time of Epictetus. About the time of Arrian I have not been so solicitous: but I am inclined to believe that he published these discourses of his master soon after his death, about the year of our Lord 120, and the fourth of the emperor Adrian.

VI. In these discourses there are two passages which have been supposed by many learned men to relate to the Christians.

1. In the ^b first Epictetus blames those who assume the profession of philosophy, or any other character, without acting up to it. 'Why,' says he, 'do you call yourself a stoic? Why do you deceive the multitude? Why should you pretend to be a Greek, when you are a Jew? Do you not perceive upon what terms a man is called a Jew, a Syrian, an Egyptian? When we see a man inconstant to his principles, we say he is not a Jew, but only pretends to be so: but ^c when he has the temper of a man dipped, and *** professed, then he is indeed, and is called, a Jew. Even so we are counterfeits, Jews in name, but in reality something else.'

It appears to me doubtful whether Christians are here intended, or only Jews, and proselytes to Judaism: who sometimes lived like Jews, and sometimes like Greeks. It is reasonable to think that many did so in the time of Epictetus, when Jews were hardly treated by Domitian.

2. In the other place Epictetus is speaking of intrepidity, or fearlessness, and particularly with regard to a tyrant, surrounded by his guards and officers, and says: 'Is ^d it possible that a man may arrive at this temper, and become indifferent to those things from madness, or from habit, as the Galileans, and yet that no one should be able to know by reason and demonstration that God made all things in the world....?'

Some have thought that by the Galileans are here meant the followers of Judas of Galilee. I should rather think that Christians are intended; of whose sufferings there are such accounts in Tacitus and Suetonius, as may assure us that Epictetus and

^b L. 2, c. 9, p. 192... p. 214. Upton.

^c Όταν δ' αναλαβὴ το παθεῖν, το τε βεβαιώσῃ καὶ ἡρώεσσι, τότε καὶ ἐστὶ τὸ οὐκ εἶναι καλεῖται Ἰουδαῖος. Οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς παρὰ λατρίαν, λόγῳ μὲν Ἰουδαῖοι, ἔργῳ δ' ἄλλο τι. Ib.

*** Instead of ἡρώεσσι, Mr. Upton and Petavius would read περιηρη-

μεν 'circumcised.' But it is a mere conjecture, without the authority of any manuscript, or ancient printed edition. See Upton's notes, p. 124.

^d Εἴτα οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν δυνατὸν τις ἐπὶ διακρίσειν αὐτὰ, καὶ οὐκ εἶναι οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι. L. 4, c. 7, p. 400. Cantabr. p. 621. Upton.

Arrian could not be unacquainted with them. The followers of Judas of Galilee were extinct before this time. Our Lord had dwelt in Galilee the greatest part of his life here on earth. He was called *the prophet of Galilee*^e. Most of his wonderful works were wrought in that country, or near it: and his disciples were called Galileans^f. Such things often occur in our gospels, and the Acts of the apostles. So that it is not at all unlikely that in early days, as well as afterwards, the Christians might be opprobriously called by some Galileans.

Suidas says that, 'in^g the time of the emperor Claudius, they, who before had been called Nazarenes and Galileans, received a new name at Antioch, and were called Christians.' Mani, in the third century, sometimes called the catholics Galileans: as appears from^h one of his epistles still extant. I think there can be no question made but that the Christians, in general, were sometimes called Galileans before the time of the emperor Julian.

It is however very observable, that this stoic is much displeased with some people who had exceeded his own sect in fortitude and patience. A like reflection we shall meet with hereafter in a passage of the emperor Marcus Antoninus, likewise a stoic philosopher, by whom the Christians are expressly named.

Mrs. Carter, who by her translation of the discourses of Epictetus has done honour to herself, and to her sex, has a note upon this place, which deserves to be transcribed here. 'Epictetus,' says she, 'probably means not any remaining disciples of Judas of Galilee, but the Christians, whom Julian afterwards affected to call Galileans. It helps to confirm this opinion that M. Antoninus [l. 2, sect. 3] mentions them by their proper name of Christians, as suffering death out of mere obstinacy. It would have been more reasonable, and more worthy the character of these great men, to have inquired into the principles on which the Christians refused to worship heathen deities, and by which they were enabled to support their sufferings with such amazing constancy, than rashly to pronounce their behaviour the effect of obstinacy and habit. Epictetus and Antoninus were too exact judges of human nature, not to know that ignominy, tortures and death, are not merely on their own account objects of choice. Nor could the records of any time

^e Matt. xxi. 11.^f Acts i. 11. ii. 7.

Γαλιλαία, et Χριστιανοί.

^h Τῶν Γαλι-^g Ἰστορεῖται, ὅτι ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου βασιλεως Ρωμης ... ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, μετεωνομασθησαν οἱ παλαιὶ λεγόμενοι Ναζαραιῶται καὶ Γαλιλαῖοι, Χριστιανοί. Suid. V. Ναζαρηταιος. Vid. et V.

λαίων δύο φύσεις ὀνομαζόντων εἶχεν τοὺς Χριστοὺς, ἀλλὰ τὸν καταχέμεν γέλωτα. κ. λ. Mani. ap. Fab. B. Gr. Tom. v. p. 285.

‘or nation furnish them with an example of multitudes of persons of both sexes, of all ages, ranks, and natural dispositions, in distant countries, and successive periods, resigning whatever is most valuable and dear to the heart of man from a principle of obstinacy, or the mere force of habit; not to say that habit could have no influence on the first sufferers.’

I shall just add, it was the opinion of Tanaquil Faber that by Galileans the Christians are here intended.

3. Some may think I might conclude here; but I must proceed. Epictetus’s discourses, as was observed above, abound with quotations of Greek authors, and references to ancient history. Nevertheless, we observe not any mention made of Moses, or David, or Solomon, or any of the Jewish prophets, nor yet of Matthew, or Mark, or Luke, or John, or Paul, or Peter. The disciples of Jesus wrote in Greek, and the books of Moses, and the Jewish prophets had been before his time translated into the Greek language. I do not say he had read them; but he could not be altogether ignorant of them. Nor were any of them undeserving the regard of a moral philosopher. But they were Unitarians. Nor could they be alleged or taken notice of without hurting, if not overthrowing, the polytheistic scheme.

4. In the sixteenth chapter of the first book of his Discourses, Epictetus has such expressions as these. ‘What else can I, a lame old man, do, but sing hymns to God?....Since I am a reasonable creature, it is my duty to praise God....And I exhort you to join in the same song.’ No Christian can read this passage without thinking of David’s psalms, and perhaps some other parts of scripture. Justly therefore does Mrs. Carter observe, in a note upon that passage, ‘Beautiful and affecting examples of such praise and exhortation may be seen in Psalms xxxiv. civ. cxlv....and other parts of the sacred writings.’

5. In the time of Epictetus, and his disciple Arrian, Christians were numerous and well known at Rome, and most parts of the Roman empire, as we are assured by what Tacitus, Pliny and Suetonius have written concerning them: not now to insist upon any Christian writers, however celebrated or however credible they may be.

Nor was Epictetus unattentive to things that passed in the world about him in his own time, as all must be sensible who

⁸⁸ ΕΥΧΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΑΥΤΗΣ ΔΕΔΟΤΑΝ.] Martyres nostras designat, quos Epictetus, vel Arrianus aiebat id facere *ὑπο μανίας ἢ ὑπο φόβου*. Quos enim ibi Galilæos vocat, nullus dubito, quin sint Christiani. Lib. 4, cap. vii. T. Fab. annot. ad Lucian. de Morte Peregrini. T. 2, p. 567. Græv.

read his discourses. Nevertheless, the Christians are not mentioned at all, very seldom. It is hard to believe that this silence was not affected. Epictetus, I apprehend, was high minded, and the Christians were contemptible. He had his share of the common philosophic pride. He did not think it worth the while to inquire into their principles: nor was it proper to mention them often in his discourses, lest the curiosity of his hearers should be excited, and they should be induced to make more particular inquiries after them.

6. However, let him have due praise for all the good he has said or done. Origen, that great Christian philosopher, whose mind was contracted by no narrow sentiments, who read all sorts of writings himself, and advised others^h to do the same who had leisure and abilities, assures us thatⁱ Epictetus was more acceptable to people of lower rank than Plato, who was more polite.

7. The whole design of his philosophy is said to^k have been comprehended in this short and fine maxim, consisting only of two words: 'Bear and forbear,' *Ἀνεχέαι καὶ ἀπέχεαι*. Which I have not observed among his Fragments, neither in Mr. Upton, nor in Mrs. Carter; though it is particularly mentioned by Aulus Gellius, and ascribed by him to Epictetus himself.

CHAP. XI.

The Emperor ADRIAN.

- I. *His time and character.* II. *His rescript in favour of the Christians to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia.* III. *His letter to Servianus, concerning the Christians in Egypt.* IV. *Whether he erected, and intended to consecrate, temples to the honour of Jesus Christ.*

I. PUBLIUS ÆLIUS ADRIANUS, ^a or the emperor Adrian,

^h See Vol. iii. p. 27.

Cels. l. 6. sub in.

^k Præterea idem ille Epictetus, quod ex eodem Favorino audivimus, solitus dicere est, duo esse vitia multo omnium gravissima ac teterrima, intolerantiam et incontinentiam: quum aut injurias, quæ sunt ferenda, non toleramus, neque ferimus: aut a quibus rebus voluptatibusque nos tenere debemus, non

ⁱ Contr.

tenemus. Itaque, inquit, si quis hæc duo verba cordi habeat, eaque sibi imperando, atque observando curet, is erit pleraque, impeccabilis, vitamque vivet tranquillissimam. Verba duo hæc dicebat: *Ἀνεχέαι καὶ ἀπέχεαι*. A. Gell. l. 17, cap. 19.

^a Vide Dion. Cass. lib. 69. Spartian. in Adriano. Eutrop. l. 8, c. vi. vii. Victor. de Cæsar. c. xiv. Victor. Epit. c. xiv.

^b was born at Rome on the twenty-fourth day of January, in the year of Christ 76, and died on the tenth day of July, in the year 138, being then more than sixty-two years of age. He reigned twenty years and eleven months from the death of Trajan, on the tenth or eleventh day of August in 117.

As I may not enlarge either on his character, or history, it may be best for me to be quite silent. I shall only say that both have been written by ancient Roman and Greek authors with great freedom; and that he is reckoned one of those princes who had great virtues and great vices. He is also represented ^c to have been very various and inconstant.

II. Adrian is not generally reckoned among the persecuting emperors, because ^d he published no new edicts against them. But Trajan's edict was still in force. Many Christians therefore might suffer in his reign, as there certainly did. Jerom supposeth that the persecution ^e in his reign was for a while very violent, and that it was moderated upon occasion of the apologies which Quadratus and Aristides presented to Adrian at Athens. These apologies we have dated ^f in the year of Christ 126. Sulpicius Severus ^g placeth the fourth persecution in his reign. But he allows that afterwards the same emperor restrained it, referring, as it seems, to the rescript, which shall be produced at length hereafter. Orosius does not number him among the persecuting emperors, and ^h placeth the fourth persecution in the time of Marcus Antoninus.

We are informed by Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, that ⁱ Serenius Gracianus ^j, proconsul, wrote to Adrian, that it ^k seemed to him unjust that the Christians should be put to ^l death only to gratify the clamours of the people, without trial, ^m and without any crime proved against them: and that Adrian,

^b Vide Pagi ann. 138, n. iii. Basnag. ann. 117. viii. Tillemont L'Emp. Adrien. art. i. and Crevier's History of the Roman Emperors. vol. vii. p. 213. Dictionnaire de Bayle, Hadrien.

^c Idem severus, letus: comis, gravis: lascivus, cunctator: tenax, liberalis: simulator, savus, clemens, et semper in omnibus varius. Spartian. Adrian. c. 14. ^d ... quas [leges] nullus Hadrianus, quanquam curiositatum omnium explorator ... impressit. Tertull. Ap. c. v. p. 7.

^e Quadratus Apostolorum discipulus, et Atheniensis Pontifex ecclesiae, nonne Adriano principi Eleusinia sacra invisenti, librum pro nostra religione tradidit? Et tanta admirationi omnibus fuit, ut persecutionem gravissimam illius excellens se-

daret ingenium? Aristides Philosophus vir eloquentissimus, eidem principi apologeticum pro Christianis obtulit. &c. Hieron. ep. 83. al. 84.

^f See Vol. 2, p. 288....290. ^g Quarta sub Adriano persecutio numeratur, quam tamen post exerceri prohibuit: injustum esse pronuncians, ut quisquam sine crimine reus consisteretur. S. Sever. H. S. l. 2, c. 46.

^h Oros. l. 7, c. xv. ⁱ Ετι δ' αὐτος [Serenus] ἰσορροπῶν δεξαμένην τὸν Ἀδριανὸν παρὰ Σερηνίου Γρακιανῆς λαμπρότατ' ἐγγεμένον γράμματα ὑπερ' Χριστιανῶν, περιερχόμενα, ὡς καὶ δίκαιον ἐν ἐπὶ μηδενὶ ἐγκληματί, βολαῖς ὅπως χάρισμα ἀκριτῶς κτείνειν αὐτῆς, ἀντιγραφῆαι Μηνικῶν Φειδάνῳ ἀνδραγαθῶ της Ἀσίας, προσάττοντα μηδεὶα κτείνειν ἀνεὺ ἐγκληματος καὶ ἐλεγε κατηγορίας. H. E. l. 4, c. 8, p. 122, D.

p. 109.

‘ in answer to that letter, wrote to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, ordering that no man should be put to death without a judicial process, and a legal trial.’

It is manifest, from the conclusion of Justin Martyr’s first Apology, which was presented to Antoninus the pious, and the senate of Rome, that ^k the rescript of Adrian was subjoined to it. And from Eusebius we know that it was in ^l Latin. He translated it into Greek, and inserted it in his Ecclesiastical History; whence we have it, and whence it has been put at the end of Justin’s Apology, in the same language, the Latin original being lost.

The reason why this rescript was sent to Minucius Fundanus is supposed to be that Serenius’s letter to the emperor was not written till the time of his government was near expiring.

Beside Justin Martyr’s early and express authority, this rescript is also mentioned by Melito in his Apology to Marcus Antoninus, whom he reminds that ‘ his ^m grandfather Adrian had written in their favour, as to others, so particularly to Fundanus, proconsul of Asia.’ This rescript is also referred to by Sulpicius Severus, as before observed: the genuineness of it therefore is indubitable.

It is very reasonably supposed that, beside the letter of Serenius Granianus, the apologies of Quadratus and Aristides, presented about the same time, contributed to procure this favourable rescript. As much is plainly hinted in Jerom’s Latin edition of Eusebius’s ⁿ Chronicle. I now proceed to translate it literally from the Greek of Eusebius.

‘ Adrian ^o to Minucius Fundanus. I have received a letter written to me by the illustrious ^p Serenius Granianus, whom you have succeeded. It seems then to me that this is an affair which ought not to be passed over without being examined into; if it were only to prevent disturbance being given to people, and that room may not be left for informers to practise

^k Ὑπετάξαμεν δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς Ἀδριανῶς τοῦ ἀντιγραφῶν, ἵνα καὶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀληθεύειν ἡμᾶς γινώσκῃτε. Justin. Ap. p. 84. Bened.

^l Τῆτος ὁ μὲν δηλώθει ἀπὸ αὐτῆς παρὰ τῆς τῆς ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀντιγραφῆς. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐλληνικὸν κατὰ δύναμιν αὐτῆς μεταφράσαμεν, ἔχουσιν ὡς. Euseb. l. 4, c. 8, p. 123.

^m ἐν οἷς ὁ μὲν παππὸς σὺν Ἀδριανῶς πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ ἄλλους, καὶ Φουνδανὸν δὲ τῷ ἀνθυπατῶ κηρυττομένῳ τῆς Ἀσίας γράψαν φαίνεται. Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 4, c. 26, p. 148. C.

ⁿ Quadratus discipulus Apostolorum, et Aristides A-

theniensis noster Philosophus, libros pro Christiana religione Adriano dedere compositos. Et Serenus Granianus legatus vir apprimè nobilis literas ad Imperatorem misit, iniquum esse dicens, clamoribus vulgi innocentium hominum sanguinem concedi, et sine ullo crimine, nominis tantum et sectæ, reos fieri. Quo commotus Hadrianus Minucio Fundano proconsuli Asiæ scribit, non sine objectu criminum Christianos condemnandos. Chr. p. 167.

^o H. E. l. 4, cap. 9.

^p λαμπροτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ.

A a 4

‘ their

‘ in

‘their wicked arts. If therefore the people of the province
 ‘will appear publicly, and in a legal way charge the Christians,
 ‘that they may answer for themselves in court, let them take
 ‘that course, and^a not proceed by importunate demands and
 ‘loud clamours only. For it is much the best method, if any
 ‘bring accusations, that you should take cognizance of them.
 ‘If then any one shall accuse and make out any thing contrary
 ‘to the laws, do you determine according to the nature of the
 ‘crime: but, by Hercules, if the charge be only a calumny,
 ‘do you take care to punish the author of it with the severity it
 ‘deserves.’

By ‘importunate demands and loud clamours,’ or in other words by ‘clamorous petitions,’ learned men generally understand the popular cry of those times, ‘The^r Christians to the lions.’ Nor was it an unusual thing, as Valefius observes in his note upon the place, for the people at Rome, or in the provinces, in the time of public shews, when they were got together in the theatre, by loud cries, and a tumultuous behaviour, to gain their will of the presidents, and even of the emperor himself. This method had been practised against the Christians. And it is likely that men were often brought before the presidents with general accusations, without distinct proofs. The emperor was apprehensive that evil-minded men should sometimes hurry on to death men who were not Christians. Therefore he directs the proconsul that no man should be punished as Christians, without a fair and public trial before himself in court.

The emperor’s orders are obscure. ‘If^s any one shall accuse
 ‘and make out any thing contrary to the laws, do you determine,^s or punish, ‘according to the nature of the crime.’ Some may be apt to think that the emperor now appointed that none should be punished for being Christians, unless some real crime were alleged and proved upon them. But that does not clearly appear to be the^r meaning. Nor can we reasonably suppose that Trajan’s edict is here repealed; according to which, if a man was accused and proved to be a Christian, a president is required to punish him, unless he recant. Nevertheless, this rescript must

^a ... ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀξίωσιν, ὅδε μόναις βροαίς.

^r Si Tiberis ascendit ad mœnia, si Nilus non ascendit in arva, si cœlum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues, statim: Christianos ad leonem. Tertull. Ap. c. 40.

^s Εἰ τις ὡς κατηγορεῖ, καὶ δεικνύσι τι πᾶρα τῆς νόμου πρᾶττοντας, ὅπως ορίξῃ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ κατ’ἐνόμιον.

^t Afterwards Adrian gave a rescript

to Minucius Fundanus, which is obscure.

^r It doth not manifestly exempt Christians from punishment; and yet it seems in some degree to favour them, and might be so interpreted by a judge, who was disposed to put the mildest construction upon it. The Christians often appealed to it. Dr. Jortin’s Discourses concerning the Christian Religion, p. 59.

p. 112.

be allowed to have been beneficial to the Christians. Several ancient writers, as we have seen, say that afterwards the persecution, which before had been violent, was restrained and moderated.

The Christians were hereby taken out of the hands of the common people and tumultuous rabble, and brought before the governors of provinces to be examined in open court, and not to be condemned without evidence. This must have been a considerable advantage to men who were much disliked by the generality of their neighbours as the Christians were.

Melito, as before quoted, says that 'Adrian wrote in favour of the Christians, as to divers others, so particularly to Fundanus, proconsul of Asia.' By which we are led to understand that this rescript was sent to other governors of provinces, as well as to Fundanus; or that this rescript, sent to him, was to be the rule of conduct, not to him only, but to other governors likewise.

From this rescript, and from the letter, which gave occasion to it, we learn that there were then Christians in Asia. It is probable they were there in great numbers; for the affair appeared worthy of the emperor's consideration. But Christianity, as is apparent, was odious to the generality of people in that country; therefore men must have had some good reasons for embracing a profession which rendered them obnoxious to their neighbours.

From what we have seen of Quadratus and Aristides, two learned Christian apologists, and the emperor Adrian, and also Serenius and Fundanus, two governors of the province of Asia, it may be concluded with certainty that the Christians were now well known to the Roman emperors, and throughout the Roman empire. Indeed the Christians diligently embraced all favourable opportunities to make themselves, and their own innocence, and the principles of their religion, and the grounds and reasons of their belief, well known to all men, and especially to the emperors and other magistrates. By that means they propagated their religion, and gradually wiped off the calumnies that had been invented against them, and with which they were loaded for a while. Quadratus and Aristides presented their apologies to Adrian, at the time of the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries at Athens, when

^a Quadratus Apostolorum discipulus.... Quumque Hadrianus Athenis exogisset hincem, invisens Eleusinam, et omnibus pene Græciæ sacris initiatus, dedisset occasionem his, qui Christianos oderant, absque præcepto Imperatoris vexare credentes, porrexit ei librum pro religione nostra compositum, valde utilem, plenumque rationis et fidei, et

when there was a concourse of men of all ranks, especially of the highest, and of the most eminent, and most distinguished for their learning, and zeal for the established rites.

At that very time those apologists made a public appearance, and pleaded the cause of their religion, and of their brethren, the professors of it. Nor did they make a contemptible figure. Their discourses were rational, eloquent, and persuasive: and they were followed by a relaxation of the violence of the persecution, which for some while had raged in several provinces, through the prevailing animosity of the people: and, as it is particularly observed by Eusebius, in his Evangelical Preparation, 'In the reign of Adrian the Christian religion shone out in the eyes of all men.'

There are others beside our two apologists, who are entitled to applause in this place. Serenius Granianus is styled by Adrian, in his rescript, 'an illustrious man,' *λαμπροτάτης αὐδρως*, and by Jerom, in his Chronicle, a truly noble person, 'vir apprime nobilis.' We cannot but believe that he was a man of a generous mind, a lover of justice and equity, who pleaded the cause of the Christians, when the current ran violently against them. His successor Fundanus, to whom the rescript was sent, may have been a man of a like disposition. Nor can we forbear saying somewhat here to the honour of the emperor Adrian. It does not appear that he ever issued out any orders for persecuting the Christians. The persecution, which they had suffered in the beginning of his reign, was owing to the blind bigotry and violence of the common people. When the proconsul of Asia sent him a letter, representing the hardships which Christians lay under, beyond most other men, he sent a favourable rescript, which could not but be, and actually was, of advantage to them: and he received the apologies of Quadratus and Aristides in behalf of a despised and persecuted people, without resentment. So far from being provoked at their importunity, he gratified their request, and moderated the displeasure of men against those whose cause they had pleaded. If moderation be a virtue, (as it certainly is), it is more especially commendable in men of power and high stations.

et apostolica doctrina dignum: in quo et antiquitatem sue ætatis ostendens, ait, plurimos a se visos, qui sub Domino variis in Juda oppressi calamitatibus sanati fuerant, et qui a mortuis resurrexerant. Hieron. de V. I. cap. xix.

Aristides, Atheniensis Philosophus eloquentissimus, et sub pristino habitu disci-

pulus Christi, volumen nostri dogmatis rationem continens, eodem tempore, quo et Quadratus, Hadriano principi dedit. Ib. cap. xx. And see before, p. 358.

* μέχρι των Αδριανῆς χρόνων... Οὗτος δὲ μαλιστὰ ἐν χρόνῳ, καὶ οὐ ἡ σωτηρίας ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἡμῶν διδασκαλία. Pr. Ev. l. 4. c. 17. p. 164. D.

A pas-

p. 114.

A passage, formerly omitted, shall be now transcribed from the Apology of Quadratus, which probably was the first written apology presented to a Roman emperor. It is in these very words: 'The works of our Saviour were always conspicuous, for they were real: both they that were healed, and they that were raised from the dead, who were seen not only when they were healed, or raised, but for a long time afterwards; nor only whilst he dwelled on this earth, but also after his departure, and for a good while after it: insomuch that some of them have reached to our times.' Jerom supposeth that Quadratus himself saw several of those persons who had been the subjects of our Saviour's miracles.

III. Beside the rescript, there is a letter of Adrian to Servianus, husband of Paulina, the emperor's sister, who was consul in 134. It is preserved in Vopiscus, one of the writers of the Augustan history, who flourished about the year 300. Adrian had been some while in Egypt. Having left it, when he got into Syria he wrote that letter to his brother-in-law, in the year 134. I shall transcribe it from the historian, with the connection.

'The Egyptians, as you well know,' says Vopiscus, 'are vain, fond of innovations, men of all characters....For there are among them Christians and Samaritans, and such as take a prodigious liberty in censuring the present times. That none of the Egyptians may be offended with me, I shall produce a letter of Adrian, taken from the books of Phlegon, his freedman, in which the character of the Egyptians is clearly represented. "Adrian Augustus to the consul Servianus wisheth health. I have found Egypt, my dear Servianus, which you

^y See vol. 2. p. 288. ^z Euseb. H. E. l. 4. cap. 3. ^a See before, p. 361. note ".

^b Vid. Vof. Hist. Lat. L. 2. cap. 7. Fabric. Bib. Lat. l. 3. cap. 6. Tillemont L'Empereur Aurelien. art. xv.

^c Sunt enim Ægyptii (ut satis nosti,) viri ventosi, furibundi, jactantes, injuriosissimi.....novatores rerum.....versificatores, mathematici, aruspices, medici. Nam et Christiani, Samaritani, et quibus præsentia tempora cum enormi libertate displiceant. Ac nequis mihi Ægyptiorum irascatur, et meum esse credat, quod in literis retuli, Adriani epistolam ex libris Phlegontis liberti eius proditam, ex qua penitus Ægyptiorum vita detegitur, indidit. Adrianus Aug. Serviano Cons. S. Ægyptum, quam mihi laudabas, Serviane carissime, totam didici levem, pendulam, et ad omnia famæ momenta volitantem. Illi qui Serapim colunt, Christiani sunt:

et devoti sunt Serapi, qui se Christi episcopos dicunt. Nemo illic Archisynagogus Judæorum, nemo Samarites, nemo Christianorum Presbyter, non Mathematicus, non Aruspex, non Aliptes. Ipse ille Patriarcha, quum Ægyptum venerit, ab aliis Serapidem adorare, ab aliis cogitur Christum. Genus hominum seditiosissimum, vanissimum, imperiosissimum. Civitas opulenta, dives, fecunda, in qua nemo vivat otiosus. Alii vitrum constant, ab aliis charta conficitur, alii linyphiones sunt: omnes certe cuiuscunque artis et videntur et habentur. Podagrosi quod agant habent: habent cæci quod agant: ne chiragrici quidem apud eos otiosi vivunt. Unus illis Deus est. Hunc Christiani, hunc Judæi, hunc omnes venerantur et Gentes. &c. Flav. Vopiscus in Saturnino. cap. 7. et 8.

" commended

“ commended to me, all over fickle and inconstant, and continually shaken by the slightest reports of fame. The worshippers of Serapis are Christians, and they are devoted to Serapis, who call themselves Christ’s bishops. There is no ruler of the Jewish synagogue, no Samaritan, no presbyter of the Christians, no mathematician, no soothsayer, no anointer: even the patriarch, if he should come to Egypt, would be required by some to worship Serapis, by others Christ. A seditious and turbulent sort of men. However, the city is rich and populous. Nor are any idle. Some are employed in making glass, others paper, others in weaving linen.... They have one God—Him the Christians, Him the Jews, Him all the Gentile people, worship.”

It cannot be needful for me to explain all the several sorts of people here spoken of. Nor ought it to be thought strange that Christians share in the emperor’s satire, and are represented by him as fickle and inconstant, like the other Egyptians. It appears from this letter that the Christians were numerous at Alexandria, and in other parts of Egypt, when Adrian was in that country: which, certainly, is very remarkable, that in a century after the resurrection of Jesus he should have so many followers in Asia and Egypt, as is manifest from this one emperor’s authentic writings. Without any countenance from the civil government, and under a great deal of opposition from it, as well as from most other ranks of men, and especially from the lower sort of people, Christ’s bishops were already become as considerable as the priests of Serapis.

IV. Once more. *Ælius Lampridius*, another writer of the Augustan history, who flourished about the end of the third, and the beginning of the fourth, century, in the life of the emperor Alexander Severus, says: ‘ He^d intended to build a temple to Christ, and to receive him among the gods. Which Adrian also is reported to have designed; who ordered temples to be erected in all cities without statues; which therefore to this day are called Adrian’s, it being said that he built them for that purpose. But he was hindered by some, who, having consulted the oracles, were assured that, if that were once done, all men would be Christians, and the other temples would be deserted.’

^d Christo templum facere voluit, eumque inter Deos recipere. Quod et Adrianus cogitasse fertur, qui templa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulachris iusserat fieri. Quæ hodie idcirco, quia non habent numina, dicuntur Adriani, quæ ille

ad hoc parasse dicebatur. Sed prohibitus est ab iis, qui consulentes sacra, reperrerant, omnes Christianos futuros, si id optato evenisset, et templa reliqua deserenda. *Æl. Lamp. in Alex. Sever. cap. 43.*

This account is received by some^e as true; by^f others it is rejected, as destitute of any good foundation. I have referred below to several learned and judicious men on this side the question; and I would willingly find room at the bottom of the page for^g Casaubon's observations upon this section of Lampridius; and the rather, because they have been judged so material by Pagi, as to be transcribed by him into his Critique upon Baronius. ^e Casaubon then, and divers other learned men after him, or agreeably to him, observe that somewhat of this kind has been related of Tiberius by Tertullian, and other ancient Latin and Greek writers of the church, who are quite silent about this story of Lampridius. If there had been any truth in it; they say, so remarkable a thing could not have been omitted by Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Cyprian, and all other ancient writers of the second and third centuries, who had many occasions to mention it, if there had been any ground for it. Nor is this mistaken opinion of Lampridius, and some others in his time, very hard to be accounted for. Adrian had

^e Huet. Dem. Evang. Prop. 3. sect. xxii. Tillem. Persecution d' Adrien. art. vi.

^f Casaub. Annot. in Lamprid. cap. 43. Pagi Crit. in Baron. ann. 134. n. iv. Basnag. ann. 126. n. v. vi. Dictionaire de Bayle. Hadrien. Cleric. H. E. ann. 129. n. iii. Mosheim. De Reb. Christian. Sec. 2. sect. xii. p. 237. ^g 'Quod et Hadrianus cogitasse fertur.' De Tiberio narrat hoc Tertullianus et alii patres Greci et Latini. De Hadriano vero nemo illorum, si satis memini, simile quicquam. Et mirum profecto, tam nobilem historiam, tot fidei Christianæ propugnatores acerrimos, viros undecumque doctissimos, et quorum intererat hoc scire, potuisse fugere. Sed videtur hæc de Hadriano suspicio multo post ejus seculum hominum mentes insedis: cum neque Justinus Martyr, neque Athenagoras, neque Tertullianus, neque Cyprianus, aut omnino quisquam ex illa veterum patrum manu, vel tenuissimam ejus rei suspicionem fando unquam accepissent. Unde autem vulgo multi sæculo Lampridii hanc de Hadriano concepissent opinionem, declarat auctor, cum subjicit: 'qui templa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris jussit fieri: quæ hodie idcirco, quia non habent numina, dicuntur Hadriani, quæ ille ad hoc parasse dicebatur.' En fontem et originem hujus opinionis. Jussit Hadrianus, templa fieri in omnibus civitatibus, suo nomini sine dubio confectanda: quod et Spartianus in vita sua

testatur. Sed mortuo Hadriano prius quam hæc templa absolverentur, mansere pleraque illorum imperfecta, neque unquam dedicata sunt. Exemplo esse potest illud quod Tiberiade magnifice inchoatum, mox relictum est necdum absolutum, tandemque in usum balnearum a civibus destinatum. Epiphanius contra Ebionæos. H. 30. n. xii. *ναος μεγιστος εν τη πολει Τιβεριαδι προυπηρχε ταχα οιμαι, Αδριανιον τε το εκαλειν. Ατελεις δε τε το Αδριανειον, διαμενον, οι πολιται εις δημοσιν λυτρον επιειραντο επισκευασαι.* Talia ædificia in plerisque civitatibus adhuc Lampridii ætate existabant, inchoata solum, non perfecta, non dedicata; ac proinde, ut ait ipse sine numine et simulachro ullo. Eo factum, ut in animum inducerent multi, quibus assentitur hic Lampridius, non sibi Hadrianum illa templa exstruxisse, verum Christo. Erat quidem Lampridius, *αλλην* religione, et a pietatis Christianæ sacris, ut ejus scripta ostendunt, alienus: sed norat ille, quod ignorare poterat nemo, et Judæos olim in Hierosolymitana *αε* *ειδης και αγαλματος χωρις*, ut Strabo quoque ac Dio scribunt, Deum coluisse: et suis etiam temporibus Christianorum templa ejusmodi esse, qualia adhuc memoria sua beatissimus Augustinus cum alibi prodit fuisse, tum etiam in Psalmi ciii. enarratione, sane luculenter. Casaubon. annot. in Lamprid. cap. 43. Et Conf. Pagi ann. 134. iii. iv.

^e erected,

‘erected, or ordered to be erected, temples in many places. He intended to have set up in them an altar, or statue, to himself: but he died before they were consecrated, and some of them were left unfinished. It was well known that the Jews and Christians had no images in their places of worship; Lampridius therefore, and some others in his time, entertained a notion that these temples were built in honour of Christ.’

That Adrian intended them in honour of himself, is confirmed by what Spartian says in his life of this emperor: ‘That^b, when he had returned from Africa to Rome, he soon went away again into the East. Coming to Athens he dedicated the buildings that had been begun by him, particularly the temple of Jupiter Olympius, and an altar to himself. In like manner, travelling through Asia, he consecrated temples of his own name.’

That seems to be the most probable account. But though it cannot be reasonably supposed that Adrian intended those temples to the honour of Jesus Christ, some may imagine that, according to the doctrine of Numa and Pythagoras, Adrian might design to erect temples where the gods might be worshipped without images.

Crevier’s judgment upon the point is to this purpose: ‘He^k paid but little attention to the religion of those nations, whom the Romans and Greeks considered as barbarians, they appearing to him as only deserving of contempt. This makes it difficult for me to believe, upon Lampridius’s testimony, that he formed a design to consecrate, in honour of Jesus Christ, a great many temples, which he had begun, but not finished, in the several cities of Asia and Egypt, and which remained without a dedication or statue. It is much more probable that he intended them for himself, and for his own proper worship.’

Indeed I think the opinion, that Adrian intended to consecrate temples to the honour of Jesus Christ, is without any good foundation; it being inconsistent with his^l known principles,

^b Denique quum post Africam Romam redisset, statim ad orientem profectus per Athenas iter fecit, atque opera, quæ apud Athenienses cœperat, dedicavit: ut Jovis Olympii ædem et arcem sibi eodemque modo per Asiam iter faciens, templa sui nominis consecravit. Spartian, in Hadrian. cap. 13.

^l Extructa tamen ea Christo templa, quæ simulachrorum vacua erant, nostrum in animum inducere non sustinemus. Aliæ igitur nobis sunt tentandæ causæ. Legitur in Victore: ‘Adrianus pace ad

‘Orientem compositâ, Romam regreditur. ‘Ibi Græcorum more, seu Pompilii Numæ, ceremonias, leges, gymnasia, doctoresque curare occœpit.’ Est ergo vero proximum, more atque instituto et Pythagoræ, et Pompilii Numæ, Adrianum, philosophiæ peritum, templa quoque sine simulachris strui voluisse. Bæmag. ann. 126. n. vi.

^k History of the Rom. Emp. Vol. 7. p. 167. ^l ...καὶ κατ’ ἐμὲ τὴν βασιλείαν, Ἀδριανὸν, τὴν τῇ εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμὰς ἐπιτιμῶντος εὐθενοῦς. Paulan. l. i. cap. v. p. 14.

p. 120.

and unsupported by the testimony of those ancient Christian writers, who must have known it, and would have mentioned it, if it had been true.

However, though there is no good ground for this story of Lampridius, it ^m is honourable to the Christian religion, which was a spreading doctrine. And it was apprehended by those, who were far from wishing it success, that if a little encouragement were given to it it would soon be the prevailing religion.

C H A P. XII.

BRUTTIUS PRÆSENS.

His testimony to Domitian's persecution; with remarks.

EUSEBIUS, in his Ecclesiastical History, speaking of the persecution under Domitian, says: ‘Moreover,^a at this time the doctrine of our faith was so conspicuous, that writers averse to our sentiments have not forborne to insert in their histories an account of this persecution, and the martyrdoms that happened in it. They have likewise exactly marked the time of it, relating that, in the fifteenth year of Domitian, Flavia Domitilla, niece by the sister’s side to Flavius Clemens, then one of the consuls of Rome, with a great many others, was banished to the island Pontia, for the profession of the Christian religion.’

In his Chronicle, at the fifteenth year of Domitian, Eusebius says: ‘And^b Bruttius writes that many Christians suffered martyrdom under Domitian. Among whom was Flavia Domitilla, niece by the sister’s side to Flavius Clemens the consul,

^m Casaubon sans doute n’a point de fort de rejeter cela comme fabuleux. Ce que je trouve de vraisemblable est cette crainte des Paiens, que leur Religion ne fût défectée, si l’on eût toléré publiquement le Christianisme. Bayle Dictionnaire. Hadrian. note Q.

^a Εἰς τοσούτον δὲ ἀγα κατὰ τὰς ἀλλήλων ἢ τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως διδασκαλίᾳ διαλαμπὲν, ὡς καὶ τὰς ἀποθεῖν τε καθ’ ἡμῶν λόγῳ συγγραφῆς, μὴ ἀποκινήσαι ταῖς αὐτῶν ἱστορίαις τὸν τε διωγμὸν, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ μάρτυρια παραθεῖναι. Οὕτως καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἂν ἀκριβῆς ἐπισημαίναντο· ἐν ἐτὶ πεντήκαιοι-

δεκάτῳ δομετιανῶν κατὰ πλείων ἑτέρων καὶ Φλαβίαν Δομετιλλαν ἱστορήσαντες, ἐξ ἀδελφῆς γηγονίαν Φλαβίῳ Κλημέντι, ἐνὸς τῶν τῆς καδὲ ἐπὶ Ρώμης ὑπατῶν, τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν μαρτυρίας ἐνεκεν, εἰς νῆσον Ποντίαν κατὰ τιμωρίαν δεδούθει. H. E. l. 3, c. 18, p. 89. A.

^b Et scribit Brutius plurimos Christianorum sub Domitiano fecisse martyrrium: inter quos Flaviam Domitillam, Flavii Clementis Consulis, ex sorore neptem, in insulam Pontiam relegatam, quia se Christianam testata est, Chron. p. 164.

‘who

‘who was banished to the island Pontia, because she confessed herself to be a Christian.’

I need not transcribe any thing from ^c Nicephorus. But in the Paschal Chronicle, at the year of Christ 94, are these words: ‘Brutus ^d relates that many Christians suffered martyrdom in the fourteenth year of Domitian.’

There were several eminent men of this name in the second century. There is a ^e letter of the younger Pliny to Præfens, whom some think to have been also called Brutius, or Bruttius. We meet with Bruttius Præfens, who was consul with Antoninus the pious, in the year 139; C. Bruttius Præfens, who was consul with Afturius Rufinus in the year 153; and L. Fulvius Bruttius Præfens, consul the second time in the year 180, with Sex. Quintillius Condianus. The daughter of this Bruttius ^f was married to Commodus, with the consent of Marcus Antoninus. And ^g Pagi supposeth that to be the reason why he was honoured with a second consulship.

Scaliger ^h supposeth this Bruttius, who had been consul with Antoninus, and afterwards a second time, whose daughter was married to Commodus; or a relation of his, to be the historian intended by Eusebius.

Tillemont ⁱ says he may have been Bruttius Præfens who was consul in the year 139, or Præfens to whom the younger Pliny wrote: though, as he adds, there were others of the same name about that time.

Mr. Dodwell’s ^k conjecture is, that ^l he is the same who was consul with Antoninus the pious, as I understand him, though his manner of expression is ambiguous.

Some remarks may now not be improper. In the first place it may be fit to observe that Brutus, and Bruttius, and Brettius, as in the ^m Greek of Eusebius’s Chronicle, are all one and the same name, as Scaliger has shewn.

^c Vid. Niceph. l. 3, c. 9.

^d Ἰστορεῖ ὁ Βρουτος, πολλὰς χριστιανὰς κατὰ τοῦδε τοῦ Δομετιανῆς μεμαρτυρηκεῖναι. Chron. Pasch. p. 250.

^e L. 7, ep. 3.

^f Filio suo Brutii Præfentis filiam junxit [Marcus Aurelius.] Jul. Capitol. de M. Anton. Phil. c. 27, p. 394.

^g Erat Bruttius Præfens pater Crispinæ uxoris Commodi, ob idque altero Consulatu hoc anno a M. Aurelio decoratus. Pagi ann. 180, num. i.

^h Aut Bruttius Præfens, qui cum Imp. Antonino Consul fuit, et cujus filia Imperatoris Antonini filio nupta fuit, aut saltem ejus gentilis quidam fuerit historicus iste. Scalig. in Euseb. p. 205. a.

ⁱ Saint Fl. Domitille. Mem. Ec. T. 2, p. 127.

^k Ethnicum scriptorem protulit Eusebius, quem Brutium appellat in Chronico, forte eundem, qui consulatum gesserit sub [forte cum] Antonino. Diss. Cypr. xi. § 16.

^l p. 80.

^m In Græcis est Βρῆτιος. In Casauboni Chronico Βρουτιος, ut hic. Nam non audiendi sunt, qui hic Brutius substituunt, aut Bruttianus. Sat enim est, eos Græca lectione confutari. Nam quemadmodum Βρουττιος et Βρῆτιος, Italiæ populi, indifferenter vocantur; ita etiam Βρουτιος et Βρῆτιος pro eodem scriptore usurpari potuerit. Scal. ibid. p. 205.

Secondly,

Secondly, I suppose no one will hesitate to allow that Bruttius was an heathen historian, though he is not expressly called so in any of the places where he is named. The manner in which he is mentioned by Eusebius in his Chronicle, and by the author of the Paschal Chronicle, would lead us to suppose him not a Christian. And the passage in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, compared with his Chronicle, I think puts it out of doubt.

Thirdly, Nothing has appeared in our ancient authors to satisfy us whether Bruttius was a Latin or a Greek writer. But ^m Vossius placeth him among Latin historians.

Fourthly, Dion Cassius, to be hereafter quoted, will inform us of a Flavia Domitilla, wife of the consul Clement, who was banished by Domitian for Christianity into the island Pandateria, which lay near to Pontia, upon the same coast of Italy. This has given occasion to a dispute whether there were two of this name who suffered for Christianity about the same time: some ^a supposing one and the same person to be intended, others ^a again contending that there were two. The matter is of no great importance; nevertheless, perhaps, we may hereafter give it some farther consideration in the chapter of Dion Cassius.

Fifthly, It seems somewhat probable that the author of the Paschal Chronicle did not copy Eusebius, but took his account from the work of Bruttius itself. For Eusebius, making particular mention of Domitilla only, who was not banished till the year 95, says that 'historians of different sentiment from us had accurately marked the time of that persecution to be in the 'fifteenth year of Domitian.' But the Paschal Chronicle affirms from Bruttius that many suffered in the fourteenth year of that reign. And ^p Pagi hence argues, and not without some appearance of probability, that the persecution began in the fourteenth year of Domitian.

Sixthly, I wish that either Eusebius, or the last mentioned author, had given us the very words of Bruttius. He did not say 'the Christians suffered martyrdom.' The style of heathen authors in such matters is curious and entertaining, and more satisfactory than any other whatever.

Once more, seventhly, Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, speaks in the plural number, and says that 'writers of a different sentiment from us had given an account of Domitian's persecution in their histories:' but we have not found more than one

^{mm} De Hist. Lat. lib. 3, B. fin.
ubi supr. p. 205.

ⁿ Basnag. ann. 95, num. vii. Vid. et Scal.
^p Ann. 94, num. v.

named in his Chronicle, nor in the Paschal Chronicle. Dion Cassius wrote before Eusebius: whether he ever read him does not now appear: but we shall quote him upon the same subject in his place and time.

I have been very much at a loss where to place this writer. One would think, from Eusebius's manner of expression in his Ecclesiastical History, that he had been contemporary with Domitian's persecution. And in his Chronicle Bruttius is placed at the year of Christ 95. Nevertheless, none can suppose that to be the real time of his writing. However, that I may not be charged with entering him too late, I place him at the year of Christ 136, the twentieth year of Adrian. And if this Bruttius be the same (as divers learned men have thought) who was consul with Titus Antoninus in the year 139, I have placed him early enough.

C H A P. XIII.

PHLEGON, THALLUS, and DIONYSIUS the Areopagite.

- I. *Phlegon. His time and works.* II. *A passage in him concerning our Saviour's foreknowledge.* III. *Another passage supposed to relate to the miraculous darkness at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion, with remarks and observations.* IV. *Thallus, supposed also to speak of the same darkness.* V. *Dionysius the Areopagite, supposed likewise to speak of the same event.*

I. **PHLEGON**,^a freedman of the emperor Adrian, was born at Tralles in Lydia. He was author of several works; one of which was entitled^b *The Olympiads*, or^c *A Collection of Olympiads and Chronicles*, in sixteen books. It was a kind of general history of the world from the first to the two hundred and twenty-ninth olympiad, or to the times of Adrian. If the last olympiad was complete, as^d some think, it reached to the fourth

^a Vid. Spartian. in Hadrian. c. 16. Vopisc. Saturnin. c. 7, 8.

^b Φλέγων Τραλλιανός... ιστορικός. Εγραψε Ολυμπιαδας εν βιβλίοις 16. Εστι δε μεχρι της 298 ολυμπιαδος τα πραχθέντα πανταχθ. Suid.

^c Φλεγωντος Τραλλιανου, απειλευθου τε αυτοκρατορος Αδριανου, ολυμπιονικων και χρονικων

συναγωγη. Προσφωνει το συνταγμα επι Αλκιβιαδην τινα, ος εις ην των εις Φυλακην τεταγμενων τε Αδριανου... κατεισε δε, ος αυτος Φησι, μεχρι των Αδριανου χρονων. Phot. Cod. 97, p. 265.

^d J. Scaliger. Animadv. in Euseb. Chron. p. 185. Page ann. 136, n. viii. aliiq̃ue.

p. 127.

year of Antoninus the pious: if it was incomplete, as others suppose, the work ended in the year 138, in which Adrian died; at which time I also place him. It was inscribed to Alcibiades, one of the body guards of Adrian: which may afford an argument that the work did not go lower than the reign of that emperor, and was published in the year 138, or soon after. Bafnage speaks of Phlegon at the year 141.

I write not the history of Phlegon, or his works: I therefore refer to other learned moderns.

Out of the large work abovementioned, some passages have been alleged by ancient Christian writers, of which some notice must be taken here.

II. Origen, in his books against Celsus, has this passage: 'However, Phlegon in the thirteenth, or, as I think, the fourteenth, book of his Chronicles, ascribes to Christ the knowledge of some future things; though he makes a mistake in the person, naming Peter instead of Jesus: and he allows that the things foretold came to pass.'

Upon this I must be allowed to say, first, that Origen seems to have trusted to his memory in this quotation. Secondly, If Phlegon named Peter instead of JESUS, it is a mark of carelessness and inaccuracy. Thirdly, We should have been glad to see this passage of Phlegon more at length; for want of which we cannot form any clear judgment about it. Fourthly, Phlegon was so credulous that his testimony concerning things of a marvellous kind must be of little weight. His credulity and uncommon regard for all sorts of oracles, are manifest in the character of his Olympiads given by Photius, and in the fragments of his works, published by Meursius. I would also refer to the article *Ταρχινη*, in Stephanus Byzantinus, where Phlegon speaks of a child who was able to converse with others when it had been born not more than nine-and-forty days; and to Salmassius's character of Phlegon's Olympiads in his notes upon Spartian's

^c Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4, c. 13. T. 3, p. 401.

^f Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. 2, c. xi. Fabr. B. Gr. l. 4, c. 13. Tillemont. A. drien. art. 18. Dictionaire de Bayle Phlegon.

^g Φλεγων μεντοι εν τρισκαιδεκατω, η τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατω, οικαι, των χρονων, και την περι των μελλοντων προγνωσιν εδωκε τω Χριστω, συγχυθεις εν τοις περι πετρου ως περι τω ιησου και εμαρτυρησεν οτι κατα τα ειρημενα υπ' αυτου τα λεγομενα επηντησε. Contr. Cels. l. 2, p. 69. al. § 14.

^h Και η περι της χρησμεως ακαιρος φιλοτιμια τε και φιλοτιμια, εις κορον απαγεστα

τον ακροατην... χρησμοις δε παντοιοις εις υπερβολην εις κεχηρημενος. Phot. ibid.

ⁱ Φλεγων ολυμπιαδι εκατογη ογδοηκοστη πρωτη. Οτι παιδιον εκ δελης, γενομενον, τω εννατη και τεσσαρακοστη της γενεας τον προταγορευσαντα αντι προαγορευσαι. Steph. V. Ταρχινη.

^k Ex quo loco apparet, quale fuerit argumentum librorum Olympiadum Phlegontis. Nam sub quaque Olympiade, quid toto orbe gestum esset recensabat, prodigia præcipue et monstra, resque alias mirabiles memorabilesque. Salm. in Spartian. Hadrian. c. 16, p. 152.

Life of Adrian. Fifthly, Origen is the only person that has mentioned this. I do not recollect any other ancient writer who has taken any notice of it. Consequently, I think we must say that upon the whole this citation¹ is of no great moment.

III. But there is another passage of this author which may be reckoned more material, many learned men of late times having been of opinion that it relates to the darkness at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion.

The Greek of Eusebius, in his Chronicle, which I must transcribe at large, is to this purpose: 'Jesus Christ^m the Son of God, our Lord, according to the prophecies concerning him, came to his passion in the nineteenth year of the reign of Tiberius: about which time we find these things related in other, even Gentile memoirs, in these very words: "the sun was eclipsed, there was an earthquake in Bithynia, and many houses were overturned in Nice." All which things agree with what happened at the time of our Saviour's passion. So writes and says the author of the Olympiads, in the thirteenth book, in these words: "In the fourth year of the two hundred and second olympiad there was an eclipse of the sun, the greatest of any known before. And it was night at the sixth hour of the day, so that the stars appeared in the heavens. And there was a great earthquake in Bithynia, which overturned many houses in Nice." So writes the forementioned author.'

I shall also transcribe and translate this article as it appears in Jerom's Latin version of Eusebius's Chronicle.

'Jesus Christ, " according to the prophecies which had before spoken of him, came to his passion in the eighteenth year of

¹ De Domino etiam mentionem egit, si fides Origeni....Bathag. ann. 141, n. vii.

^m Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν κατὰ τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ προφητείας, ἐπὶ τοῦ πάθος ἦρκεν, ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Τιβερίου καίσαρος βασιλείας· καὶ ἐν καιρῷ καὶ ἐν ἀλλῇ μὲν ἑλληνικῇς ὑπομνημασὶν εὐρομένην ἱστορίαν κατὰ λέξιν ταῦτα· Ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλείπειν· εἰδέναι ἰστέον· Νικαίας τὰ πολλὰ ἐπέσει. Ὁ καὶ συναδεῖ τοὺς περὶ τὸ πάθος τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν συμβεβηκόσι. Γράφει δὲ καὶ λέγει ὁ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας...περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ γ', ῥημασὶν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα· τὸ δ' εἶπε τῆς ὈΒ Ὀλυμπιάδος γενέτο ἐκλείψις ἥλιου μεγίστη τῶν ἐγνωσμένων πρότερον, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἑξῆς τῆς ἡμέρας γενέτο, ὥστε καὶ ἀστὲρας ἐν οὐρανῷ φάνηται, τῆς μὲν τε μεγάλης κατὰ Βιθυνίαν γενομένης τὰ πολλὰ Νικαίας κατεσφραγίσθη. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἡ ἑλληνικὴ ἀντὶ. Euseb. Chr. p. 77.

ⁿ Jesus Christus, secundum prophetias, quæ de eo fuerant prolocutæ, ad passionem venit anno Tiberii xviii. quo tempore etiam in aliis Ethnicorum commentariis hæc ad verbum scripta reperimus. 'Solis facta defectio: Bithynia terræ motu concussa: et in urbe Nicæa ædes plurimæ corruerunt.' Quæ omnia his congruunt, quæ in passione Salvatoris acciderant. Scribit vero super his et Phlego, qui Olympiadarum egregius supputator est, in tertio decimo libro ita dicens: Quarto autem anno ccii. Olympiadis magna et excellens inter omnes, quæ ante eam acciderant, defectio solis facta: dies horâ sextâ in tenebrosam noctem versus, ut stellæ in cælo visæ sint, terræque motus in Bithynia Nicææ urbis multas ædes subverteret. Hæc supradictus vir. Euseb. Chr. p. 158.

' Tiberius;

p. 130.

'Tiberius; at which time in other, even heathen memoirs, we find it written to this purpose: "There was an eclipse of the sun; Bithynia was shaken by an earthquake, and in the city of Nice many houses were overthrown." All which things agree with what happened at the time of our Saviour's passion. And so writes Phlegon, an excellent compiler of the Olympiads in his thirteenth book, saying: "In the fourth year of the two hundred and second olympiad there was a great and extraordinary eclipse of the sun, distinguished among all that had happened before. At the sixth hour the day was turned into dark night, so that the stars in the heavens were seen, and there was an earthquake in Bithynia which overthrew many houses in the city of Nice." So writes the above-named author.'

Phlegon is twice quoted, after the same manner, in the Paschal Chronicle ° composed in the seventh century.

Many learned men ° have supposed that Eusebius here speaks of another, beside Phlegon, who had borne witness to the darkness at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion. They think that Eusebius refers to Thallus, as well as Phlegon. I think that Eusebius speaks of one only. His first expressions are general. He observes that what is said by prophets and by the evangelists, there are heathen authors who have borne testimony to this darkness. Nevertheless he means one only. And, having given a general account of what was to be found in other memoirs, beside the sacred, he produces distinctly the passage of Phlegon, and concludes, 'so writes the forenamed man.' I need not enlarge farther. To me it appears exceeding manifest that Eusebius speaks of one writer only, meaning Phlegon the compiler of Olympiads. The two quotations in the Paschal Chronicle, as well as St. Jerom's version, are all to be understood in the like manner.

Before making any remarks upon this passage of Phlegon, I would take notice of some authors more ancient than Eusebius, who have referred to Phlegon, or are supposed to have referred to him.

Of these, undoubtedly, Tertullian is the most ancient. 'At the same time,' says he, 'at noonday there was a great

° Chr. Pasch. p. 219, et 222.

° J. Scaliger. ut sup. p. 186. et Tillemont, note xxxv. sur J. C.

° Eodem momento dies medium orbem signante sole subducta est. Deliquium ubique putaverunt, qui id quoque super

Christo prædicatum non scierunt: ratione non deprehensa negaverunt. Et tamen eum mundi casum relatum in arcanis [al. archivis] vestris habetis. Apol. c. 21, p. 22.

'darkness. They thought it to be an eclipse, who did not know that this also was foretold concerning Christ. And some have denied it, not knowing the cause of such darkness. And yet you have that remarkable event recorded in your archives.'

I think that Tertullian refers not to Phlegon, or any other author, whose testimony could be no other than a private record, but to some public acts of the Romans, and probably those in which was kept registered the Relation of Pontius Pilate, sent to the emperor Tiberius, concerning the crucifixion of our Saviour, and the wonderful circumstances of it.

Huet^r understands Tertullian to refer to some public acts: and in like manner^s Grotius. And Dr. Clarke, in the first edition of his sermons at Mr. Boyle's lecture, where he quoted Phlegon, and in the eighth edition, where he omitted Phlegon, represents the sense of this place of Tertullian after this manner, and in the same words: 'And^t divers of the most remarkable circumstances attending our Saviour's crucifixion, such as the earthquake, and miraculous darkness, were recorded in the public Roman registers, commonly appealed to by the first Christians, as what could not be denied by the adversaries themselves.'

What Tertullian says here has a great resemblance with what is said by the martyr Lucian, in his Apology, as represented by Rufinus in an^u addition to Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, where he says: 'Look^x into your own annals; there you will find that in the time of Pilate, when Christ suffered, the sun was obscured, and the light of the day was interrupted with darkness.'

For the present I pass by Africanus. The author therefore that next offers himself to our consideration is Origen, who, in his books against Celsus, says: 'But^y of the eclipse, which happened

^r Merito itaque Christianorum causam apud Ethnicos agens in Apologetico [cap. 21.] Tertullianus miraculi hujus testes citat tabularia ipsorum, et publica instrumenta: sive quæ a rectoribus provinciarum, sive quæ ex instituto Cæsaris Romæ conficiebantur, in quæ diurna referebantur Acta Populi et Senatus. Huet. Dem. Evang. Prop. 3, § viii. p. 30.

^s Exstabant olim et libri, tum privatorum, ut Phlegontis, tum et acta publica, ad quæ Christiani provocabant, quibus constabat de eo fidere, quod post Christum natum apparuit, de terræ motu, et solis deliquio, contra naturam, plenissimo lunæ orbe, circa tempus, quo Christus crucis

supplicio affectus est. Grot. de Verit. Rel. Christ. l. 3, c. xiv.

^t See the first edition, p. 325; and the eighth edition, p. 357.

^u See, in this work,

vol. iv. p. 324, 330.

^x Solem vobis ipsum horum produco testem. Qui cum hoc fieri per impios videret in terris, lumen suum meridie abscondit in coelo. Requirit in annalibus vestris: invenietis, temporibus Pilati, Christo patiente, fugato sole, interruptum tenebris diem. Euseb. H. E. l. 9. c. 6. ex versione Rufin.

^y Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ Τιβερίῳ καίσαρος ἐκλειψῆς, ἢ βασιλευσσοῦτος καὶ ὁ ἰησοῦς εἰσὶν ἐξαυρισθέναι, καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγάλων τότε γενομένων σεισμῶν τῆς γῆς, ἀνεγράψεν καὶ φησὶν ἐν τῇ τριτοκ-

p. 132.

'pened in the time of Tiberius, in whose reign Jesus was crucified, and of the great earthquakes which were at that time, Phlegon writes in the thirteenth, or, as I think, the fourteenth, book of his Chronicle.'

Afterwards in the same work: 'But ² Celsus thinks both the earthquake and the darkness to be only fictitious wonders. To which we have already answered according to our ability,' says Origen, 'alleging Phlegon, who relates that such things happened at the time of our Saviour's passion.'

In the first of these two passages, Origen refers to the book, but does not quote the words of Phlegon. This second reference is not more distinct nor more accurate.

There is another long passage of Origen in his Commentaries upon St. Matthew's Gospel, which it may be expected I should transcribe here; and I shall do ^a so. But, considering that we

B b 4

have

δικατὴ ἡ τῷ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκατῷ οἰμαὶ τῶν χρονικῶν. Contr. Cels. l. 2, p. 80, Cant. al. § 33.

² Οἰεται δὲ τερατεῖαν εἶναι καὶ τὸν σεισμόν καὶ τὸ σκοτὸς. Περὶ ὧν κατὰ δυνάμιν, ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέροις ἀπελογησάμεθα, παρὰ θεομειοῖ τοῦ Φλεγόντα, ἰσχυρισάμεθα, κατὰ τὴν χρονοῦ τῇ παλαιᾷ τῇ σωτηρίας τοιαῦτα ἀποτυγχάνει. Ib. l. 2. p. 96. al. § 59.

^a Matt. xxvii. 45. Ad hunc textum quidam calumniantur evangelicam veritatem, dicentes, quomodo secundum textum potest esse verum quod dicitur, quia factæ sunt tenebræ super omnem terram a sexta hora, usque ad nonam, quod factum nulla refert historia. Et dicunt, quia sicut solet fieri defectio solis, sic facta est tunc defectio solis. Defectio autem solis, quæ secundum consuetudinem temporum ita currentium fieri solet, non in alio tempore fit, nisi in conventu solis et lunæ... in tempore autem, quo passus est Christus, manifestum est, quoniam conventus non erat lunæ ad solem, quoniam tempus erat paschale, quod consuetudinis est agere, quando luna solis plenitudinem habet, et in tota est nocte. Quomodo ergo poterat fieri defectio solis, cum luna esset plena, et plenitudinem solis haberet?.....Pone, quia extra consuetudinem facta est illa defectio solis in tempore non antiquo, sub principatu Romanorum, ita ut tenebræ fierent super omnem terram usque ad horam nonam: quomodo hoc factum tam mirabile nemo Græcorum, nemo Barbarorum factum conscripsit in tempore illo, maxime qui Chronica conscripserunt, et notaverunt sicut aliquid novum factum est aliquando, sed soli hoc scripserunt vestri auctores? Et Phlegon quidem in Chro-

nica suis scripsit, in principatu Tiberii Cæsaris factum, sed non significavit in luna plena hoc factum. Vide ergo, ne fortis est objectio hæc, et potens movere omnem hominem sapientem, qui nec illis dicentibus, nec istis scribentibus consentit, sed omnino cum ratione et judicio audit.... Dicimus ergo, quod Matthæus et Marcus non dixerunt, defectionem solis tunc factam fuisse, sed neque Lucas, secundum pleraque exemplaria, habentia sic: 'Et erat hora fere sexta, et tenebræ factæ sunt super omnem terram usque ad horam nonam, et obscuratus est sol....' Arbitror ergo, sicut cætera signa, quæ facta sunt in passionem ipsius, in Jerusalem facta sunt: sic et tenebræ tantummodo super omnem terram Judæam usque ad horam nonam. Quæ autem dico, in Jerusalem tantummodo hæc facta sunt: quod velum templi scissum est, quod terra contremuit, quod petreæ diruptæ sunt, quod monumenta aperta sunt. Nec enim extra Judæam petreæ diruptæ sunt, aut monumenta aperta sunt alia, nisi ea tantum, quæ in Jerusalem erant, aut forte in terra Judæa. Nec alia terra tremuit tunc, nisi terra Jerusalem. Nec enim refertur aliqui, quod omne elementum terræ tremuerit in tempore illo, ut sentirent, verbi gratia, et qui in Æthiopia erant, et in India, et in Scythia. Quod si factum fuisset, sine dubio inveniretur in historiis aliquibus eorum, qui in Chronicis scripserunt nova aliqua facta. Sicut ergo quod dicitur, 'terra contremuit,' refertur ad terram Jerusalem, aut si latius voluerit quis extendere ad terram Judæam: sic et 'tenebræ factæ sunt ab hora sexta usque ad nonam

have it only in a Latin translation, which is obscure, I suppose I may be excused from attempting to translate it at length.

The substance of what Origen says may be reduced to a few observations. 'He proposeth an objection of unbelievers against the evangelical history. They said that an eclipse of the sun never happens at full moon, as the darkness mentioned by the evangelists did; and that if there had been an eclipse, or other darkness, over all the earth, lasting three hours, from six till nine, it would have been mentioned by many authors, and especially by writers of chronicles. Origen allows that if the evangelists had mentioned such a thing in all those circumstances, and had said it was general all over the world, it would be reasonable to expect to find the mention of it in many writers, both Greeks and barbarians. But he says the evangelists speak only of a darkness in the land of Judea; nor do they call it an eclipse. Other extraordinary things, which are related by the evangelists to have happened at the time of our Saviour's sufferings, he says, were at Jerusalem, or near it. *There the veil of the temple was rent, there the earth quaked and the rocks were rent, there, or near it, the graves were opened.* So likewise it is to be understood, that at Jerusalem, or near it, or over the whole land of Judea, was darkness from the sixth to the ninth hour. Finally, Origen observes and allows that Phlegon did not say that the eclipse mentioned by him happened at the time of a full moon.'

Tillemont, arguing upon this testimony of Phlegon, observes: 'Nevertheless, ^b he did not say that this obscurity, which he took for an eclipse, happened at full moon, when it is impossible to happen, according to the ordinary course of nature. For which reason Origen says, very wisely, that we must not too positively maintain against heathen people that Phlegon spoke of the darkness which happened at the death of Jesus Christ.'

We are now coming to a main point.

I suppose my readers to be well acquainted with the gospels, and to know that it is there related that *from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the ninth hour*: Matt. xxvii. 45; or, *when the sixth hour was come, there was darkness over the whole*

'nonam super omnem terram,' intellige, quod super omnem terram Judæam sunt factæ, aut certe super Jerusalem tantum. Origen. in Matt. Tr. 35, p. 922, 923. Tom. 3. Bened. ^b Il ne marquoit pas néanmoins que cette obscurité, qu'il prenoit pour une eclipse, fust arrivée dans la

pleine lune, où il est impossible selon l'ordre de la nature qu'il en arrive jamais. C'est pourquoi Origene remarque fort sagement, qu'il ne faut pas s'opiniâtrer à soutenir contre les Payens, que Phlegon a parlé de ce qui est arrivé à la mort de J. C. Note 35. sur N. S. J. C. p. 449. M. E.

land until the ninth hour: Mark xv. 33; or, and it was about the sixth hour, and there was darkness over all the earth [or land] until the ninth hour. And the sun was darkened: Luke xxiii. 44, 45.

1. In the first place, then, it appears to me very plain that the evangelists, by *the earth*, or *the land*, mean Judea. So the original word is sometimes used, as Luke iv. 25; Matt. xxiv. 30. So it was understood in these texts by that great critic Origen, as we have seen. So likewise says that eminent man^c G. J. Vossius, and divers^d other learned moderns of very good judgment. And Beza, for preventing ambiguity, useth the word^e *region*, or *country*, instead of *land*, or *earth*; and upon Mark xv. 33, has a good note,^f justifying that version. Indeed, it is so pertinent that I am tempted to write out a good part of it below. This, I think, must be right. The evangelists speak of things that happened in the land of Judea, the place of their residence, and within the extent of their knowledge. How should they know what happened abroad, throughout the whole world? There was darkness at Jerusalem, and near it, and in that whole country where Christ was crucified, and among that people who had been taught by his ministry, who had seen his miracles, and now triumphed in his crucifixion. But there might be the light and brightness of the sun in other countries, as probably there were.

A. Bynæus, after having carefully examined this point, expresseth himself to the same^g purpose.

2. There

^c Putamus autem, per universam terram solam signari Judæam. Quod et Erasimus arbitratur in cap. xxvii. Matth. G. Voss. Harm. Ev. l. 2, cap. x.

^d Matt. xxvii. 45. Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land [of Judea] until the ninth hour. Whitby. sur tout le pais. Le Clerc. Apparentement sur la Judée, comme Luc. iv. 25; Matt. xxiv. 30. Lenfant. See also Basnage ann. 33, n. cxviii.

^e "... super universam regionem." *παρὰ τὴν γῆν*, i. e. *χωρὰν*. Vulgata, et Erasimus, universam terram, quasi omnes mundi plagæ fuerint obscuratæ. Bez. ad Matt. xxvii. 45.

^f Queritur autem a multis, an de Judæa duntaxat, an vero potius de universo orbe terrarum hæc sint accipienda. Quod posterius videtur amplecti Tertullianus Ap. c. xxi. hoc solis deliquium vocans 'mundi casum,' quem Romani in suis archivis habeant. Sed ego iis potius assentior, qui de Hierosolymis et tota vicina regione hoc dictum

accipiunt. Nam in Archivis annotari justius etiam prodigium illud potuit, quoniam fuit Judææ peculiare. Familiare etiam est sacris scriptoribus, terræ appellatione, etiamsi nihil adjiciatur, intelligere terram Chanaan. Et *γῆν* pro *χωρὰν*, id est, 'terram,' pro 'regione,' reperimus alibi: ut Matt. ix. 26, et Luc. iv. 25. Confert autem hoc ad prodigii novitatem, si intellexerimus non modo die Paschæ, id est in plenilunio, accidisse hanc solis eclipsin, sed etiam reliquum orbem illustrante sole, atque adeo in ipso meridie hunc unum orbis terrarum angulum, in quo tantum facinus patrabatur, in densissimis tenebris delituisse. ... Et si universale fuisset hoc prodigium, esset proculdubio omnium astrologorum monumentis celebratum. Bez. in Mark xv. 33.

^g Profecto credibilis nihil est, quam scriptores sacros ortas hæc tenebras *πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν*, 'super omnem terram,' vel *ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν*, 'super totam terram,' dixisse, ut designarent, occupasse eas non Hierosolimam

2. There are such inaccuracies, and such differences, in the quotations of Phlegon by several authors, as very much diminish the credit and authority of this testimony.

Origen says no more than that Phlegon speaks of an eclipse and earthquakes *in the reign of Tiberius*, without mentioning what year of his reign. Eusebius, and Jerom, and the Paschal Chronicle, speak of an eclipse of the sun, and an earthquake, in the fourth year of the two hundred and second olympiad, meaning the eighteenth or nineteenth year of Tiberius, and the thirty-second or thirty-third year of our Lord, according to the common computation. But they do not say in what part, or what month of the year, those things happened: which would be very material, and tend to decide a reference to the darkness at our Saviour's passion, if it had been said that the eclipse was in the spring, or such a month of the spring part of the year.

I now add some other quotations to those just mentioned.

J. Philoponus, who lived near the end of the sixth, and the beginning of the seventh, century, writes to this purpose: 'Phlegon^h also, in his Olympiads, makes mention of this darkness, or rather this night: for he says that in the second year of the one hundred and second olympiad there was the greatest eclipse of the sun that had been known before, and night came on at the sixth hour of the day; insomuch that the stars appeared in the sky.'

Afterwards the same Philoponus speaks of Phlegon. as saying thatⁱ the eclipse happened in the two hundred and second olympiad. Some may think this to be an inconsistency: but, perhaps, there^k were different ways of computing the olympiads, or the years of each olympiad.

In the Chronicle of George Syncellus, who flourished in the eighth century, Africanus is quoted in this manner: 'Phlegon^l relates that in the reign of the emperor Tiberius, at the time of the full moon, there was a total eclipse of the sun from the sixth hour to the ninth.'

It is obvious to observe here—it is not easy to believe that

Hierosolymam tantum, locumque, in quo Jesus suffixus cruci fuit, sed Judæam, vel terram Israeliticam universam. De orbe toto enim nequit hic cogitari. Sed nec orbis intelligi Romanus potest, ad quem Lucas, dum res describit in Judæa gestas, utique non attendit. &c. Ant. Bynæus. de morte J. C. l. 3, c. 8, § ii. p. 410.

^h Λεγει γαρ, οτι τω δευτερω ετει της διακοσινης δευτερας ολυμπιαδος εγενετο ηλις εκλειψις: μεριση των [ουκ] εγνωσμενων περὶ τῆς

ρον' και νυξ ορα εκτη της ημερας εγενετο' ωστε και αστερας εν ηραν φανειναι. Philop. de Mundi Creatione. l. 2, cap. 21.

ⁱ Την δε εκλειψιν γεγονεναι εν τω τεταρτω ετει της διακοσης δευτερας ολυμπιαδος. Philop. Ibid.

^k Vide Pagi ann. 32, n. xii. xiii. ^l Φλεγων ιστορει, επι τις ημερας Καισαρος εν πανσεληνη εκλειψιν ηλις γεγενεσθαι τελειαν απο ωρας εκτης μεχρις εννατης. Vid G. Syncell. p. 322, 323.

Africanus

Africanus said Phlegon had mentioned an eclipse with those circumstances, because Phlegon ^m is not so quoted by any other writer. And Origen assures us that Phlegon had omitted that circumstance, that the eclipse mentioned by him was 'in the time of the full moon.'

Maximus, of the seventh century, in his Scholia upon the pretended Dionysius the Areopagite, says: 'Phlegon ⁿ the Gentile chronographer, in the thirteenth book of his Chronography, at the two hundred and third olympiad, mentions this eclipse, saying that it happened in an unusual manner: but does not say in what manner. And our Africanus in the fifth book of his Chronography, and Eusebius Pamphili likewise in his Chronicle, mention the same eclipse.'

J. Malala, in the sixth or seventh century, in his Chronicle, writes to this purpose: 'And ^o the sun was darkened, and there was darkness upon the world. Concerning which darkness, Phlegon, that wise Athenian, writes thus: "In the eighteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, there was a great eclipse of the sun, greater than those that had been known before: and it became night at the sixth hour of the day, so that the stars appeared."

Such are the principal quotations of Phlegon in ancient writers. We may wish they had been more distinct and accurate, and that there had been a nearer agreement between them; but we must take them as they are. Nor do they all place the eclipse, which they speak of, in the same year of the same olympiad. However, I do not chuse to enlarge on this particular; it is rather too critical for my present work: I therefore refer to Pagi, who has spoken to the point with great learning and judgment, and must be of use to remove difficulties of this sort. Wherefore I proceed.

3. Phlegon says nothing of Judea. What he says is, that in such an olympiad 'there was an eclipse in Bithynia, and an earthquake at Nice.'

4. Phlegon does not say that the earthquake happened at the same time with the eclipse.

5. Phlegon mentions not any extraordinary circumstances of the darkness at the time of our Saviour's sufferings. We cannot perceive from the quotations, that have been made of him, that

^m By all means see Tillemont, M. E. Tom. i. note 35. sur Jesus Christ, p. 449, 450.

ⁿ Μερικῶς καὶ καὶ Φλεγὼν ὁ ἑλληνικὸς χρονόγραφος ἐν τρισκαίδεκάτῳ χρονόγραφῳ ἐν τῇ σιγῇ ὀλυμπιάδι τῆς ἐκλείψεως

ταύτης, πᾶρα τὸ εἰῶθος αὐτὴν ἄλλῳ γενέσθαι, οὐ μὴν τοῦ τροπῶν ἀνεγράφε. κ. λ. Maxim.

ap. Dionys. Areop. T. 2, p. 97.

^o J. Malal. Chronogr. lib. x. p. 310.

p. Pagi ann. 32, num. xi...xiv.

it is reasonable to believe he said that the eclipse mentioned by him happened at the time of a 'full moon,' or that it lasted 'three hours.' These circumstances could not have been omitted by him if he had known any thing of them.

The acute Mr. Bayle, in his ** article of Phlegon, has enlarged upon this point, and as it seems to me with good reason. 'Never was there a man more intent than Phlegon to collect 'marvellous events, and to observe the supernatural circumstances of them. How then was it possible that a man of this 'temper should omit to remark that which was most extraordinary in this eclipse, I mean that it happened at the time of 'a full moon.'

6. Phlegon speaks of an ordinary eclipse of the sun. Therefore he cannot intend the darkness mentioned by the evangelists, which happened when the moon was full: at which time an eclipse of the sun is impossible. Nor do any of the evangelists use the word eclipse in their history of this darkness. Phlegon speaks of a total, or very near total eclipse of the sun, so that the stars were seen; which is common when there is a total eclipse, and the air is clear; but could not have been if there had been clouds, which would have hid the stars also. G. J. Vossius⁹ was clearly of opinion that Phlegon speaks of an ordinary and natural eclipse of the sun: for which and other reasons he concludes that Phlegon did not intend the darkness in Judea at the time of our Saviour's passion.

Scaliger^r likewise understands Phlegon to speak of a natural eclipse of the sun.

7. It is reasonable to believe from what Phlegon writes that there was a great eclipse of the sun in some year of the two hundred and second olympiad. According to the calculations of some able astronomers there^s was a great eclipse of the sun in the month of November, in the twenty-ninth year of our Lord,

** Phlegon. note D. Distion. Critic.

⁹ Phlego tamen pro naturali habuit eclipsim....Dixeris, videri eandem, quia Evangelistæ dicunt, fuisse eo tempore terræ motum: ac Phlego itidem dicat, tempore eclipsios ejus, de qua agit, terræ motum fuisse in Bithynia, maximeque Nicææ. Scio. Sed scrupulum injicit, quod fileat de terræ motu in Palæstina. At, inquis, potuit hoc ignorare: nec levem videri nobis auctoritatem Patrum debere, qui eandem faciunt eclipsim illam Evangelistis ac Phlegonti memoratam. Movit Patres, quod eundem in annum utraque incideret. Sed falsos esse, arguit, quod si miraculosa

eclipsis variis conspecta terris foret, non solus ejus Phlegon meminisset. Quid enim magis in natura stupendum, quam solem deficere in plenilunio? Ut jam mittam, quod ante dicebam, Phlegonti sermonem esse de eclipsi naturali, quæ solum in novilunio. G. J. Voss. Harmon. Evang. l. 2, c. x.

^r Nam eclipsim quoque veram Phlegon putavit. Scaliger Animadv. in Euseb. p. 186. a.

^s See Dr. Sykes's Dissertation on the eclipse mentioned by Phlegon, p. 70...79, and his Defence of the same dissertation, p. 60...67.

according

according to the common account, and the first year of the two hundred and second olympiad. But whether their calculations be right or not, I think we may be satisfied that Phlegon thought there was a great eclipse of the sun about that time.

From all these considerations (however without insisting much upon that which is the second in order) it appears to me that we have not sufficient reason to think that Phlegon has mentioned the darkness which happened at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion at Jerusalem: several learned men have been of the same opinion. I have already mentioned, and quoted, J. G. Vossius; I now [†] refer to several others, who may be consulted by the curious.

Colonia ^u puts great value upon the testimony of Phlegon to the extraordinary events attending our Saviour's passion; but I see no reason to make any remarks upon what he says: I refer however to divers other learned men ^x on the same side of the question.

8. I must add one observation more (eighthly). The passage of Phlegon concerning an eclipse of the sun is very seldom mentioned by the ancient learned Christian writers, as a testimony to the wonderful events at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion: which induces me to think they paid little or no regard to it; and that they did not judge it proper to be alleged, either for the satisfaction and confutation of adversaries, or for the confirmation of their own people.

I have already shewn what notice is taken of this passage of Phlegon by Origen, in his books against Celsus, and in his commentaries upon St. Matthew's gospel: and I have also mentioned divers other authors as low as the sixth and seventh century, chiefly writers of chronicles. All which, however, amount to no great number in so long a period.

For there is very little notice taken of it by other ancient Christians, whether apologists, historians, or commentators.

To be more particular. No notice is taken of Phlegon, or his eclipse and earthquake, by Justin Martyr, Tatian, Barde-

[†] Kepler. *Eclogæ Chronicæ*. p. 87, 126. He may be seen cited largely in Dr. Sykes's *Diss.* p. 70....72. Dr. Sykes's *Dissertation* on the eclipse mentioned by Phlegon, and his *Defence* of the same *Dissertation*. London. 1732 and 1733; to whom I may add Dr. S. Clarke, who, in the first edition of his sermons at Boyle's lecture, alleged the passage of Phlegon, but afterwards left it out. *Comp.* p. 325 of the first edition in 1706, and p. 357 of the eighth edition in 1732. *Basnag. ann.*

29, num. 30, 31. and Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, Phlegon. Note D.

^u La Religion Chretienne autorisée par les Auteurs Payens. Vol. i. ch. i. p. 1....44.

^x Huet. *Dem. Ev. Prop.* 3, p. 30, &c. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. T.* 3, p. 403. Phlegon examined critically and impartially, and re-examined by Dr. John Chapman. Cambridge, 1734 and 1735. The Testimony of Phlegon vindicated by Mr. Whiston, 1732.

fanus, Athenagoras, Theophilus ad Autolyicum, Tertullian, Cyprian of Carthage, Arnobius, Lactantius. They may mention the miraculous events attending our Saviour's sufferings; but they allege not Phlegon as confirming the truth of the evangelical history. How those events are mentioned by ^v Arnobius, and ^z Lactantius, may be seen in their own words, which I place below. Lactantius has twice very particularly rehearsed the extraordinary things that bore honour to our Lord when suffering by the hands of men; but he takes not any notice of Phlegon.

Eusebius has the honour to sustain at once all the just mentioned characters of apologist, historian, and commentator. And yet, so far as I recollect, he has no where mentioned Phlegon, except in his Chronicle, which has been expressly cited by me. He has not distinctly quoted or referred to this passage, that I remember, in his Ecclesiastical History, nor in his Evangelical Preparation or Demonstration. All which works may be reckoned partly historical and partly apologetical for the principles of our religion. Nor does Phlegon appear in his Commentary upon the Psalms or Isaiah. In his Ecclesiastical History, having mentioned the troubles which Pilate met with, and his tragical end, he adds: 'This^a is related by Greek writers who have published olympiads, with a history of events, and the times when they^b happened.' Whether Phlegon was here intended cannot be said: he is not mentioned; nor has this any connection with the passage of Phlegon which we are now considering. Nicephorus,^b going over again this same history, is not more particular than Eusebius. He mentions not Phlegon by name, nor any other writer of olympiads. In his Chronicle, under the reign of Caligula, Eusebius, recording the death of Pilate, who laid violent hands upon himself, says: 'This^c is related by Roman historians.'

Nor is Phlegon's eclipse any where taken notice of by Jerom, in any of his numerous and learned works, excepting only in his

^v Exutus at corpore....novitate rerum exterrita universa mundi sunt, elementa turbata, tellus mota contremuit, mare funditus refusum est, aer globis involutus est tenebrarum, igneus orbis solis tepefacto ardore dirigit. Arnob. l. i. p. 32.

^z Et eadem hora terræ motus factus. Et velum templi, quod separabat duo tabernacula, scissum est in duas partes, et sol repente subductus est: et ab hora sexta usque in nonam tenebræ fuerunt...Instit. l. 4, c. 19. Quod facinus prodigia secuta sunt, ut intelligerent nefas, quod admise-

rant. Eodem namque momento, quo spiritum posuit, et terræ motus magnus, et deliquium solis fuit, ut in noctem dies verteretur. Hæc omnia Prophetæ sic futura esse prædixerant. Lact. Epit. c. 45, et 46.

^a Ἰστορεῖν ἑλληνικῶν οἱ τὰς οὐμπιαδὰς ἀνατολῆς κατὰ χρόνον πεπραγμένους ἀναγράφουσιν. H. E. l. 2, c. 7.

^b Vid. Niceph. l. 2, c. 10.

^c Pontius Pilatus incidens in multas calamitates propria se manu interfecit. Scribunt Romanorum historici. Chron. p. 159.

p. 144.

Latin version of Eusebius's Greek Chronicle, above quoted by us. Scaliger observes that ^d Jerom seems to refer to this author, and his Olympiads, in his Commentary upon Habakkuk, ch. iii. 9, 10. But Phlegon is not there named: nor does he there speak of his eclipse, but of quite other things. I have transcribed below the passage referred to more distinctly, from the Benedictine edition of Jerom, than it is quoted by Scaliger. Doubtless Jerom has several times spoken of the darkness and other extraordinary events at the time of our Saviour's passion: as in his Commentary upon ^e Amos viii. 9, 10. And in his Commentary upon Matt. xxvii. 45, he says: 'They ^f who have written against the gospels suspect that the disciples of Christ, through ignorance, speak of an ordinary eclipse of the sun, which never happens except at the time of the new moon. But Jerom answers that there could be no ground for such a supposition; for our Lord suffered at the time of the Jewish passover, when the moon was at full, as all know. The darkness therefore must have been miraculous. Moreover, it lasted three hours; which is sufficient to remove all suspicion that it was a natural eclipse.'

So Jerom. But nothing is said of Phlegon, either here or elsewhere. The silence about Phlegon, in so learned a writer as Jerom, appears to me remarkable.

Nor does Phlegon appear at all in the Homilies, or other writings, of Chrysostom. In a homily, remarking upon Matt. xxvii. 45, he says that, 'darkness' was not an eclipse, but a token of the divine displeasure, as is manifest from the time of it; for it lasted three hours: whereas, an eclipse of the sun is over

^e De illo, ut alibi diximus, intelligebat Hieronymus, quum hæc scriberet Commentario in Habacuc, capite tertio. 'Legimus in his, qui de mirabilibus confecerunt volumina, et qui Olympiadas Græciæ ad nostram usque memoriam perduxere, exponentes quid in singulis annis novi acciderit in mundo, quod inter cætera terræ motu eruperint flumina, quæ ante non fuerant, et rursus alia absorpta sint, et pessum ierint.' Scaliger Animadv. in Euseb. Et conf. Hieron. T. 3, p. 1628. Ed. Bened. ^f Possumus hunc locum et in Domini intelligere passionem, quando sol horâ sextâ retraxit radios suos, et pendentem in cruce Dominum suum spectare non ausus est. In Amos, p. 1442. ^f Qui scripserunt contra Evangelia, suspicantur, deliquium solis, quod certis statutisque temporibus ac-

cidere solet, discipulos Christi ob imperitiam super resurrectione Domini interpretatos: quum defectus solis numquam nisi ortu lunæ fieri solet. Nulli autem dubium est, Paschæ tempore lunam fuisse plenissimam. Et ne forsitan videretur umbra terræ, vel orbis lunæ soli oppositus, breves et ferrugineas fecisse tenebras, trium horarum spatium ponitur, ut omnis causantium occasio tolleretur. &c. In Matt. c. xxvii. Tom. 4, p. 139. ^g Οργίζομενε γαρ επι τοις τολμωμενοις ην το σκοτος εκεινο. Οτι γαρ ουκ ην εκλειψις, αλλ' οργη η και αγαπηκησις, εκ εντευθεν μονον δηλον ην, αλλα και απο καιρου. Τρεις γαρ ωρας παρεμειναν. Η δε εκλειψις ει μια καιρη γινεται ροπη. Και ισασιν οι ταυτην τεθεαμενοι και γαρ επι της γενεας της ημετερας συνβη. Chr. in Matt. hom. 88. al. 89, p. 825. T. vii.

in

‘in a moment of time. This all know who have seen an eclipse, as we have lately.’

Nor do I remember that Phlegon is mentioned by Augustine in any of his numerous writings. In that noble work, his Apology for the Christian religion, called *Of the City of God*, he observes that, ‘the^h darkness, at the time of our Saviour’s passion, was not owing to an eclipse of the sun; for it was the time of the passover, when the moon was at the full: whereas all natural eclipses are at the time of the new moon.’ But he does not call in Phlegon to bear witness to this. In like manner, in¹ one of his epistles he argues excellently well that ‘the darkness at the time of our Saviour’s crucifixion was miraculous and preternatural, and not owing to an interposition of the moon between our earth and the sun.’ But neither does he here take any notice of Phlegon.

I might go on to mention Epiphanius, Leo the great, Gregory the first, Ambrose of Milan, Theodoret both an historian and a commentator, and other learned and voluminous writers of the fourth, fifth, and following centuries, who are all silent about Phlegon and his eclipse.

Nor is Phlegon named in Œcumenius, or Theophylact, both excellent commentators. But this last, in the eleventh century, in his note upon Matt. xxvii. 45, distinctly shews that the darkness at our Saviour’s crucifixion was preternatural, and could not be an ordinary eclipse of the sun.

There are many historians, partly secular, partly ecclesiastical, who, as we may think, might have been led, either occasionally, or on set purpose, to mention Phlegon: such as Socrates, Sozomen, Orosius, Cassiodorius, Zonaras, Nicephorus, and others; who nevertheless take no particular notice of him or his eclipse.

Orosius indeed, near the beginning of the fifth century, rehearsing the affecting circumstances of our Saviour’s sufferings, says: ‘And^k divers writings of Greek authors confirm the evangelical history.’ But he does not mention Phlegon, nor any other.

Nicephorus¹ in like manner speaks of the darkness, the earth-

^h De Civ. Dei. l. 3. cap. xv.

ⁱ Ep. 199. al. 80. ad Hesychium. cap. x. num. 34. Tom. 2. P. 2.

^k Deinde anno ejusdem [Tiberii] decimo septimo, cum Dominus Jesus Christus voluntarie quidem se tradidit passioni, ...et patibulo suffixus est, maximo terræ motu per orbem facto, saxa in monti-

bus scissa sunt....Eadem quoque die ad horam diei sextam sol in totum obscuratus, tetraque nox subito obducta terris est.Quod non solum sanctorum Evangeliorum fides, sed etiam aliquanti Græcorum libri adtestantur. Oros. l. 7. cap. 4.

¹ Vid. Niceph. l. i. cap. 31.

quake,

quake, and other wonderful concomitants of our Saviour's sufferings: but says nothing of Phlegon, or any other heathen authors.

This silence about Phlegon, in many of the most judicious and learned ancient Christian writers, has induced me to think they did not reckon the passage of Phlegon very material. If it had been reckoned by them clear and important, we should have seen numerous quotations of it, and cogent arguments upon it. Indeed, if it had been clear, it must have been important. But not being, as I suppose, reckoned by them clearly to refer to the darkness in Judea, at the time of our Lord's sufferings, they did not esteem it of much moment, and therefore did not allege it.

Many people of our times, I believe, suppose that this passage of Phlegon is quoted and insisted upon by all ancient Christian writers in general. But so far is that from being the case, that it is to be found quoted in very few, one perhaps in a century or two, and those chiefly writers of Chronicles.

Petavius, speaking of Phlegon's eclipse, says: 'that ^m this is the same which happened at the death of Christ, all the ancient fathers have declared, as with one mouth.' But what does Tillemont say to this? His remark is in these words: 'But ⁿ Petavius makes use of an expression which is rather too strong. For I think that *all the fathers* are reduced to Jerom, who translated Eusebius,' [meaning his Chronicle:] 'and ^o if by fathers he means ecclesiastical writers, it will not extend, perhaps, to more than four or five.'

I hope that what has been observed under this last particular may be of use to satisfy some, who may not be fully convinced by the foregoing considerations. None, I think, can much dislike my declining to insist upon a passage, as a testimony to the truth of the evangelical history, which has been so little regarded, and so seldom quoted by ancient Christian writers, remarkable for their diligence as well as for their learning and judgment.

IV. Thallus, ^a a Syrian author; is sometimes alleged by ^b learned moderns, as bearing witness to the darkness at the time

^m Hanc esse illam ipsam, quæ sub Christi mortem accidit, patres omnes antiqui velut uno ore pronunciarunt. Petav. de Doctrina Temp. l. 12. cap. 21. p. 458.

ⁿ Note xxxv. sur N. S. Jesus Christ. p. 449. Mem. Ec. ^o Et si par les peres il entend les auteurs ecclesiastiques, cela ne s'étendra peutestre à plus de quatre ou

cinq. Ibid.

^a Vid. Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. 3.

^b Quos inter præcipua est Thalli auctoritas, quem libro Historiarum suarum tertio eandem eclipsim memorare prodidit insignis temporum metator Africanus. Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. 3. sect. viii. &c. See likewise Colonia, vol. i. p. 27. &c.

of our Saviour's passion. Whether there be any good reason for so doing, may appear from a few observations.

In the fragments of Africanus, which are in the Chronicle^c of G. Syncellus of the eighth century, and in the collections of Eusebius's Greek Chronicle, as made by Joseph Scaliger, that very learned ancient Christian writer says 'there^d was a dreadful 'darkness over the whole world, and the rocks were rent by an 'earthquake, and many buildings were overturned in Judea, 'and in other parts of the earth. This^e darkness Thallus calls 'an eclipse of the sun, in the third book of his histories: but, as 'seems to me, very improperly; for the Jews keep the passover 'in the fourteenth day of the moon; at which time an eclipse of 'the sun is impossible.'

Upon this passage I must observe, 1. That it appears only in the fragments of Africanus; whereas it often happens that, in collections of that kind, we do not find so much accuracy as might be wished. 2. The words of Thallus are not cited: for which reason we cannot presume to form a judgment concerning what he said. 3. This passage of Thallus is no where quoted or referred to by any other ancient writer that I know of. It is not in any work of Eusebius, excepting those Greek collections of his Chronicle, which are very inaccurate and imperfect: nor is there any notice taken of it in Jerom's version of the Chronicle.

I might rest here without adding any thing more. Nevertheless I shall proceed somewhat farther.

The time of Thallus seems not to be exactly known. If indeed there was any thing in his history relating to transactions in Judea in the time of our Saviour, he must have lived between that time and Africanus: but of that we want some farther proof.

In Eusebius's Evangelical Preparation^f is quoted a long passage of Africanus, from the third book of his Chronology; where^g are mentioned, all together, Diodorus, Thallus, Castor, Polybius, and Phlegon. 'And afterwards^h Hellanicus and Philochorus, who wrote of the affairs of Attica; Castor and Thallus, 'who wrote a history of Syria; Diodorus, and Alexander Polyhistor.' Whereby we learn that Thallus was a Syrian, who wrote in the Greek language.

^c Ap. G. Syncell. p. 322.

^d Euseb. Canon. Chron. Græc. p. 77.

^e Τὸ το σκότος ἐκλείπειν ἤλιον Θάλλος ἀποκαλεῖ ἐν τρίτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἀλῶως. Ἐβραῖοι γὰρ ἀγνοοῦσι τὸ πάσχα κατὰ σελήνης ἰδ. κ. λ. Ap. Euseb. Chron.

Gr. p. 77.

^f Pr. Ev. l. x. cap. x. p. 487...493.

^g Ib. p. 488.

^h Ἑλληνικός τε καὶ Φιλοχόρος, οἱ τὰς Ἀττικὰς, οἱ τε τὰ Συριακά, καὶ Θάλλος. κ. λ. p. 489.

p. 149.

Thallus is quoted by divers ancient Christian writers. Justin Martyr,¹ in his exhortation to the Greeks, allegeth Hellenicus, Philochorus, Castor and Thallus, as bearing witness to the antiquity of Moses, the Jewish lawgiver.

Tertullian^k and Minucius Felix^l quote Thallus, and divers other authors, as acknowledging Saturn to have been a man who had lived on this earth.

Thallus and other writers are quoted with a like view by^m Lactantius.

Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, about the year 180, in hisⁿ letter to Autolicus, quotes Thallus, to prove that Belus lived long before the Trojan war: which passage is quoted again from Theophilus by^o Lactantius.

All these quotations of Thallus appear to be made properly: and he is so quoted with other writers of antiquity, that one might be apt to think that he lived rather before than after our Saviour's coming: nor is there any thing here said of an eclipse; which may induce us to think that the passage in the fragments of Africanus is not material. Indeed, if I was not unwilling to admit any thing disrespectful to the memory of so great and learned an ancient as Africanus, I should suspect that the eclipse mentioned by Thallus, (whenever it happened,) was a natural eclipse of the sun. For it is not likely that a learned historian, as Thallus was, should use that expression concerning any other darkness or obscurity. Consequently, what he said could not have any reference to the darkness in Judea at the time of our Saviour's last sufferings.

Thallus is not quoted upon this occasion either by^p Grotius, or^q Dr. Clarke.

V. It has been often said that Dionysius the Areopagite, when a young man, went into Egypt for the sake of improvement in

¹ Ad Gr. Coh. p. 10. A. Par. p. 13. n. 9. Bened.

^k Saturnum itaque, quantum literæ docent, neque Diodorus Græcus, aut Thallus, neque Cassius Severus, aut Cornelius Nepos, neque ullus commentator ejusmodi antiquitatum, aliud quam hominem promulgaverunt. Tertull. Ap. cap. 10.

^l Saturnum enim principem hujus generis et examinis omnes scriptores vetustatis, Græci Romanique, hominem prodiderunt. Scit hoc Nepos et Cassius in historia: et Thallus, et Diodorus, hæc loquuntur. Minuc. Felix. cap. 22.

^m Omnes ergo non tantum poetæ, sed et historiarum quoque, ac rerum antiquarum scriptores, hominem fuisse consen-

tunt, qui res ejus in Italia gestas memorie prodiderunt: Græci, Diodorus et Thallus: Latini, Nepos, et Cassius, et Varro. Lact. Inst. l. i. cap. 13.

ⁿ Ad Aut. l. 3. p. 138, 139. Par. p. 399. n. 29. Bened.

^o Theophilus in libro de temporibus ad Autolyicum scripto ait, in historia sua Thallum dicere, quod Belus, quem Babylonii et Assyrii colunt, antiquior Trojano bello fuisse invenitur 322 annis, &c. Id. ib. l. i. cap. 23. Conf. ejusd. Epit. cap. 24.

^p Vide de Veritate Rel. Christian. l. 3. cap. xiv.

^q See his Sermons at Boyle's Lecture, the first ed. p. 325. the eighth edition. p. 357. A. D. 1732.

knowledge. ^a And being at Heliopolis, with his friend Apolophanes, when our Saviour suffered, they there saw a wonderful eclipse of the sun: whereupon Dionysius said to his friend: "Either ^b God himself suffers, or sympathizeth with the sufferer."

But, as ^c all the works ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite are now reckoned spurious, and are allowed not to have been composed before the fifth or sixth century, this story is disregarded by all learned men in general. I shall put below the judgments of ^d Huet and ^e Tillemont, who might be as likely to assert it as any, but do absolutely abandon and give it up as of no value. Colonia ^f likewise, after a good deal of parade, declares it inconsistent with sincerity to allege it among genuine and authentic testimonies in favour of Christianity.

C H A P. XIV.

The emperor TITUS ANTONINUS the pious.

I. *His time and character.* II. *That he was favourable to the Christians.* III. *His edict in their favour sent to the States of Asia. The genuineness of which is here asserted, with remarks.*

I. TITUS AURELIUS FULVIUS BOIONIVS ANTONINVS PIUS: or Antoninus, surnamed the pious, or the good, was born in the reign of Domitian, in the year of Christ 86. He^a succeeded Adrian on the tenth day of July, in the year of our Lord 138, and died on the seventh of March in 161, in the twenty-third year of his reign.

He is much commended; and, indeed, seems to have been

^a Vid. Dionys. ep. ad Polycarp. T. 2. p. 88, &c. et Suidas V. Διονυσίος ὁ Ἀρεωπαγίτης.

^b Ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ πάσχη, ἢ τῶν πασχόντων συμπασχει.

^c See vol. v. ch. cxliii. init.

^d Poteramus, et Dionysii Areopagitæ testimonio pugnare, qui in epistola ad Polycarpum rem a se et ab Apolophane sophista Heliopoli Ægypti observatam narrat. Verum quoniam has Dionysii Epistolas, aliasque ejusdem scriptiones, in controversiam vocari video, neque sane immerito, si quid judicio valeo, hæc prætermittimus. Huet. Prop. 3. n. ix.

^e Nous ne nous arrêtons pas à l'auteur des ouvrages attribuez à S. Denys

l'Areopagite, qui pretend avoir remarqué à Heliopolis en Egypte les tenebres arrivées à la mort de J. C. et qui veut qu'elles vinssent d'une eclipse veritable, et causée comme les autres par l'interposition de la lune entre la terre et le soleil, quoique entièrement miraculeuse, et contra la nature des autres eclipses. Peu de personnes habiles se laissent persuader aujourd'hui par ces sortes d'autoritez. Tillemont. note 35. sur N. S. J. C. Mem. T. i. f La Religion Chrétienne autorisée. &c. vol. i. p. 40, 41.

^f Vid. Pagi ann. 161. n. ii. Basnage. ann. 138. n. xi. Tillem. L'Emp. Tite Antonin. art. i, et xii.

a man ^b of as fair a character as any of the Roman emperors, not excepting ^c the most admired. And, though he was above seventy years of age at the time of his death, he was as much lamented as if he had died in the ^d prime of life.

When Xiphilinus made the epitome of Dion Cassius's History, the seventeenth book of that work, which contained the reign of this emperor, was wanting, excepting only a small part at the beginning. Having given a short account of that, Xiphilinus proceeds: 'It ^e is agreed by all, that Antoninus was a good and mild prince, who was oppressive neither to any of his other subjects, nor to the Christians, whom he protected and favoured, even beyond what had been done by Adrian, as is shewn by Eusebius * Pamphili.'

II. So writes Xiphilinus. We are therefore led directly to the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, in which is the earliest account we can expect to find of Antoninus's regard for the Christians.

He is not reckoned among the persecuting emperors. Nevertheless the Christians were persecuted in his time; otherwise there could have been no occasion to present apologies to him; and that Justin's first apology was addressed to him is allowed. It is inscribed in this manner: 'To the emperor Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus the pious, and to his son Verissimus, and Lucius, and the senate, and all the people of the Romans, in ^f behalf of men gathered out of all nations, who are unjustly hated and ill-treated, I Justin, son of Priscus, son of Bacchius, one of them of the city of Flavia Neapolis, in that part of

^b Vid. M. Aurel. de Reb. suis. lib. i. sect. xvi. Dio. Cass. l. 69. p. 796. al. 1167. Jul. Capitolin. Victor. et Eutrop.

^c Hunc fere nulla vitiorum labe maculavit. Victor. de Cæsar. cap. xiv.

.... tantæ bonitatis in principatu fuit, ut haud dubie sine exemplo vixerit. Victor. Epit. c. xv.

^d Perit anno septuagesimo: sed quasi adolescens desideratus est. Jul. Capitolin. in Vit. Anton. cap. 12.

^e Ο γὰρ Ἀντωνίνος οὐλοῦνται παρὰ πάντας καλὸς τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ οὐτε τῶν ἀλλῶν υπηκόων τίσι βαρὺς, οὐτε χριστιανὸς ὑπαχθὴς, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν τινὰ τέτοιος ἡμεῖς αἰδοί, καὶ τῇ τῇ Ἀδριανῇ τιμῇ, ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἵστα χριστιανὸς, προσέθηκε. κ. λ. Dio. l. 70. p. 1173. al. 799.

* Mr. La Roche, in his New Memoirs of Literature, vol. i. p. 81....99. gives an account of a book in two volumes, 8vo. printed at the Hague, entitled, Histoire de la Philosophie Pagenne, &c. A History of the Pagan Philosophy, or the Sentiments of the most famous Pagan Philosophers and nations concerning

God, the Soul, and the duties of Man. Where, at page 98, Mr. La Roche says:

'In the last chapter of this work, the author shews that there was not one perfect man among the heathens. He examines the lives of Pythagoras, Aristides, Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, Dion, Phocion, Timoleon, Cato the censor, Cato of Utica, Brutus, Seneca, Apollonius of Tyana, Titus Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius; and finds them guilty of several vices. He highly commends the wise and just government of Titus Antoninus. But, says he, that emperor had some faults, which however were not very prejudicial to his subjects.'

It is plain that this author had a very favourable opinion of Titus Antoninus. I should be very glad to see his work; but it has never come in my way.

^f ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων ἀδίκως μισθμενῶν καὶ παρτρίζομενῶν, εἰς αὐτῶν τὴν προσφωνησὶν καὶ ἐντεύξιν ποιῆμαι. Apol. pr. et ap. Euseb. H. E. L. 4. c. 12.

‘ Syria which is called Palestine, make this address and supplication.’

And, not to take notice of any other passages of it, the same apology concludes in this manner: ‘ If what has been now offered be material, pay a suitable regard to it; but if all this be of no moment, let it be slighted as trifling: but do not treat as enemies, and appoint death for men who are guilty of no crimes. And we foretel unto you that ye will not escape the future judgment of God if you persist in this injustice.’

Which plainly shews that the Christians were then persecuted, even to death.

III. Eusebius, ^b having given an account of Justin’s apology, and quoted the beginning of it, goes on: ‘ And ⁱ the same emperor having been applied to by other of the brethren in Asia, complaining of the many injuries which they suffered from the people of the country, sent ^k an edict to the common council of Asia, which is to this purpose: “ The emperor...to the states of Asia sendeth greeting. I am well satisfied the gods will not suffer such men to be concealed; for undoubtedly they are more concerned to punish those who refuse to worship them than you are. But you only confirm these men in their sentiments, and make them more obstinate, by calling them impious, and giving them vexation: for they are not so desirous to live, as to be prosecuted, and suffer death for their God. Hence they come off victorious, laying down their lives rather than do what you demand of them. As for the earthquakes of the former, or the present times, it may not be improper to advise you to compare yourselves with them, and your sentiments with theirs: for when such things happen you are dejected, but they are full of confidence in God; and you, in the ignorance you are in, neglect the other gods and their rites, and the worship of the Immortal likewise: and the Christians, who worship him, you banish and persecute to death. Before our time many governors of provinces wrote to our deified father about these men. To whom he wrote that they should not be molested, unless they did things contrary to the welfare of the Roman government. Many also have informed me about the same men; to whom I returned an answer agreeable to the rescript of my father [Adrian.] If therefore any person will still accuse any of these men

^g ... και μη ως κατ’ ἐχθρῶν, κατὰ τῶν μηδὲν ἀδικούντων θανάτων ορίζεσθαι. Προλεγομένη γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκφύγεσθε τὴν ἐσομένην τῇ Θεῷ κρίσιν, ἐὰν ἐπιμένετε τῇ ἀδικίᾳ. ^h L. 4. c. xi. xii. ⁱ Cap. xiii. p. 126. ^k ... τοιαύτης κλίσεως τοῦ κοινῶν τῆς Ἀσίας διατάξεως.

“as such, [as a Christian,] let the accused be acquitted, though he appear to be such an one [that is, a Christian;] and let the accuser be punished. Set up at Ephesus in the common assembly of Asia.” And that these things were so done, adds Eusebius, ‘is attested by Melito bishop of Sardis, who flourished at that time, in what he says in his excellent apology, which he made for our religion to the emperor Verus.’

Melito’s apology was presented to Marcus Antoninus¹ about the year 177. From that apology Eusebius, in a following chapter, makes a large extract: a part of which I also must transcribe here, reserving the rest till hereafter: ‘Of^m all the Roman emperors,’ says Melito to Marcus, ‘Nero and Domitian only, who were misled by designing men, have shewn enmity to our religion. From them have proceeded the evil reports concerning us, that are received and propagated by the vulgar; which have often been checked by your pious ancestors, who by edicts have restrained those who have been troublesome to men of our religion. Among whom is your grandfather Adrian, who wrote, as to many others, so particularly to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia. And your father also, at the same time that you governed all things with him, wrote to several cities, that they should not give us any vexation, and among them to the Larisseans, and the Thessalonians, and the Athenians, and to all the Greeks. And we are persuaded that you, who cannot but have the like regard for us, and are yet of a more humane and philosophical disposition, will grant all we desire.’

So writes Melito. And hence, and from what Eusebius before said, may be concluded with certainty, that not only Justin presented an apology to Titus Antoninus, but that other Christians also, from divers parts, had applied to him; and that he had sent favourable orders to the Larisseans in Thessaly, and to other Thessalonians, and the Athenians, and to all the Greeks in general, which may comprehend the Asiatics, for whom Melito in particular seems to have pleaded.

Nevertheless there are difficulties relating to that edict, before translated, said to have been sent to the common council of Asia. Some think it was given by Titus Antoninus, others by Marcus Antoninus; and others suspect it to be a forgery, and really sent by neither of those emperors.

And among the ancients there is some difference of opinion. By Eusebius, whom I have transcribed at length, it is supposed to have been sent by Antoninus the pious. This letter, or edict,

¹ See vol. ii, p. 147. ^m Euseb. H. E. l. 4, cap. 26.

is also at length in the Paschal Chronicle ^a and in ^o Nicephorus Callisti. By the former it is ascribed to Antoninus the philosopher, by the latter to his predecessor. Zonaras ^p follows Eusebius, as does also Xiphilinus, before quoted. Orosius does not expressly mention this edict; but he says that ^q Justin presented an apology to Antoninus the pious, and that thereby the emperor was rendered favourable to the Christians.

Among the moderns likewise, as before hinted, there are various sentiments. Valesius, the learned editor of Eusebius and the other ecclesiastical historians, differs here from his author: he says the ^r letter is Marcus's, and that Eusebius was mistaken in ascribing it to the elder Antoninus. Of the same opinion are ^s Scaliger, ^t Huët, ^u Basnage, and ^x Pagi. By ^y Baronius, ^z Cave, and ^a divers others, it is supposed to have been sent by Antoninus the pious. As the argument of the Benedictine editors, on the same side of the question, is not very prolix, I shall put a part of it below. They say, with Tillemont, that 'the ^b authority of ' Eusebius, who ascribes it to Titus Antoninus the pious, ought ' by no means to be slighted: he only could call Adrian his ' father, and was the only emperor after him who favoured the ' Christians; for Marcus was always unfriendly to them: and it ' is certain that he wrote the same things to the Larisseans, and ' the Thessalonians, that are contained in this letter to the states ' of Asia, that they should not be troublesome to the Christians.'

But some suspect the genuineness of this letter, as Mr. Dodwell, who says it ' is so Christian, that he can hardly think it was written by a heathen emperor. Thirlby ^d rejects it as a plain

^a p. 259. ^o L. 3. cap. 28.

^p Tom. 2. p. 206. ^q Verum Justinus philosophus librum pro Christiana religione compositum Antonino tradidit, benignumque eum erga Christianos fecit. Oros. l. 7. cap. xiv. ^r Errat Eusebius, qui Antonino Pio hanc epistolam tribuit, cum sit divi Marci. Annot. in Euseb. p. 66. ^s Animadv. in Euseb. p. 219.

^t Dem. Evang. p. 42. ^u Bas. Ann.

139. n. vii. et ann. 164. n. iv.

^x Pagi ann. 152. num. iv. v.

^y Baron. ann. 154. n. v. ^z H. L. de Justino M. ^a Balduin. Edict. Princep. Rom. p. 86....92. Tillem. Antonin. art. xi. S. Justin M. art. xii. et note xi. Moshem. de Reb. Christian. p. 86....92.

^b Nam, ut Tillemontij, qui Antonino vindicat, rationum momenta breviter referam. 1. Eusebii auctoritas, qui eas Antonino tribuit, maximi debet esse ponderis. 2. Antonino conveniunt, qui Adria-

num solus appellare potuit parentem suum, ac solus post Adrianum illa ætate fuit Christianis. Hunc enim constat ea ad Civitates, ac nominatim ad Larissæos, ad Thessalonicenses, ad Athenienses, ad universos denique Græcos scripsisse, quæ in literis ad Commune Asiæ leguntur, nempe nequid novi adversus Christianos molirentur. At Marcus semper Christianis iniquus fuit. Præf. ad Justin. M. Pars 3. cap. v. num. iii.

^c Sed mihi tateor suspectum esse, magisque ad mentem Christianorum esse conceptum, quam illud concepturus fuerit gentilis Imperator. Diss. Cypr. xi. num. 34. ^d Tot viros doctos et graves ludos fecit unus, idemque non vaferrimus, nebulo, qui hoc rescriptum confinxit....E-mendatione autem nostra dignum non censuimus figmentum ineptum et puerile. Thirlb. in Justin. M. p. 101.

forgery.

forgery. Dr. Jortin goes into the same opinion, saying: 'It was forged by some Christian before the days of Eusebius.' and Reimar wisheth that some farther light might be obtained for clearing up the difficulties relating to it.

I think this rescript could not be written by Marcus Antoninus, who was always averse and unfriendly to the Christians, as we shall see hereafter. If this letter had been written in the first year of Marcus's reign, as Valesius thought, or in the fourth of it, as Pagi and Basnage say, the Christians would not have suffered such persecutions in his time, as they did in many places. Nor would there have been so many apologies presented to him, as we know there were. Nor could Melito have omitted to take notice of it. He reminds Marcus of the rescript of his grandfather Adrian, and the letter of Antoninus, his father, to several cities; much more would he have reminded him of his own letter in favour of the Christians, if there had been any such thing.

As for the suspicion of forgery, I see no plain evidence of it. I do not discern the hand of a conceited and pedantic sophist; nothing but what might come from a good-natured magistrate, as Antoninus was. There had been some earthquakes in Asia, and other countries not far off. The heathen people were much terrified by them, and ascribed them to the vengeance of heaven, because the Christians were numerous among them: and they had thereupon committed great outrages: of these injuries the Christians made complaints; and the emperor, in his letter to the states, pleasantly reprimands his own people, the heathens, upon both those accounts, that is, for their timorousness, and for their cruel usage of the Christians, their neighbours: and he as agreeably commends the Christians for their intrepidity, or composure, amidst such dangers; and sends orders that they should not be any longer abused as they had been.

I think, then, that this rescript was sent by Titus Antoninus the pious, as Eusebius * supposed. But, allowing that to be doubtful, we learn several things from what has now passed before us. The emperor Antoninus the pious must have had good

* Remarks upon E. H. vol. 2. p. 168. See also p. 174.

f Quoniam vero ne veteres quidam sibi constant, utri Imperatorum adscribenda sit: et quamcumque teneas sententiam, difficultates alia obstant inextricabiles: operæ pretium fuerit, clariore quam factum est adhuc luce discutere dubia, ni tota illa epistola conficta quibusdam liberius judicantibus debeat videri. Reimar. in notis ad Dion. Cass. p. 1172. al. 799.

hæc provenerunt: fames, de quâ diximus, circi ruina, terræ motus, quo Rhodiorum et Asiæ oppida conciderunt. Quæ omnia mirifice instauravit. Capitolin. Antonin. Pius. cap. 9. p. 168. Vid. et Dion. Cass. lib. 70. p. 1173. * Some more observations for shewing that this rescript was sent by Antoninus Pius, will appear near the end of the chapter of Marcus Antoninus, in what is there called the Summary of the Argument.

knowledge

knowledge of the Christians and their principles: he was favourable to them, and must have been well satisfied of their innocence. To him Justin presented a long and excellent apology, still extant, a most valuable remain of Christian antiquity. By Eusebius, and others, we are assured it had a good effect. And, if it had not been of some advantage to the Christian interest at that time, Justin would scarcely have thought of making any more addresses to Roman emperors: and his addressing another apology afterwards to Marcus Antoninus is an argument that he had some encouragement to it by the success of his former apology.

To Antoninus the pious applications had been made also by other Christians beside Justin: and he wrote to the Larissians, the Thessalonians, the Athenians, and all the Greeks in general, that they should forbear to give trouble to the Christians, as such, and unless they were guilty of some offence contrary to the welfare of society and the peace of the Roman government: by which we must understand, at least, that he confirmed the rescript of Adrian, sent to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia. All this we are fully assured of from the apology of Melito, presented to Marcus Antoninus: for none can admit the suspicion of an attempt to impose upon so knowing and so great a man as that emperor. By all which we may be assured that Antoninus the pious was persuaded of the innocence, both of the principles and of the conduct of the Christians; which are largely insisted upon in the apology of Justin Martyr.

And, as it was the design of all the apologies at that time to clear the Christians from the charge of the crimes imputed to them, it is reasonable to believe that all the other apologies from different persons and several countries, agreeing in their accounts, they concurred together to give full satisfaction to this good and vigilant emperor, Antoninus the pious; for that is one part of his character: he was inquisitive about every part of his government: 'He^h knew all the concerns of the empire, and 'of all the people subject to him, as distinctly as he did those of 'his own family.' Nor were the least things overlooked by him: whichⁱ is sometimes mentioned to his advantage, and at other times as a fault, and almost the only fault that could be charged upon him, that^k he was too inquisitive, and prying into little things.

^h Tanta sane diligentia subiectos sibi populos rexit, ut omnia et omnes, quasi sua essent, curavit. Jul. Capitol. Vit. Tit. Antonin. cap. 7. p. 261.

ⁱ Και το ζητητικόν ακριβώς εν τῶν συμ-

βουλιῶν, καὶ επιμονὴν, ἀλλ' ὃ το πρῶτον τῆς εἰρήνης ἀνεσθῆναι τὰς προχέρας παρτασιας. Marc. Anton. de Reb. suis. lib. i. cap. 16.

^k Ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τῆς μικρολογίας εἰς εἶπαι μοι δοκεῖ τὸν

things. That temper however must have been of use to divers people; and, upon many occasions, this in particular. By most men at that time the Christians and their affairs were despised, as unworthy of regard: and it is one great concern of all the Christian apologists, to excite the attention of the Roman emperors, and the Roman governors of provinces, and of all other people in general, and to induce them to inquire and examine, and take cognizance of the Christian cause, and their affairs: which, as it seems, this emperor had done, to his own credit and their benefit.

CHAP. XV.

The emperor MARCUS ANTONINUS the philosopher.

SECTION I.

I. *His time and character.* II. *The passage in his meditations concerning the Christians, with notes and observations.*

I. MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS PHILOSOPHUS, or Marcus Antoninus, surnamed the philosopher, was^a born in the reign of Adrian, the twenty-sixth day of April, in the year of Christ 121. He succeeded Antoninus the pious on the second day of March in the year of our Lord 161, and died on the seventeenth day of March in the year 180.

The virtues of his private and public life have been greatly commended and highly celebrated: but, if a comparison were to be made between Antoninus the pious and Antoninus the philosopher, I should be disposed to give the preference to the former.

Aristides the sophist, in his panegyric upon this emperor, says that, 'before^b he came to the empire, he restrained and prevented many disorders and mismanagements in the govern-

των διαπριοντων το κυμινον, ο πρεσβυτης υιος. Julian. Caes. p. 312. A. ed. Spanh.

Λιγεται δε ο Αντωνινος ζητητικος γενεσθαι, και μηδε περι τα μικρα και τυχευοντα της ακριβοδογιας αφισσθαι: οθεν αυτον οι σκωπτοντες κυμινοςπριστην εκαλευν. Xiphilin. ap. Diog. l. 70. p. 1173.

^a Neque vero dubito, Xiphilinum loqui generatim, et intelligere accuratum et diligens studium, in quacumque re, etiam minima et obvia, inquirendi et rimandi id quod verum rectumque esset. Reimar. ad

Xiphilin. loc. modo citat. not. ^k.

^a Vid. Pagi ann. 180. n. ii. Basnag. ann. 121. viii. et 180. i. Tillemont L'Emp. M. Aurele. art. i. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. 23. T. 4. p. 20. &c.

^b ορων πολλα της βασιλειας & καλως ηδε οσιως διοικημενα, αλλα πολλην αυθαιειαν και υβριν και ακολασιαν ιγγινομενην, εκ ης αυξισθαι.... Τοις τοις δι προ τε βασιλευσαι ην. Aristid. in Regem Orat. p. 107. al. 59. Tom. i.

‘ment of public affairs: and insinuates that great injuries were done, and many things carried with violence and insult.’ But, as ^c Tillemont observes, ‘Aristides seems to have aimed to decry the government of Antoninus, in order to extol that of Marcus. But,’ as he adds, ‘the sophist therein shewed greater regard to the laws of oratory than of truth. For, according to historians, Marcus did not at all excel Antoninus in moderation, and the care of the public.’

Some other learned men ^d have formed a like judgment concerning this emperor.

Marcus, however, deserves great commendation upon many accounts. Tillemont, having given a history of the rude and disagreeable treatment which he received from Herodes Atticus, and Marcus’s obliging behaviour to him afterwards, adds: ‘There ^e are many Christians, whom this mildness of a heathen emperor will condemn in the last day.’

In the year 175, Avidius Cassius rebelled, and set up himself for emperor, and was soon defeated. Marcus’s ^f clemency toward the family and the accomplices of Avidius is universally allowed ^g to have been very extraordinary, and even above all commendations. Upon that, and many other occasions, he shewed that he was master of himself, and had a great government of his temper.

But, to be a little more particular concerning this renowned emperor and much admired ^h heathen philosopher:

He ⁱ was a youth of great expectations, and was beloved by Adrian from his childhood. That ^k emperor introduced him into the college of the priests, called Salii, at the age of eight

^c M. Aurele. art. iv. ^d Vide vero hic infelicitatem temporum Marci, quo nullus Imperatorum justior et sapientior putatur! Princeps minime malus, philosophicis meditationibus animum pascibat, non admodum curiosus eorum, quæ in imperio gererentur. Interea magistratus impune voluntati suæ obsequabantur, quasque venerari videbantur leges, turpissime violabant. Moshem. de Reb. Christianorum. p. 244. Dubitavi dudum, tantus num fuerit Marcus, quantus esse plerisque omnibus et olim visus est, et hodie videtur.... Bonum virum fuisse, valde licet superstitiosum, dubitare nolo: boni vero imperatoris et principis nomen an mereatur, dubito. Id. ibid.

^e L’Emp. M. Aurele. art. xiv.

^f Vid. Capitolin. Vit. M. Antonin. cap. 24, 25. Vulcatius Gallicanus in Vita Avidii Cassii. cap. 7. &c. Basnag. ann. 175.

Tillem. Marc. Aurele. art. 18....21.

^g Laudes Marci exuperat omnes, quod scriptas ad Cassium epistolas cunctas prius conscidit, quam legerit, ne cogeretur quempiam invitus odisse. Basnag. ann. 175. num. iv. ^h Propterea vir ille divinus, neque satis unquam cognitus, vel laudatus. If. Casaub. ad Capitol. de Vita M. Aurel. cap. 2. p. 293.

ⁱ Fuit a prima infantia gravis. Capitolin. cap. 2. in..... tantæ admirationis adhuc juvenis. &c. Eutrop. l. 8. cap. xi.

^k Educatus est in Adriani gremio, qui illum (ut supra diximus) Verissimum nominavit: et qui ei honorem equi publici sexenni detulit, octavo ætatis anno in Saliorum collegium retulit. Fuit in eo sacerdotio et præses et vates et magister, et multos inauguravit atque exauguravit, nemine præunte, quod ipse carmina cuncta didicisset. Capit. ib. cap. 4.

years. And Marcus made himself complete master of all the rules of that order, so as to be able to discharge himself all the functions of the priesthood.

He¹ was early initiated in the principles of philosophy, and put under the tuition of the most able masters of the several sects. At^m the age of twelve years he put on the habit of a philosopher, and wore their cloak. He also practised austerities, so far as to lie upon the bare ground; and was difficultly persuaded by his mother to make use of a mattress, with a slight coverlid. When emperor, ^a he sometimes went on foot to the schools of Apollonius and ^o Sextus, stoic philosophers. I do not know whether it be worth mentioning, that ^p he placed in his private chapel golden statues of his deceased masters, and honoured them by visiting their sepulchral monuments, offering there sacrifices, and strewing upon them flowers.

Zonaras, entering upon the history of a war in Germany to be taken notice of by us hereafter, says that ^q Marcus was weak in body; and so intent upon his studies, that he went to school after he was emperor, to hear several philosophers, and others, whom he there names. Dion Cassius ^r speaks to the like purpose, and Zonaras seems to have copied him: but, by the place where it is brought in, it seems to have been the intention of Zonaras to insinuate that the great difficulty into which Marcus was brought, in the war with the Quadi, was owing to his want of military skill, he having been so much taken up with philosophical studies.

Before ^s he entered into the war with the Marcomans, and other people in Germany, he performed lustrations for the city of Rome, and called together priests from all quarters to offer sacrifices, and adopted even foreign rites; for the doing of all which things his departure from Rome was delayed. He ^t seems to

¹ At ubi egressus est annos, qui nutrum foveretur auxilio, magnis praeceptoribus traditus ad philosophiæ scita pervenit. Id. ib. cap. 2. in.

^m Philosophiæ operam vehementer dedit, et quidem adhuc puer. Nam duodecimum annum ingressus, habitum philosophi assumpsit, et deinceps tolerantiam, quum studeret in pallio, et humi cubaret, vix autem matre agente instrato pellibus lectulo cubaret. Id. cap. 2. και το σκιμπαδος και δορας επιβυμπσαι, και οσα τοιαυτα της ελληνικης αγωγης εχουμενα. De Reb. suis. l. i. sect. 6.

ⁿ Usus est et Apollonio Chalcedonio Stoico philosopho. Tantum autem studium in eo philosophiæ fuit, ut adscitus jam in imperatoriam dignitatem tamen ad

domum Apollonii discendi causa veniret. Capit. cap. 3. ^o Philostr. Vit. Sophist. l. 2. c. ix. Dion. Cass. l. 71. sub in. Suid. V. Μαρκος.

^p Tantum autem honoris magistris suis detulit, ut imagines eorum aureas in larario haberet, ac sepulchra eorum aditus hostiis, floribus, semper honoraret. Capit. cap. 3. ^q Zon. Tom. 2. p. 207. ^r Dio. l. 71. sub in

^s Tantus autem terror belli Marcomanici fuit, ut undique sacerdotes Antoninus acciverit, peregrinos ritus impleverit, Romanam omni genere lustraverit, retardatusque a bellica professione sit &c. Capit. ib. cap. 13. ^t Marci illius similis Caesaris, in quem id accepimus dictum.

to have been sometimes ridiculed for the great number of his sacrifices.

Marcus had faith also in dreams: and says himself that ^a he had thereby learned remedies for staying his spitting of blood, and for curing a dizziness in his head.

Of Antoninus his predecessor, and father by adoption, he says: ^c he ^x was religious without superstition; and, in another place, that ^c he ^y was not a superstitious worshipper of the gods. Marcus therefore knew that religion and superstition were different, and that there might be one without the other. Whether he was so wise as to separate them, may be partly discerned from what we have now seen.

II. There is still remaining a work of this emperor in twelve books, which we generally ^z call his Meditations. They must have been put together at several times as he had leisure. However some have computed that ^a they were composed before the year 175.

In the eleventh book of that work there is an observation which I shall now transcribe, and place here.

^c What ^b a soul is that which is prepared, even now presently, ^c if needful, to be separated from the body, whether it be to be ^c extinguished, or to be dispersed, or to subsist still. But this ^c readiness must proceed from a well weighed judgment, not ^c from mere obstinacy, like the Christians. And it should be ^c done considerately, and with gravity, without tragical exclamations, and so as to persuade another.

In the English translation, published at Glasgow in 1742, the same passage stands thus: 'How happy is that soul which is prepared either to depart presently, or to be extinguished, or dispersed, or to remain along with it! But let this preparation arise from it's own judgment, and not from mere obstinacy, like that of the Christians: that you may die considerately, with a venerable composure, so as even to persuade others into a like disposition, and without noise and ostentation.' p. 259, 260.

Upon this passage Dr. Jortin has a remark which is to this pur-

Οι λευκοι εοες Μαρκω τω Καισαρι: Αν συ νικησης, ημεις απολογμεθα. Amm. Marcell. l. 25. cap. 4.

^u Το δ' ουερατων βοηθηματα δοθηναι, αλλα τε, και ως μη πτυειν αιμα, και μη ιλιγγιαν. De Reb. suis. l. i. § ult.

^x Και ως θεσσεβης χωρίς δεισδαιμονιας. ib. l. 6. sect. 30.

^y Και το μητε περι θεος δεισδαιμονειν, Ib. l. i. sect. 16.

^z Τα εις αυτον. De Rebus suis.

^a See Tillemont. Marc. Aurele. art. 28.

^b Οια εστιν η ψυχη, η ετοιμος, και ηδη απελευθηναι δεη του σωματος, και ητοι οβριονηται, η σκεδασθηναι, η συμμεναι; Το δε ετοιμον τωτο, ινα απο ιδικης κρισεως ερχηται, μη κατα ψιλην παραταξιν, ως οι χριστιανοι' αλλα λιλογισμενως, και σεμνως, και ως και αλλοι πεισαι, ατραγωδως. L. xi. sect. 3.

poise

pose: 'The emperor Marcus was prejudiced against the Christians; and in his own book, xi. 3, censures very unreasonably what he ought to have approved—this readiness and resolution to die for their religion.'

Certainly that remark is very just, and I think very mild; for, if I were to allow myself to speak freely, I should say that this is the basest reflection upon the Christians that I remember to have met with among all their old enemies. To say it is unbecoming a gentleman, and an emperor, is to say nothing. It is insensibility and inhumanity; in a word, stoicism. It is the worse, as it comes from a magistrate; who, if he had been pleased to send proper orders to the officers under him, and particularly to the governors of provinces, he might have delivered the Christians from that trial which is here supposed.

It may seem strange to some that such a man as Marcus Antoninus should pass any censure upon the Christians' fortitude. One would rather think that, as a stoic, he should have admired and commended their resolution: but it may be accounted for.

1. The Christians refused to join in the common worship of the heathen deities: and they were likewise very free in their reflections upon the philosophers.

2. They put out did the stoics themselves in patience under all kinds of sufferings. The women and children and common people among the Christians had in a short time shewn more examples of true fortitude, than the stoics had done since the origin of their sect.

3. Once more. This emperor was a bigot in religion and in philosophy: whereas bigotry in any one thing will have bad effects, and make the best tempers act contrary to the laws of equity upon some occasions.

It will not be thought that I speak with too much severity, if

* Discourses concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion. p. 57.

† Nisi constaret, Stoicorum doctrinam, cui M. Aurelius addictus erat, plenam fuisse repugnantiam, quod singulari opere ostendit Plutarchus, mirum esset mortis contemptorem iis detrachere, qui eam despiciebant. Atque non lieuit Philosopho præsertim, in aliis damnare quæ in se et suis probaret. Cleric. H. E. ann. 165. n. iv. * Vid. Justin. M. Ap. 2. p. 46. B. E. et 47. Paris. num. 3. p. 90. Bened. et Tatian contr. Gentes. p. 157, 162. al. num. 19. p. 260. et num. 25. p. 264.

† Nostrum autem, (ut de viris taceam,)

pueri et mulierculæ, tortores suos taciti vincunt, et exprimere illis gemitus nec ignis potest. Eant Romani, et mutio gloriantur aut Regulo..... Ecce sexus infirmus, et fragilis ætas dilacerari se toto corpore, urique perperitur, non necessitate, quia licet vitare, si vellent: sed voluntate, quia confidunt Deo. Hæc est vera virtus, quam philosophi quoque gloriabundi, non re, sed verbis inanibus jactant: discentes, nihil esse tam congruens viri sapientis gravitati, atque constantia, quam nullis terroribus de sententiæ proposito posse depelli. &c. Lactant. Instit. l. 5. cap. 13.

we examine the several particulars of this passage; which I now intend to do: and afterwards I shall mention some corollaries.

1. Marcus's expressions denote great uncertainty concerning a future state of existence; being doubtful whether the soul, when separated from the body, should be 'extinguished, or be dispersed, or still subsist.' He speaks again to the like purpose elsewhere: 'To^h what purpose all this?....You have made your voyage, and arrived at your port. Go ashore: if into another life, the gods are there: if into a state of insensibility, you will be no longer distracted by pains and pleasures, nor be in subjection to this mean vessel.'

2. The Christians had a strong persuasion and good hopes of another life, a life of happiness without end for all good and virtuous men. No men therefore could be ready to leave this world upon better grounds than they, when they could no longer live here with innocence.

3. Marcus ascribes the Christians' willingness to die to obstinacy; and says that men ought to resign life only 'upon a well formed judgment, and considerately.'

Didⁱ not the Christians die in that manner? Should they have denied themselves to be Christians, when they were brought before Pliny, or other governors, and were examined by them? Should they then have told a lie, and so redeem their lives by falsehood, or by worshipping images contrary to their judgment, and the principles which they had embraced after serious inquiry and consideration? Were not all wise and honest men persuaded that a man ought to die rather than do what he thought evil

2 Nesciebant enim, [Stoici] an 'qui corpore migrassent animi extinguerentur, vel dispergerentur, vel permanerent.' quod cum ita haberet, nemini poterant probare virtutem Numini gratam, vitium contra invisum esse: cum bonos et malos nullo discrimine negligeret....Quod si numen talia non curaret, quid opus erat homines, vel ipsius vitæ jacturâ virtutem colere, et vitio adversari....Exclamationi ergo, aut interrogationi M. Aurelii, 'qualis est anima, quæ parata est, si jam e corpore migrare, aut extinguui, aut dispergi, aut permanere oporteat?' respondebimus: Misera et infelix, quæ nescit, quid a summo Numine expectare virtus possit, aut vitium timere. Quod ferme perinde est, ac ignorare, an sit Deus, &c. Cleric ubi supr. num. v. ^h De Rebus suis, l. 3. sect. 3. ⁱ Verum inquiet, Philosophus mortem spernit 'proprio judicio, considerate.'....Audio. Sed annon Christia-

nus quivis mortem ferebat 'ex proprio judicio,' qui cinctus Ethnicis furentibus, aut ridentibus, et a morte revocantibus, si modo Diis sacra faceret, moriebatur tamen, quod mentiri nollet, nec ore, nec factis: quia nefas putabat, veritatem ejurare. Annon considerate satis, qui deprehensâ Ethnicæ religionis falsitate, et veritate ejus, quam Christus et apostoli docuerant, sese dudum pararat ad mortem, si quando vitari non posset, sine abnegatione veritatis?....Fac Epicureos fuisse rerum potitos, et furore quodam actos ad tribunalia sua traxisse Stoicos, omnibus suppliciiis propositis et morte ipsâ intentatâ, nisi Zenoni, Cleanthi, Chrysippo, cæterisque sectæ conditoribus maledixissent, negassentque se iis adfentiri, et facerent quæcunque principes sectæ vetuerant, cum scirent se mentiri, et improbe facere; an se Stoicæ familiæ defensoribus, et mortem fortiter obeuntibus, exprobrasset M. Aurelius va-

paratus?

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evil and dishonourable. Celsus, * who wrote against the Christians, says as much. Was there any way for a Christian's escaping, but by criminal hypocrisy and dissimulation, when statues of heathen deities were set before him to be worshipped by him; or when he was required to revile Jesus Christ? They had taken up their principles upon consideration; and it was reasonable to adhere to them at all times.

4. Marcus says must be done 'considerately.'

The Christians took up their principles upon consideration. When they first embraced them they could not but see that, as the world then stood, the making a profession of them was very likely to expose them to many sufferings. And therefore, when they first resolved upon Christianity, they must have resolved to adhere to it whatever it should cost them. By this means they were always ready to die, upon mature consideration, whenever the spite of their ignorant and prejudiced neighbours worked so far against them. And a constant readiness for a violent death, in a good cause, is the most glorious fortitude that can be imagined in a human creature.

5. He says it should be done 'gravely, without tragical exclamations.'

Upon this Le Clerc well observes that 'it^m is not a little strange that a stoic, whose writings are full of affectation, and are all over tragical, should blame the Christians for not dying without tragical noise and exclamation.' If they then called

παταξί; Immo vero summo pere eos laudasset, ut laudati sunt apud Ethnicos omnes, qui maluerunt mori, quam quidquam facere, quod inhonestum et impium iudicabant. Si voluisset Socrates, contra animi sententiam loqui, et mentiri, ac sese ad pedes iudicum abjicere, vitæ suæ sine dubio consulisset, sed ejus absolutionem æterna infamia esset consequuta. Quod de cæteris omnibus, qui virtutis causâ mortui sunt, dictum puta. Cleric. ib. num. iv. * τοιαυτα τινα λεγει. Εαν μιντοι γε κελεοι τις, ει τυχοι, θρησκευοντα θειη η απειν, η αλλο τι αισχρον ειπειν, εδαμπεδαμως πετυτειν, αλλα προ των παντων βασιλεως εγκαρτερητεον, και παντας υπομαρηντεον, πριν τι ανοςιον περιθιν, μη οτι γε ειπειν, αλλα μελετησαι. Celsus ap. Orig. Contra Cels. l. 8. p. 421. al. num. 66.

1 Nos quidem neque expavescimus, neque pertimescimus ea quæ ab ignorantibus patimur: cum ad hanc sectam utique suscepta conditione ejus pacti venerimus,

ut etiam animas nostras auctorati in has pugnas accedamus, ea quæ Deus reprobamittit, consequi optantes, et ea quæ diversæ vitæ comminatur pati timentes, Tertull. ad Scap. cap. i.

^m Verum et hoc mirum est, hominem Stoicum, et cujus liber plenus est exaggerationibus vere tragicis, hoc est, tumidis et fictis, exprobare Christianis, quod ατραγωδως non morerentur. Atqui nihil illi exaggerabant, cum vitam Deo repenti, potius quam ab eo deficerent, libenter reddendum profitebantur.... Si qui, quod interdum factum negare nolim, crudelitates suppliciorum, propinquitatem mortis, speque proximæ beatitudinis, extra se rapti, quædam proferrebant, quæ supra vulgi Ethnici captum erant, an tribuenda hæc sunt παραταξι, obstinationi, vel perturbationi? Imo eo aut vitio, aut adfectu, vel maxime laborabant, qui innocentes excarnificatos occidebant, quod facere nolent, quæ illicita, et a Deo improbare, pro certo statuebant. Cleric. ib. ann. 165. n. iv.

upon God and Christ; if they then exhorted their brethren to constancy and perseverance; if they expressed a contempt of this world, and it's fading enjoyments; if they spake in sublime strains of the felicities of the world to come; in a word, if they triumphed in death, as some of them did, there is nothing in it absurd or unreasonable; nothing but what is truly admirable: the heathen people around them wanted nothing to make them sensible of it, but a better knowledge of the Christian principles; such as a persuasion of the boundless power and goodness of the one God, creator of all, and a well-grounded expectation of eternal life.

6. And lastly, Marcus says, 'it should be done so as to persuade another.'

This alone, if there were nothing else, would be sufficient to satisfy us that Marcus was influenced by prejudice in his judgment concerning the Christians. It has been often said, and very truly, that ⁿ the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church. And some early believers have themselves assured us that ^o they were led to inquire into the principles of the Christians when they observed their manner of dying; and that this was the first means of their own conversion. The like is often testified by ^p Christian writers, who lived when the followers of Jesus were in suffering circumstances, and martyrdoms were frequent. But if there were nothing of this kind in the remains of ancient Christian authors, since there continued to be Christians in the world, and they suffered in every age, and were not extinguished, but remained and increased, as heathen writers themselves acknowledge; we may depend upon it that many did die so as to persuade others; their brethren were animated to patience and courage by their example; and unbelievers were awakened, and excited to serious examination, till they were convinced and converted.

As I have gone along, I have transcribed in the margin

ⁿ Nec quicquam tamen proficit exquiritior quæque crudelitas vestra. Illecebra magis est sectæ. Plures efficiuntur, quoties metimur a vobis. Semen est sanguis Christianorum. Tertull. Ap. cap. 50.

^o Και γαρ αυτος ηγω τοις Πλατωνος χαιρειν διδασκασι, διαβαλλομενους ακων χριστιανω, οραν δε αφοβους προς θανατον, και παντα τα αλλα νομιζομενα φοβερα, εννοιαν αυτων ειναι εν κακια και φιληδοσια υπαρχειν αυτους. Justin. M. ap. 2. p. 50. a. al. p. 96. num. 12. ^p Multi apud vos ad tolerantiam doloris et mortis hortantur, ut Cicero in Tullulanis, ut Seneca in Fortuitis....Nec tamen tantos inveniunt ver-

ba discipulos, quantos Christiani factis docendo. Illa ipsa obstinatio, quam exprobratis, magistra est. Quis enim non contemplatione ejus concutitur ad requirendum, quid intus in re sit? Quis non, ubi requisivit, accedit? Ubi accessit, pati exoptat? Tertull. ap. cap. 50.

Nec tamen deficiet hæc secta, quam tunc magis ædificari scias, cum credi videtur. Quisquis enim tantam tolerantiam spectans, ut aliquo scrupulo percussus, et inquirere accenditur, quid sit in causa; et ubi cognoverit veritatem, et ipse statim sequitur. Ad Scap. cap. ult. Vid. et Lact. l. 5. c. 13. et alibi.

several

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several remarks upon this passage of Marcus Antoninus from Le Clerc's Ecclesiastical History. I would also refer to ¹ Mr. Mosheim, in whom likewise divers just observations may be seen upon the same.

But perhaps it will be said that the Christians gave cause for these censures by their too great forwardness, and by offering themselves to death.

To which I would answer. First, Instances of this kind were not very common, and they were disliked and condemned by the wiser sort. Some such instances there were during the persecution in Asia when Polycarp suffered. They are particularly mentioned, and censured in the epistle of the church of Smyrna, which gives an account of the martyrs in that city. And ² St. Cyprian, in his last letter to his people at Carthage, in the persecution of Valerian, in the year 258, exhorts them to a quiet and peaceable behaviour, but not to offer themselves to the magistrates; forasmuch as the Lord had not required it of us; but to confess his name when called upon so to do. And he reminds them that this had always been his doctrine. Secondly, There could be no instances of this kind but in times of persecution, and when there were magistrates who were disposed to inflict death upon men as Christians. Thirdly, The most remarkable instances of this kind happened when the persecution was violent. So it was in the case ³ before taken notice of by us. When Arrius Antoninus, proconsul of Asia, furiously persecuted the Christians in that country, a great number of them, in some city where he was, came before his tribunal, telling him he might do with them as he pleased, for they were not afraid to die. In like manner Scapula, proconsul of Africa, persecuted the Christians with great severity. Some ⁴ he ordered to be burnt alive; though that was a punishment seldom inflicted even upon traitors, or the worst of criminals. Upon that occasion Tertullian ⁵ puts him in mind of the forementioned conduct of the Christians in Asia: and, the more to alarm him, tells him the like

D d 2

might

¹ De Reb. Christianorum, sec. ii. p. 245, 246. ² Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. 4. cap. 15. p. 129, 130.

³ Vos autem, fratres carissimi, pro disciplina, quam de mandatis dominicis a me semper accepistis, . . . quietem et tranquillitatem tenere: ne quisquam vestrum aliquem tumultum de fratribus moveat, aut ultro se Gentilibus offerat. Apprehensus enim et traditus loqui debet: siquidem in nobis Dominus positus illa hora loquatur, qui nos confiteri magis voluit quam proferri. Ep. 81. al. 83. p.

239. Oxon.

⁴ See p. 325.

⁵ Pro tanta innocentia, pro tanta probitate, pro justitia, pro pudicitia, pro fide, pro veritate, pro Deo vivo cremamur; quod nec sacrilegi, nec hostes publici, verum nec tot majestatis rei pati solent. Ad Scap. cap. 4. p. 88. A.

⁶ Vide tantum, ne hoc ipso, quod talia sustinemus, ad hoc solum videamur erumpere, ut hoc ipsum probemus, nos hæc non timere, sed ultro vocare. Arrius Antoninus in Asia cum persequeretur instant:

might happen again, and at Carthage itself. And what would you do, says he, if you should see the Christians of that place present themselves in a body before your tribunal? What would you do with so many thousands of each sex, of every age, of every condition, and some of the most honourable persons of the city, some of them your friends, or friends and relations of your friends and counsellors!

After all, it must be acknowledged that the Christians' readiness to die, and their intrepidity in death, were sometimes perverted to their disadvantage. Nor do I think that the primitive Christians were exempted from human frailty. Nevertheless I apprehend that the exceptions and reflections of this kind were chiefly owing to the prejudices and ignorance of misguided and sensual men, who minded little or nothing but the affairs of this present life; who did not consider the importance of religious truth, nor the great virtue and value of integrity, and a steady regard to the convictions of our own minds. So² says Lactantius. And Tertullian has spoken to this point excellently at the conclusion of his Apology. He^a mentions 'Mutius, Regulus, and others, whose resolution had been admired and applauded by the Greeks and Romans. And indeed,' says he, 'with you it is reputable to die for our country, for the commonwealth, for a friend; but to die for God and truth is reckoned reproachful and dishonourable.'

Certainly the first Christians, who were men as we are, and had the same sensations with us, were not weary of life; nor did they desire death: but^{*} as men engaged in a warfare, hazard their lives for the sake of victory, and the advantages of it;

stanter, omnes illius civitatis Christiani ante tribunalia ejus se manu facta obtulerunt....Hoc si placuerit et hic fieri, quid facies de tantis millibus hominum, tot viris ac feminis, omnis sexus, omnis ætatis, omnis dignitatis, offerentibus se tibi? Quantis ignibus, quantis gladiis opus erit? Quid ipsa Carthago passura est decimanda a te, cum propinquos, cum contubernales suos illic unusquisque cognoverit, cum viderit illic fortasse et tui ordinis viros et matronas, et principales quasque personas, et amicorum tuorum vel propinquos vel amicos. Parce ergo tibi, si non nobis: parce Carthagini, si non tibi. Ad Scap. cap. 5.

² Licet nunc sarmentitios ac femaxios appelletis, quia ad stipitem dimidia axis revincti sarmentorum ambitu exurimur....Propterea enim desperati, et perditii exitimamur. Tertull. Ap. cap. 50. Vid.

et Minuc. Fel. cap. 8. Lactant. l. 5. cap. 9. et Epit. cap. 54.

^a Sed illi malitia et furore cæcantur, ne videant: stultosque arbitrantur esse, qui cum habeant in sua potestate supplicia vitare, cruciari tamen, et emori malunt. Lact. l. 5. cap. 13.

² O gloriam licitam, quia humanam, cui nec presumptio perdit, nec persuasio desperata reputatur, in contemptu mortis et atrocitatis omnimodæ: cui tantum pro patria, pro imperio, pro amicitia pati permittum est, quantum pro Deo non licet. Et tamen illis omnibus et statuas defunditis, et imagines inscribitis....quantum de monumentis potestis scilicet, prestatis et ipsi quodammodo mortuis resurrectionem: hanc qui veram a Deo sperat, si pro Deo patiat, infans est. Ap. cap. 50. p. 45.

^{*} Ergo, inquit, cur querimini, quod vos insequamur, si pati vultis: cum diligere debeatis, per quos patimini quod vultis

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it; so the Christians of those times, desirous to approve themselves to God, and hoping for the reward of eternal life, were ready, if required, to lay down their lives rather than deny Christ and the truths which they had received from him.

The corollaries to be drawn from this passage are several: but they will be all easily admitted after what has been already said.

1. At that time the Christians were well known in the world.
2. The emperor Marcus was well acquainted with them, and had often heard of their sufferings. He knew that many Christians had died in testimony to their principles, and as Christians; and that the sufferings which they had undergone were in common estimation very grievous.
3. He knew, and here acknowledgeth, their resolution and steadiness in the profession of their principles for which they suffered death. This he calls obstinacy.
4. He had heard of their cheerfulness in death and in all the sufferings which they had met with. This he endeavours to disparage by comparing it to the declamations of tragedies.
5. He was also persuaded of their innocence, or freedom from promiscuous lewdness and other gross crimes in their assemblies, with which they were charged by some. If he had known and believed that they practised such things he would have expressed himself very differently.
6. He despised and scorned the Christians as a mean, illiterate, and unphilosophical set of men.
7. He was not at all inclined to interpose in their behalf, either for preventing or for mitigating their sufferings. And hereafter we shall see that, when application was made to him by a governor for direction how to treat some men, who had been accused before him as Christians, and were in his custody, this emperor sent orders that 'they should be put to death,' unless they renounced the Christian doctrine. Once more,
8. I must beg leave to observe that we can hence infer, that the Christian scriptures were as yet held in contempt by the wise and great men of this world. The books of the New Testament were all published and joined together in two codes or volumes, one called Gospels, the other Epistles, before Marcus Antoninus was born: and they were in the hands of great numbers of his subjects, and were highly prized, and diligently read and studied by them. But

vultis? Plane volumus pati, verum eo more, quo et bellum nemo quidem libens patitur, cum et trepidare, et periclitari sit necesse; tamen et præliatur omnibus viribus, et vincens in prælio gaudet, qui de prælio querebatur, quia et gloriam consequitur et prædam. Prælium est nobis,

quod provocemur ad tribunalia, ut illis sub discrimine capitis pro veritate certemus. Victoria est autem, pro quo certaveris, obtinere. Ea victoria habet et gloriam placendi Deo, et prædam vivendi in æternum. Tertullian. Apol. c. 50, p. 44, B. C.

he had never read them, nor perhaps ever seen them. They might, possibly, be well known to some of the philosophers, his masters: but they knew how to be silent and to keep their disciple in ignorance about what they did not desire he should know. Hence this great man, in the midst of light, was in darkness: he had no just apprehensions concerning a life to come.

The Christian religion, considering the difficulties it had met with, and that it contained no worldly allurements, had made great progress. But it was not yet the prevailing religion. The state of things in the world had still a resemblance with what it was in the time of St. Paul: 1 Cor. i. 22 and 26. *The Jews, says he, require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom. And, Ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called. And Jesus himself, reflecting upon the success of his ministry, after having preached the heavenly doctrine with unparalleled faithfulness and zeal, and observing that they were chiefly of the meaner rank with whom it had met with a ready acceptance, expressed his acquiescence in the event, and said: I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth. 'I give glory to thee, cheerfully acquiescing 'in this dispensation of thy providence,' that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and has revealed them unto babes. Even so Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight. Matt. xi. 25; Luke x. 21.*

SECT. II. Of the Persecutions in his time.

- I. *A general account of the persecutions in the reign of this emperor.*
- II. *Large extracts out of the Martyrdom of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, who, with twelve others, suffered in that city in the year 167 or 168.*
- III. *The history of the martyrs at Lyons, who suffered in the year 177.*
- IV. *Remarks and observations upon the foregoing history.*

I. I THINK it must be fit for me to take some particular notice of the treatment which the Christians met with in the reign of this emperor, who by the ancients is always reckoned among the persecuting emperors. Eusebius^a placeth the fourth persecution under him; as does also^b Orosius, who follows him.

^a Euseb. Chr. p. 169.

^b Sed in diebus Parthici belli persecutiones Christianorum, quarta jam post Neronem vice, in Asia et Gallia graves præcepto ejus extiterunt, multique sanctorum martyrio coronati sunt. Oros. l. 7, c. xv.

Sulpicius, 'thinking that the Christians were persecuted by Adrian, reckons Marcus's the fifth persecution.

And learned moderns seem now to be fully convinced that Marcus was unfriendly to the Christians. Says Dr. Jortin: 'As to ^d the emperor Marcus, with all his amiable and princely qualities, he did not love the Christians, as appears from unquestionable authority, even his own book. The philosophers had probably contributed to set him against them. And his love of philosophy, and the respect which he paid to the professors of it, was excessive, and indeed sometimes ridiculous.'

Tillemont says, 'There ^e were many instances of mildness in the reign of this emperor, and very few of severity, excepting against the Christians, who the least deserved it.' And in another place the same diligent writer, having put down some instances of this emperor's exactness in the rites of the established worship, adds: 'We ^f have taken notice of these things to shew that we ought not to be surpris'd that a prince, reckoned so mild and equitable, should persecute the true religion, as we know he did.'

Pagi acknowledgeth the same. He says that ^g this emperor was not only averse to the Christians, but persecuted them in the former part of his reign, as well as afterwards: and elsewhere ^h he observes how grievous the persecutions were in this reign, and the reasons of it.

Mosheim says that ⁱ in the time of no emperor after Nero the Christians suffered more or greater calamities than under Marcus. And he ascribes ^k this emperor's ill-will toward the Christians more to the instructions of the philosophers, and the

^c Quarta sub Adriano persecutio numeratur, quam tamen post exerceri prohibuit, 'injustum esse' pronuncians, 'ut quisquam sine crimine reus constitueretur.' Post Adrianum, Antonino Pio imperante, pax ecclesiis fuit. Sub Aurelio deinde, Antonini filio, persecutio quinta agitata. Ac tum primum intra Gallias martyria visa, serius trans Alpes Dei religione suscepta. Sul. Sev. Sacr. Hist. l. 2, cap. 46.

^d Remarks upon Ecclesiastical History. Vol. 2, p. 169. See also his Discourses, p. 57.

^e L'Emp. Max. Aurele. art. vii. ^f Ibid. art. ii.

^g Ad hæc Marcus non solum a Christianis alienus fuit, sed etiam sæpe in eos lævit, et quidem prioribus imperii annis, quibus Lucilla Lucio Vero uxor data est. Ann. 161, n. xi.

^h Vid. ann. 162, num. vi. et 163, num. ii. 177, n. iii. &c.

ⁱ Itaque nullo sub Imperatore post Neronem plures et graviore calamitates perpassi sunt Christiani, quam sub Marco, quem cæteris omnibus meliorem et sapientiorum fuisse censent. De Reb. Christian. p. 246. Confer. ejusdem. Institutiones H. E. Sec. 2, P. i. c. 2, num. v. p. 74.

^k Mala hæc Imperatoris in Christianos voluntas unde prodierit, nusquam memorie proditum legitur: proclive vero conjectu est, a Philosophis, quibus omnia dare solebat, inductum fuisse eum, ut Christianos absurdos, rationis inopes, obstinatos, et vanos esse duceret: nec eo que quum ex lege philosophiæ, quam profitebatur, iusto durior esset, judicasse, satius esse videretur ejusmodi hominis delere, quam tolerare. Mosheim. Ibid. p. 242. Vid. et p. 244, 245.

hard-hearted philosophy which he had embraced, than to his superstition.

The Benedictine editors¹ of Justin Martyr, and other ancient Greek apologists, are likewise very sensible of this temper of Marcus. And I transcribe in the margin some of their observations, to be perused by such of my readers as are willing to cast their eyes downward.

This temper of Marcus, which, as before hinted, prevailed in every part of his reign, has appeared to me the more strange, considering how favourable to the Christians Adrian was, and also his predecessor Antoninus. Nor can we forbear to observe that Marcus must have been well acquainted with the conduct of his predecessor, and the reasons of it: for it was the custom of that good emperor Titus Antoninus, to determine nothing concerning the provinces, or any other affairs of the public, without first^m consulting his friends, ofⁿ whom Marcus was one. Moreover, during the whole time of his reign, Marcus lived in the same palace, and was almost constantly with him. As those two emperors were so intimate, and Marcus had so long experienced the favour of his predecessor and father Antoninus, it is truly somewhat strange that their temper and conduct toward the Christians should have been so different.

One thing we plainly hence discern, that Marcus was not unacquainted with the Christians. He must have often heard of them, and of their sufferings, and of the apologies made by them. The Christians were well known to Adrian, and to Antoninus the pious, his grandfather, and father, and they had been favoured by them. Marcus therefore must have had good knowledge of them, and have been acquainted with their circumstances, many years before he came to the empire himself.

¹ Quo anno Romam reversus sit Justinus, statuere non possumus: minime dubium, quin in hac urbe commoratus sit, cum gravissima persecutio sub Marco Aurelio grassaretur. Non jussu erat præstantissimus princeps vexari Christianos. Sed, ut observat Athenagoras [ap. num. 1.] dum injuriam ab eis non propulsat, dum nullam partem in eos derivat paternæ illius sollicitudinis, quâ universos Imperii Romani cives tuebatur, omnibus inimicorum injuriis expositi fuere. Hæc agendi ratio in optimo Imperatore summum odium declarat Christianæ Religionis. Nunquam enim suum de illis patrocinium clausisset, si quid de illis æqui sensisset. Sed plus apud eum et nefaria philosophorum consilia, et Romanorum ceremonia-

rum amor, quam avi et patris exempla, et insita omnibus justitiæ et æquitatis elementa, valuerunt. Cum ergo omni ope destituti essent Christiani, gravissimæ in eos undique exortæ tempestates. Præf. P. 3. cap. viii. n. i. p. 92. tam inimica tempora non Antonini, qui illis favit, sed M. Aurelii imperium redolent, qui ne maximo quidem beneficio provocatus æquum se illis præbuit. Ib. n. iv. p. 94. m.

^m Neque de provinciis, neque de ullis actibus quicquam constituit, nisi quod prius ad amicos retulit. Atque ex eorum sententia formas constituit. Capitol. in Vit. Ant. Pii. cap. 6.

ⁿ ... tantumque apud eum valuit, ut numquam quemquam sine eo facile promoverit. Capit. in Vita M. Aurel. cap. 6.

We have seen how learned men ascribe Marcus's aversion to the Christians to his attachment to philosophy, and the rites of the established deities. Nor is that judgment formed without probability. Nevertheless I have observed a passage at the beginning of this emperor's meditations, which may perhaps deserve to be taken notice of here: 'From ° Diognetus,' says he, 'I learned not to busy myself about vain things, nor to give credit to wonder workers, and stories of incantations, and expelling dæmons, and such like things.'

Possibly Marcus applied the instructions of Diognetus to the history of our Saviour's miracles, and to the relations of some extraordinary works, said to have been done by Christians: and he concluded the whole to be nothing but imposture. If so, he might admit of an aversion to the Christians in general, who often spoke of these things and relied much upon them.

I am indeed well satisfied that Marcus had never read, or looked into, the books of the New Testament. But, if he could have been persuaded to read them, I think, (provided he had in him any real goodness, and could have detached himself for a few moments from subjection to the philosophers,) he would have admired the sublime morality of the gospels and the epistles: and then the miracles would have been distinguished from the pretensions of imposture, and would have been received by him as true and divine works, notwithstanding all the precautions of Diognetus: but that was not to be obtained. Marcus scorned every thing that was Christian, their books as well as their persons, and looked upon all as void of merit.

But, whatever was the reason of it, we plainly perceive the Christians to be under great discouragements during the reign of this emperor. In that period were published many apologies, as the Second of Justin Martyr, the apologies of Tatian, Athenagoras, Apollinaris of Hierapolis, Melito of Sardis, Theophilus of Antioch. In this reign likewise, or at the beginning of that of Commodus, is to be placed the Apology of Miltiades. In this period were many martyrs; some of great distinction, as Justin, Polycarp, and the martyrs of Lyons, with their aged bishop Pothinus.

Justin, at the beginning of his second apology, presented in the early part of this reign, mentions Ptolomy, and two others, who had suffered martyrdom at Rome a short time before, by the order of Urbicus, præfect of the city, and speaks as if the

° Παρα Διογνιτη, το ακουσπυδον, και το απιστητικον τοις υπο των τερατευμενων, και χυτων περι επωδων, και περι δαιμονων αποπομπης, και των τωτων λεγομενος. De Reb. suis. l. i. § 6.

persecution was general: and he suffered himself not long after, in the year 166 or 167, if not sooner. 'Things^p that have happened very lately, but a few days ago in your city, and which are every where done in like manner by the presidents, without reason, have compelled me to make this address to you.' And he says that, 'every^q where, if any Gentile was admonished or reprov'd for a fault, by a father, or a neighbour, or a child, or a friend, or a brother, or a husband, or a wife, he would presently have his reprov'er before a governor, who would be willing to inflict death upon him.'

Athenagoras^r is supposed to have been an Athenian. His apology was presented to Marcus and Commodus jointly, and therefore not till near the end of Marcus's reign, in the year 177 or 178. He tells the emperors that 'all^s other people experienced the benefit of their equitable government: but we Christians,' says he, 'because no regard is had to us, nor any provision made for us, though we do no evil, and are in all things obedient to the Divine Being, and your government, are harass'd and persecuted for the name only...We therefore entreat you to take care of us, that we may no longer be put to death by sychophants.'

Athenagoras therefore does not speak of any edicts issued out against them, but only that they were neglected. They were accused by many, and put to death by the presidents, as Christians, without any crime proved against them. And the emperor took no care of them to protect them from the abuses of their enemies. However, though Athenagoras mentions not any new edicts against the Christians, he supposeth that their sufferings were not unknown to the emperor, and that they had now for a long time been carried on with his connivance and permission.

In the same reign, about the year^t 177, another apology was presented by Melito, bishop of Sardis or Sardes (for the name is frequently written in the plural number by the ancients). The apology is lost: but Eusebius has preserved a large fragment of it in his Ecclesiastical History. I quoted a part of it^u some

^p Καὶ τὰ χθες δὲ καὶ πρῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν γενομένα ἐπὶ Οὐρείκῳ, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὰ πάντα ὁμοίως ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμένων ἀλογῶς πραττομένα, ἐξηγάγεσσι με..... κ. λ. Ap. 2. p. 41. al. num. i. p. 88.

^q Πάντα γὰρ, ὅς ἐν σωφρονίζῃται ὑπὸ πατρὸς, ἢ γειτονίας, ἢ τέκνῳ, ἢ φίλῳ, ἢ ἀδελφῷ, ἢ ἀνδρὶ, ἢ γυναικὶ κατ' ἑλλείπερ..... ὡς ἐν ἀρχαῖς δαιμονιώνας φονεύει ἡμᾶς παρασκευάζουσιν. Id. ib.

^r See in this work, vol. ii. p. 180, 181.

^s Ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ λεγόμενοι χριστιανοί, οἱ μὲν προνοοῦνται καὶ ἡμῶν, συγκυρεῖται δὲ, μὴ ἀδικήσας, εὐσεβήσας διακείμενους καὶ δικαιοτάτα πρὸς τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν βασιλείαν, ἐλαυνέσθαι καὶ διακρίσθαι...καὶ δορυμεῖν ἡμῶν καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν τι σκεψασθαι, ὅπως παύσωμεθα ποτὲ ὑπὸ τῶν συκοφαντῶν σφαττομένοι. Athen. Ap. p. al. p. 180.

^t See in this work, vol. ii. p. 147.

^u See before, p. 391.

p. 185.

while ago: I now take another paragraph, * which is remarkable for politeness, as well as upon other accounts.

'Pious men,' † says he, 'are now persecuted and harassed throughout all Asia by new decrees, which was never done before. And impudent sycophants, and such as covet the possessions of others, taking occasion from the edicts, rob without fear or shame, and cease not to plunder those who have offended in nothing.' And afterwards: 'If these things are done by your order, let them be thought to be well done. For it is not reasonable to believe that a just emperor should ever decree what is unjust. And we shall cheerfully bear the reward of such a death. This request, however, we make to you, that you will first inform yourself concerning those who are engaged in this contention,' meaning the Christians, 'and then judge whether they deserve death and punishment, or safety and quiet. But if this resolution and new edict, which is not fit to be enacted against barbarians and enemies, proceeds not from you [as we hope], much more would we entreat you not to neglect us, and give us up to this public rapine.'

This paragraph is very observable. Melito seems to speak of new edicts against the Christians throughout Asia. Nor is it easy to contest or evade this testimony of Melito. For it may be well supposed to be only owing to prudent caution that he expresseth a doubt whether the edict, to which he refers, came from the emperor or not. Tertullian indeed says that ‡ Marcus published not any laws against the Christians. But Tertullian did not know every thing that passed in the empire. There might be imperial edicts published in Gaul and Asia, which he was not acquainted with: Ruinart § reckons this passage of Melito a proof that there were then imperial edicts against the Christians. As does also ¶ Mosheim, whose observations upon this

* H. E. l. 4. cap. 26. p. 147.

† Το γὰρ οὐδὲ πωποτε γενομένοι, νυν διώκονται τοῦ τῶν θίσεως γενοῦς καινοῦς ἐλαυνομένη δογμασι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν. Οἱ γὰρ ἀναίδεις συκοφαντοῦνται, καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐρασαί, τῶν ἐκ τῶν διαταγμάτων ἐχούτων ἀφορμὴν, φανερῶς ἡγενοῦνται, νυκτῶν καὶ μεσημεριῶν διαρπαζούσας τῆς μηδὲν ἀδικούντας...καὶ ἡμεῖς ἡδέως φερόμεν τὴν τοιαύτην θανάτου τὴν γένεσιν...εἰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ σὺ μὴ εἴη ἡ βούλη αὐτῆς, καὶ τὸ καινὸν τούτου διατάγμα, οὐ μὴ δὲ κατὰ βάρβαρων ἀρετῆς πολεμίων, πολὺ μᾶλλον διομεθεῖς, μὴ περιδείνῃς ἡμᾶς ἐν τοιαύτῃ δημοδί ἡγελασία. p. 147. B. C.

‡ Quales leges istæ, quas adversus nos soli exequuntur impij, injusti, turpes,

truces....? Quas nullus Hædrianus, nullus Pius, nullus Verus impressit. Ap. c. 5.

§ Imperialia vero edicta adversus Christianos tunc temporis vulgata fuisse, testatur Melito Sardensis in apologia apud Eusebium. l. 4. c. 26. Ruinart. Præf. num. 40. p. 43.

¶ Neque satis videbatur Imperatori fræna laxare hostibus Christianorum, quæ parens ejus iniecerat. Addebat etiam edicta Christianis inimica, per quæ voluntas deferendi et accusandi accendi poterat. Diserte Melito in Apologia apud Eusebium meminit 'novorum in Christianos edictorum in Asia pervulgatorum,' unde impudentissimi homines occasionem caperent palam diu noctuque grassandi,

2. p. 184.

long after, that have city, and presidents, address to entile was neighbour, or a wife, nor, who

an. His ntly, and year 177 ple expe: but we nor any are in all ernment, therefore be put to

ued out were ac- hristians, ror took heir ene- any new offerings ow for a iission. ogy was e name s). The ment of u some

ου, οτι μη δι, μηδὲ ως καὶ δι- ν ημετερας...καὶ κεφασθαι, νυκοφαντων al. p. 180. 47.

while

this emperor's conduct toward the Christians I shall place below, to be considered by such as are pleased to attend to them: who also thinks he has discovered the severity of those new edicts to which Melito refers. He supposeth that the emperor sent an edict against the Christians, appointing also that the accusers and prosecutors of the Christians should be entitled to their possessions, as a recompense for their zeal against them.

I should rather think there was no occasion for an edict of the emperor to put Christians to death. The case seems to me to have been this. Several, perhaps many, Christians had been put to death in Asia at the importunity of the common people, and by virtue of Trajan's rescript. The Roman proconsul in Asia was at a loss how to dispose of the effects and estates of those sufferers: he therefore sent to the emperor for direction in this affair. The emperor wrote back that their goods and possessions should be given to the accusers and informers. This resolution or edict Melito says was such as was 'not fit to be enacted against enemies and barbarians.' And he says to the emperor, 'If this edict be yours we will bear the reward of such a death: [we will endeavour contentedly to bear the loss of our goods, with which others are rewarded for accusing us, and procuring our death.] For certain, such encouragements would make prosecutions frequent; and Melito might have reason to say, as he does at the beginning of the paragraph cited by us: 'Pious men are now persecuted und harassed throughout all Asia.'

II. I shall take no farther notice of apologies, but immediately proceed to the martyrdoms of this reign. I shall say nothing more than I have already done of Justin^c, or other martyrs mentioned by him at the beginning of his second apology: but I shall give some account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, and then a large account of the martyrs at Lyons. The reasons of my doing so will be manifest hereafter. They are a necessary part of the history of this renowned emperor: and the state of Christianity in this early age will be much illustrated.

grassandi. Et acerbissima fuerint hæc edicta necesse est....Tertium ergo locum sapientissimus ille Imperatorum Marcus, Philosophus ille, cujus hodie sapientiam admirari non cessamus, post Neronem et Domitianum inter vere et proprie dictos Christianorum persecutores meretur.... Vellem hoc Marci edictum ad nos pervenisset...Quamquam in Melitonis loco inest aliquid, unde huius generis atrox illud Marci edictum esset, conjecturam facere licet. Perhibet illa, 'impudentissimos et alienarum opum cupidos delatores, lege

Marci ad Christianos diu noctuque invadendos invitari. Igitur habebat aliquid edictum hoc, quod spem ostendebat hominibus avaris et argenti cupidis ex alienis opibus suas augendi. Hoc posito, quod apertum est, credibile videri debet, immo prope certum, Imperatorem, præmio proposito, accusatores Christianorum veluti evocasse, atque illis bona et opes eorum, quos in iudicio criminis cuiusdam convicissent, addici iussisse. Mosh. De Reb. Christianor. &c. Sec. 2, § xv. p. 241. &c. ^c See Vol. ii. p. 115, 116.

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The time of the martyrdom of Polycarp has been disputed. I still think, as ^d formerly said, that he died in the year of our Lord 167 or 168. His ^e death is placed by Eusebius, and Jerom after him, in the time of Marcus Antoninus, in what they call the fourth persecution. Says ^f Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, 'Antoninus, surnamed the pious, being dead, he was succeeded by Marcus Aurelius Verus, called also Antoninus, and Lucius Verus. At that time the persecutions being violent in Asia, Polycarp ended his days by martyrdom.' Whereby, I think, Eusebius intends to intimate that there were then persecutions in several places in Asia, and not at Smyrna only.

Some while after the death of Polycarp, the Christians at Smyrna sent an account of it in a letter to the Christians at Philadelphia, Philomelium, and other places, who had expressed a desire to have it from eye-witnesses. The letter is to this purpose: 'The ^g church of God which is at Smyrna to the church at Philomelium,' [or Philadelphia, in another copy;] 'and to all the congregations of the holy catholic church in every place; the mercy, and peace, and love of God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied. We have written to you, brethren, concerning those who have suffered martyrdom, and particularly concerning the blessed Polycarp; who by his martyrdom as it were sealed up and put an end to the persecution.' After which, says Eusebius, 'before they speak of Polycarp they relate the sufferings of the other martyrs, describing their constancy under the torments which they endured; and how all who stood round them were astonished, seeing them scourged till their veins and arteries were laid bare, and even their entrails became visible; after which they were laid upon the shells of sea-fish, and upon sharp spikes, fixed in the ground, with many other kinds of torture: in the end they were cast to wild beasts to be devoured by them. They are particular in the account of the generous Germanicus, who, being corroborated by the divine grace, overcame the fear of death implanted in the nature of men. For when the proconsul advised him to think of his youth, and to spare himself, and not throw away his life in his flourishing age, he was not at all moved thereby. But, as they say, he enticed and stimulated the wild beasts to approach him, that he might be the sooner dismissed from this evil world. Presently after that glorious exit, the whole multitude cried out, "Away with the impious.

^d Ibid. p. 88.

^e Hieron. De V. J. cap. 17. Chron. p. 169.

^f H. E. l. 4. c. 14. fin. c. 15, in. p. 128.

^g Euseb. H. E. l. 4. c. 15. p. 128. &c.

" Let

"Let Polycarp be sought for." There following then a great
 'noise and tumult, and having in view the wild beasts and other
 'tortures, Quintus, a Phrygian, was intimated, and gave way; as
 'did also some others with him, who without a truly religious
 'fear had rashly presented themselves before the tribunal....
 'When the admirable Polycarp heard of the demand made for
 'him, he was not at all disturbed, but continued to be in a firm
 'and composed temper of mind; and he resolved to stay in
 'the city. Nevertheless, at length he so far complied with the
 'request of his friends, as to retire to a country house not far
 'off; where he abode with a small company, spending the time
 'night and day in continual prayers to God, offering up suppli-
 'cations for the peace of the churches throughout the world:
 'which indeed was his constant usage. Moreover, three days
 'before his apprehension, having been at prayer, and falling
 'asleep in the night time, he had a vision of the pillow under
 'his head consumed by a flame of fire. When he awoke he re-
 'lated the vision to those about him, and letting them know
 'that he thence concluded that for the testimony of Christ he
 'should lose his life by fire. And when they, who were sent out
 'to apprehend him, were using their best diligence to find him
 'out, they say that for the love of the brethren he was constrained
 'to remove again to another place. However, in a short time,
 'his pursuers, by informations given them, were led to the place
 'where Polycarp was. Coming thither in the evening, they
 'found him resting in an upper room; whence it was not diffi-
 'cult for him to remove to another house: but he would not,
 'saying: "The will of the Lord be done." He then went
 'down to the men, and talked to them in a free and cheerful
 'manner, and ordered meat to be set before them, begging that
 'they would allow him the space of one hour, in which he might
 'pray without disturbance. Prayer being ended, they set him
 'upon an ass to carry him into the city. As they were going he
 'was met by Herod the Irenarch, and his father Nicetas, who
 'took him up into their chariot. As they sat together they en-
 'deavoured to persuade him, saying, "What harm is it to say
 "Lord Cæsar, and to sacrifice, and so to be safe?" At first he
 'made no answer: but, when they were importunate, he said
 "I will never do what you advise." They then began to re-
 'proach him, and they thrust him out of the chariot so hastily,
 'that in getting down his leg was bruised: but he got up and
 'went on cheerfully, as if he had suffered no harm, till he came
 'to the stadium. When he was brought before the tribunal
 'there was a great shout of the multitude. As he came near, the
 'proconful

proconsul^b asked him if he was Polycarp. Upon his confessing that he was, he endeavoured to persuade him to deny Christ, and saying: "Reverence thy age," and other like things customary with them; "Swear by the fortune of Cæsar.—Repent. Say, Away with the impious." The governor still urging him, and saying: "Swear, and I will dismiss thee; reproach Christ." Polycarp then answered: "Fourscore and six years have I served him, and he has never done me any injury. How can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?" The governor was still urgent, saying: "Swear by the fortune of Cæsar." Whereupon Polycarp answered: "How can you desire this of me, as if you did not know who I am. Hear me then openly professing I am a Christian. And if you have a mind to know the doctrine of Christianity, appoint me a day and I will inform you."The proconsul said: "I have wild beasts, and I will cast you to them unless you change your mind." But he answered: "Call for them: there can be no alteration from good to bad: but it is good to change from vice to virtue." He said again to him: "Since you do not mind the beasts, I will order you to be consumed by fire, unless you repent." Polycarp said: "You threaten me with fire which burns for an hour, and then is extinguished; but you are ignorant of the fire of the future judgment, and everlasting punishment reserved for the wicked. But why do you delay? Appoint which you please." The proconsul then sent the cryer to make proclamation thrice in the midst of the stadium: "Polycarp has confessed himself to be a Christian." That proclamation having been made by the cryer, the whole multitude of the Gentiles and Jews, inhabiting Smyrna, with furious rage, and in a loud voice, cried out: "This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the destroyer of our gods, who teacheth all men not to sacrifice, nor to worship them." Having uttered those words, they cried out, and requested Philip the Asiarch to let out a lion upon Polycarp. He said he could not do that, because the amphitheatrical shows of wild beasts were over. Then they cried out, with one consent, that Polycarp should be burnt alive. Which was no sooner said than done: all immediately joining together in bringing wood, and dried branches of trees, from the shops

^b In the ancient Latin edition of this epistle, which may be seen in Ruinart, and elsewhere, the proconsul's name, near the end, is said to be Statius Quadratus; who is mentioned by Aristides, the sophist, as proconsul of Asia. And Valesius hence argues that Polycarp suffered in the seventh year of the reign of Marcus Antoninus, or the year of Christ 167.

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‘ and the baths: the Jews also, according to their custom, assisting with the greatest forwardness. When the pile was made ready, he unclothed himself, and untied his girdle, and endeavoured to pull off his shoes himself, which for a long time he had not done before; the faithful performing such offices for him, and that not only since he became grey-headed, but in a more early age: such was the veneration in which he had been long held for the sanctity of his life! Now all things being prepared and put in order for the pile; when they were about to nail him to the stake, he said: “ Let me be as I am. “ He that enables me to bear the fire will enable me also to remain unmoved within the pile, without your fastening me with nails.” They therefore did not nail him, but only bound him. He then offered up a prayer to God; which he concluded, saying aloud, Amen. Then the officers, who had the charge of it, kindled the fire. But Polycarp’s body not being so soon consumed as expected, the people desired that the confessor should be called for, and run him through with a sword. The faithful were now very desirous to have his body delivered to them: but some there were who moved Nicetas, father of Herod, to go to the governor to prevent his giving the body to the believers: lest, as they said, they should leave him that was crucified, to worship this man. This they said at the suggestion of the Jews, who also diligently watched us, that we might not carry off the body: little considering that we can never forsake Christ, who has suffered for the salvation of all men. Him we worship as the Son of God. The martyrs we love as the disciples and imitators of the Lord. The centurion therefore, perceiving the perverseness of the Jews, caused the body to be brought forth, and burnt it. We then gathered up his bones, and deposited them in a proper place. This is our account of the blessed Polycarp, who, with twelve others from Philadelphia, suffered martyrdom at Smyrna:’ or, according to another reading, ‘ who, together with those of Philadelphia, was the twelfth who suffered martyrdom at Smyrna.’

It may be here asked by some what was the death which Polycarp endured? I answer, he was burnt alive. Some who were cast to wild beasts were torn and mangled, but not killed outright by them: their death was completed by the officer called confessor, who thrust them through with a sword, or some other weapon with which he was armed. So it now was with Polycarp: he was burnt alive. But by some means it so happened that he lived a good while in the pile. For which reason it was determined that he should be dispatched with a sword. Nor was there
any

p. 193. MARCUS ANTONINUS. *The Martyrs at Lyons*. A. D. 177. 417
any exception made to that by the multitude: they even desired it to secure his death.

Thus died the excellent, the aged and venerable Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna.

It is needless for me to make remarks which may be obvious to every reader. Polycarp, and the rest with him, suffered as Christians. It does not appear that any crime, beside that of Christianity, was proved or even imputed to them. Their innocence of great crimes, punishable by law, is manifest. If they had been known, or even suspected, to kill and eat children, and practise promiscuous lewdness in their worship, they would not have been readily discharged upon a bare verbal renunciation of their religion.

We must be also persuaded that the Christians were now well known in the world: how much soever the great men of those times might affect to seem unacquainted with them, they knew them very well. It is not conceivable that an emperor, who has any the least concern for the welfare of his people, and the peace of society, should neglect to inform himself about what is done in great cities, and in their theatres or amphitheatres. Marcus, therefore, and his courtiers, and the philosophers about him, knew very well what had now happened at Smyrna in Asia. Nevertheless he took no pains to restrain the animosity of the people.

Let me say one thing more—that the steadiness of the Christians might have induced Marcus and his courtiers to make inquiries after their scriptures, and the evidences of those principles which they so firmly believed, and by which they were supported under so grievous sufferings.

III. I shall be rather more particular in my account of the sufferings of the martyrs at Lyons, another instance of grievous persecution in the reign of the same emperor. Of the histories of their martyrdom, and of that of Polycarp, as is well known, that great man, Joseph Scaliger, speaks with admiration: ‘The minds of pious and devout men,’ says he, ‘must be so affected with them, as never to be satiated with the reading of them.’

¹ Ea, et Polycarpi Martyrium hodie existant apud Eusebium in Historia Ecclesiastica, quæ sunt vetustissima Ecclesiæ Martyria, quorum lectione piorum animus ita afficitur, ut nunquam satur inde recedat. Quod quidem ita esse, unusquisque pro suo et conscientie modo sentire potest. Certe ego nihil unquam in historia ecclesiastica

vidi, a cuius lectione commotior recedam, ut non amplius meus esse videar. Idem sentimus de Actis Martyrum Lugdunensium et Viennensium apud eundem Eusebium, quibus quid augustius, quid venerabilius in antiquitatis monumentis? Jos. Scal. Animad. in Euseb. p. 221.

‘ For my own part I never met with any thing in ecclesiastical history by which I have been so transported as by these.’

I formerly said that ^k the history of the sufferings of the martyrs at Vienne and Lyons is the finest thing of the kind in all antiquity. The martyrdom, or passion, of Perpetua and Felicitas, who suffered near the beginning of the third century, in the time of the emperor Severus, is likewise affecting, and curious in divers respects, as was also observed ^l formerly.

To relate this in the way of an extract would be to enervate what is in the highest degree affecting: and moreover, as before said, it is a necessary part of the history and character of this emperor. I therefore intend to transcribe Eusebius at length, word for word, for the most part: after which I shall add some remarks.

Says Eusebius, in his preface to the fifth book of his Ecclesiastical History: ‘ At this time Eleutherus succeeded Soter in the see of Rome: and it was the seventeenth year of the emperor Antoninus; in which time the persecution against us raged with great violence in several parts of the world, through the enmity of the people in the cities. What ^m vast multitudes of martyrs there were throughout the whole empire may be concluded from what happened in one nation: which also have been committed to writing, that they may be delivered to others and may be always remembered. The whole history of these things has been inserted in our work, Of the Collection of Martyrs, of which I here select a part ⁿ.’

Eusebius then goes on in ^o the first chapter of that book: ‘ The country in which those things happened, of which I am now to speak, is Gaul. In which are two great and famous cities, Lyons and Vienne, both washed by the river Rhone, which traverseth that country with a rapid stream. These famous churches sent in writing an account of their martyrs to the churches in Asia and Phrygia. I shall insert their own words: “ The servants of Jesus Christ, dwelling in Vienne and Lyons, to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia, who have the same faith and hope of redemption with us, peace and grace, and glory from God the Father and Jesus Christ our Lord.” After a few things said in the way of preface, they

^k Vol. ii. p. 149, 150.

^m Μυριάδας μαρτύρων ἀνα τὴν αἰκισμένην διαπρῆλαι τοχασμῷ λαβεῖν ἐνεσιν, ἀπο τὰν καθ’ ἑκάστης συμβεβηκότων. H. E. l. 5, Pr. p. 153.

ⁿ That the persecution at Lyons, of which Eusebius here

^l Vol. iii. speaks, happened in the seventeenth year of the reign of Marcus Antoninus, and the year of Christ 177, was shewn formerly. Vol. ii. p. 149, 150.

^o H. E. l. 5. c. i. p. 154, &c.

begin the narration in these words: "The greatness of the affliction in these places, and the excessive rage of the people against the saints, and what the blessed martyrs have endured, we are not able to describe in words, nor put down in writing: for the enemy at the very first invaded us with the greatest violence, shewing from the beginning what sore evils we were to expect. Every thing was done to exercise his ministers, and to train them to the practice of the utmost cruelty against the servants of God. We were not only excluded from houses," [of friends, as it seems,] "and from the baths and the market, but we were forbidden to appear in any place whatever. However, the grace of God fought for us against the enemy; delivering such as were weak, and setting up the pillars, which were firm and stable, and able by their patience and fortitude to withstand all the force of the enemy. They therefore came to a near combat with him, undergoing all manner of reproach and suffering. Accounting the greatest afflictions to be small, they hastened to Christ; thus shewing, in fact, that *the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us*: Rom. viii. 18. First then they courageously endured the insults of the multitude gathered together about them in crowds, their shouts, and blows, and draggings about, pillaging their goods, throwing of stones, confinement to their dwellings, and all such things as an enraged multitude is wont to practise against adversaries and enemies. Then, being brought into the market by the tribune and the chief magistrates of the city, they were examined before all the people: and, having made their confession, they were shut up in prison till the arrival of the president. Afterwards, when they were brought before the president, who exercised all manner of cruelty against us, Vettius Epagathus, one of the brethren, full of love toward God and his neighbour, whose course of life also was so perfect that, though a young man, he might deserve the character of old Zacharias, Luke i. 6. *that he walked in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blame-*

The name of the president is nowhere mentioned in this epistle; but Valesius thinks he was Severus, afterwards emperor: and he thinks he was not proconsul, but the emperor's legate, or lieutenant; forasmuch as Spartian says he governed the province of Lyons in that quality. Deinde Lugdunensem provinciam legatus accepit. De Severo. c. 4. I shall add, that Dion Cassius also mentions his

government at Lyons. Καὶ ἐν Ἀργυρῶ ἀρχόντι...προσέλθε. Dion. p. 1243. Reimar. And Fr. Balduinus was of the same opinion. Interea dum hæc Romæ exercerentur, Lugdunensem provinciam legatus regabat Septimius Severus....Non dubium est, quæ tunc illic de Christianis sumpta supplicia esse dicuntur, hujus Severi imperio irrogata fuisse. Edict. Princ. Rom. de Christianis. p. 97.

“ *less*: and was unwearied in the performance of all good offices
 “ to his neighbour, being full of zeal for God, and *fervent in*
 “ *spirit*: Rom. xii. 11: he being such an one, was not able to
 “ bear these so unjust proceedings against us; but, being moved
 “ with indignation, requested that he might be allowed to make
 “ a defence in behalf of the brethren, and shew that nothing
 “ impious and irreligious was done by us. But they who were
 “ near the tribunal cried out against him, (for he was a person
 “ well known;) and the president refused to grant his request,
 “ though so reasonable, and asked him whether he was a Chris-
 “ tian. He, answering with a loud voice that he was a Chris-
 “ tian, was put into the number⁹ of the martyrs, and was
 “ called the advocate of the Christians. And indeed he had
 “ within him the advocate, the Holy Ghost, in a greater mea-
 “ sure than Zacharias: Luke i. 67. Which he also shewed by
 “ the abundance of his love, being willing to lay down his own
 “ life in defence of the brethren: 1 John iii. 16. For he was and
 “ is a genuine disciple of Christ, *following the lamb whithersoever*
 “ *he goeth*: Rev. xiv. 4. After this, others were chosen out;
 “ and they proved to be illustrious and well-prepared proto-
 “ martyrs; who with all alacrity of mind accomplished the so-
 “ lemn confession of martyrdom. They also were manifest
 “ who were unprepared, and unexercised, and still weak, and
 “ not able to bear the shock of so great a combat; of whom
 “ about ten in number fell away, causing in us great grief and
 “ unmeasurable concern, and damping the alacrity of those who
 “ were not yet apprehended. Of whom however it must be
 “ acknowledged that they kept company with the martyrs, and
 “ did not forsake them though they suffered considerably in so
 “ doing. At that time we were all in great consternation, being
 “ uncertain about the event of this confession: not dreading the
 “ torments that might be inflicted upon us, but apprehensive
 “ of the issue, and that some might fall in the trial. However,
 “ from day to day such were taken up as were worthy to supply
 “ the number of such as had gone off: so that the most eminent
 “ men of the two churches, and by whom good order had been
 “ settled among us, were picked out and brought together.
 “ Moreover, some Gentile servants of our people were appre-
 “ hended. For the governor had given public orders for mak-
 “ ing strict inquiries after us. They, at the instigation of Satan,
 “ and dreading the torments which they saw the saints suffer,

⁹ So confessors are called in this, and many other ancient writings, about the same time.

“the soldiers also exciting them to it, falsely charged ** us
 “with having the suppers of Thyestes, and the incestuous mix-
 “tures of Oedipus, and other such like things, which it is not
 “lawful for us to mention, nor to think of, nor to believe that
 “they were ever done among men. These stories being spread
 “abroad, all men were incensed against us: insomuch, that if
 “any there were who before had been civil to us, upon account
 “of affinity or friendship, they were then much offended, and
 “exclaimed against us. And then was fulfilled what the Lord
 “had said, John xvi. 2; *that the time would come when every one*
 “*who killeth you will think that he doth God service:* [or, offers to
 “God a sacrifice.] After that the holy martyrs underwent such
 “torments as are above all description; Satan doing his utmost
 “to make them also to say such impious things:” [or to confess
 “what had been declared by the heathen servants.] “But the
 “utmost excess of rage of the multitude, and of the president,
 “and of the soldiers, fell upon Sanctus, deacon at Vienne; and
 “upon Maturus, newly baptized indeed, yet a most valiant
 “champion and upon Attalus, a native of Pergamus, who
 “always was a pillar and support of the churches here; and
 “upon Blandina, by whom Christ shewed that those things which
 “among men seem mean, base, and contemptible, are by God
 “accounted worthy of great honour, for their love toward him,
 “which is evidently manifested in great power, and not in ap-
 “pearance only boasted of: 1 Cor. i. 27, 28; 2 Cor. v. 12.
 “For when we were all in pain for her, and especially her
 “mistress according to the flesh, Eph. vi. 5, (who likewise was
 “one of the champions among the martyrs,) left, upon account
 “of the infirmity of her body, she should not be able to make
 “an open confession, she was furnished with such strength, that
 “they, who by turns tortured her all manner of ways from
 “morning to evening, became feeble and faint, and acknow-
 “ledged themselves overcome, there being nothing more that
 “they could do to her. And they wondered that she had any
 “breath left, her whole body having been torn and mangled:
 “and declaring that any one kind of torture, used by them, was
 “sufficient to deprive her of life, much more so many and so
 “great. But that blessed woman and renowned champion re-
 “newed her strength in the midst of her confession: 2 Cor. iv.
 “16. And it was a refreshment and ease to her, and an abate-

** Thyestes, as is said, ate part of his own son, whom his brother Atreus, to be re-
 venged on him for committing adultery with his wife, had killed, and then dressed,
 and set before him at an entertainment. Oedipus, as the story is, married his mo-
 ther Jocasta, not knowing her to be so, and had children by her.

ment of the torments inflicted upon her, to say: "I am a Christian: nor is there any wickedness practised among us." Sanctus likewise, having in a most extraordinary manner, and beyond all human power, courageously undergone all the tortures they could invent, the wicked wretches hoping, by the continuance and greatness of their tortures, to extort from him somewhat unbecoming," [a confession of unbecoming practices among the Christians] "he withstood them with such resolution that he would not tell them his own name, nor his country, nor the city whence he was, nor whether he was a slave or a freeman. But to all their interrogatories he answered in the Roman tongue: "I am a Christian:" that was what he declared again and again, instead of his name, and city, and country: nor did the Gentiles hear any other word from him. Upon which account the rage both of the president and the tormentors was very great. And when there was nothing more that they could do unto him, they at last clapt red hot plates of brass upon the most tender parts of his body, and his members were burnt; yet he stood firm, without yielding at all, and continued stedfast and unshaken in his confession; bedewed and strengthened with the heavenly living water which flowed out of the belly of Christ: John vii. 38. His body shewed what had been done, being all over wound and scar, contracted and drawn together, having lost the external shape of a man. In whom Christ suffering, performed great wonders, defeating the enemy, and demonstrating, for an example to others, that nothing is formidable where there is the love of the Father, nor any thing painful where the glory of Christ is concerned. For when those wicked men, a few days after, began again to torture the martyr, supposing that, if they should make use of the same tortures whilst his body was swelled, and his wounds inflamed, they should master him, since he could not endure to be touched by the hand; or that he would die under the torments, which might strike terror into others; not only no such thing happened to him, but, contrary to the opinion of all men, his body became erect by means of those repeated tortures, and he recovered his former shape, and the use of his limbs: so that, by the grace of Christ, the second torture became a remedy instead of a punishment. Moreover, the devil caused one Biblias to be brought out, being one of those who had denied the faith, and whom he considered as already devoured by him; but was desirous to accumulate her guilt by compelling her to utter reproachful things against us. And indeed

indeed she had shewn herself weak and timorous: but now
 in the midst of her torture she recovered herself, and awaked
 as it were out of a profound sleep, being by these torments,
 which are but for a time, reminded of the everlasting torments
 of hell. She then contradicted the slanderous reports con-
 cerning us, saying: "How should they eat infants to whom
 it is not lawful to eat the blood of brute animals!" And
 thenceforward she confessed herself a Christian, and was added
 to the number of the martyrs. But when these tyrannical mea-
 sures were rendered ineffectual by Christ, through the patience
 of those blessed men, the devil tried other devices; such as
 imprisonment in dark and noisome dungeons; putting the feet
 into stocks and straining them to the fifth hole; and such other
 pains as enraged ministers, and full of the devil, inflict upon
 those who are shut up in prison: so that many were suffocated
 in their confinement, even as many as it was the will of the
 Lord should go out of the world in that manner, thereby
 shewing forth his glory. But some others, who had been
 grievously tortured, so that it was thought they could not live,
 though the best methods of cure had been afforded them,
 continued to live in prison; deprived indeed of the help of
 men, but corroborated by the Lord, and strengthened both in
 body and mind; who also animated and comforted the rest:
 whilst others who were but young, and were newly appre-
 hended, whose bodies were not accustomed to hardships, were
 not able to bear the inconvenience of confinement, and ex-
 pired in the prison. But the blessed Pothinus, who was in-
 trusted with the administration of the episcopal office at Lyons,
 being more than ninety years of age, and very weak in body,
 and scarcely breathing by reason of his bodily infirmity, but
 strengthened in mind with a desire of the martyrdom now in
 view, even he also was dragged to the tribunal. His body was
 worn out by age and distemper; but his soul yet remained in
 him, that by it Christ might triumph. He being brought be-
 fore the tribunal by the soldiers, the city magistrates also at-
 tending, and the multitude hooting him all along with loud
 shouts, as if he had been Christ himself, exhibited a good
 testimony. Being asked by the president, "who was the God
 of the Christians," he answered: "If you are worthy, you
 shall know." After that he was dragged about in an inhuman
 manner, and received many blows; they who were near strik-
 ing him with their hands and feet, without any respect to his
 age; they who stood farther off threw at him whatever came to
 hand: every one thinking himself guilty of an offence against
 "religion,

“ religion, if he did not offer him some abuse: for thereby
 “ they thought they should avenge their gods. And when there
 “ was scarcely any breath left in him he was cast into prison,
 “ where after two days he expired.

“ And now appeared a wonderful dispensation of divine pro-
 “ vidence, and the boundless mercy of Jesus Christ. It was a
 “ rare instance indeed in the brotherhood, but not beyond the
 “ power or wisdom of Christ; for they who, at their first being ap-
 “ prehended, had denied the faith, were also shut up in prison, and
 “ partook of the same sufferings with others; for their denial was
 “ of no benefit to them at that time. They who confessed what
 “ they really were, were imprisoned as Christians, no other crime
 “ being laid to their charge; but these were confined as mur-
 “ derers and malefactors, and therefore underwent a double
 “ punishment: for the joy of martyrdom, the hope of the pro-
 “ mised happiness, and the Spirit of the Father comforted those;
 “ but the conscience of the others was a torment to them, inso-
 “ much that, in their passage from the prison to the tribunal,
 “ the difference of their countenances was manifest to all. The
 “ others appeared cheerful, having in their countenances a mix-
 “ ture of gravity and pleasantness. Their fetters gave them
 “ grace and comeliness, *like a bride adorned with tresses of gold,*
 “ *wrought with divers colours,* (Psal. xlv. 10....15); having also a
 “ sweet favour of Christ, so that some thought they were anointed
 “ with terrestrial ointment. The others appeared dejected and
 “ dispirited, and covered all over with deformity. And, more-
 “ over, they were reproached by the Gentiles as unmanly and
 “ mean-spirited; having brought upon themselves the accusa-
 “ tion of being murderers, and lost the honourable and glorious
 “ and reviving appellation [of Christians]. When the rest be-
 “ held these things, they were established. And, if after this any
 “ were apprehended, they presently, without any doubt or hesi-
 “ tation, confessed, not admitting the least thought of a diabo-
 “ lical suggestion.” Having here interposed some things, says
 “ Eusebius, ‘ they go on. “ Henceforward the martyrdoms were
 “ divided into all sorts; for, having platted one crown of dif-
 “ ferent colours, they offered it to the Father: and indeed it was
 “ fit that these generous champions, who had sustained various
 “ combats, and had gloriously overcome, should receive a glori-
 “ ous and incorruptible crown. Maturus then, and Sanctus,
 “ and Blandina, and Attalus, were brought to the wild beasts in
 “ the amphitheatre, to be a public spectacle to the inhumanity
 “ of the Gentiles: a day for combats of wild beasts having been
 “ purposely granted upon our account. And Maturus and Sanc-

"tus did again undergo all sorts of torments in the amphitheatre,
 "as if they had before suffered nothing at all. Or rather, hav-
 "ing already overcome the adversary in many encounters, and
 "being now to contend for the crown itself, they again endured
 "in the way to it the accustomed blows of the place, and the
 "rearings of wild beasts, and whatever else the mad multitude
 "from all sides called for and demanded: and after all these
 "things the iron chair, upon which, when their bodies were
 "broiled, they yielded the offensive smell of burnt flesh. Nor
 "were they yet satisfied, but were still more enraged, being
 "earnestly desirous to overcome the patience of the sufferers.
 "However, they could get nothing from Sanctus more than the
 "confession which he had made at the first. These two there-
 "fore, (Maturus and Sanctus,) having undergone a severe com-
 "bat, their life having continued a long while, they were at
 "last slain, having been made throughout that day a *spectacle to*
 "*the world*, instead of all that variety which is usually exhibited
 "in the combats of gladiators (1 Cor. iv. 9). But Blandina,
 "having been hung upon a stake, was left for a prey to wild-
 "beasts which were let out upon her. And, as she seemed to
 "hang upon a cross, and prayed to God earnestly, she infused
 "great alacrity into the combatants, they seeing with their own
 "eyes, in the person of their sister, him who was crucified for us,
 "that he might persuade all who believe in him that all who
 "suffer for his glory shall have everlasting communion with the
 "living God. None of the wild beasts touching her at that
 "time, she was taken down from the stake, and sent again to
 "prison, being reserved for another combat; that, having over-
 "come in many encounters, she might render the condemnation
 "of the crooked serpent inexcusable (Is. xxvii. 1); and that she
 "might be an encouragement to the brethren, when she, who
 "was of little account, infirm, and despicable, being clothed
 "with the great and invincible champion, having often over-
 "come the enemy, obtained an incorruptible crown of glory,
 "(1 Cor. ix. 25). Now Attalus was earnestly called for by the
 "multitude: for indeed he was an eminent person, and by rea-
 "son of the clearness of his conscience came forth as a cham-
 "pion prepared for the combat; for he was well exercised in the
 "Christian discipline, and was always a witness of the truth
 "among us. He was led round the amphitheatre with a board
 "carried before him, upon which was inscribed in the Roman
 "tongue: This is Attalus, the Christian; the people all the
 "while expressing great indignation against him. The presi-
 "dent, understanding that he was a Roman, commanded him to
 "he

“ be taken away, and to be carried to the rest who were in pri-
 “ son; concerning whom he had sent to Cæsar, and was in ex-
 “ pectation of an answer. That interval of time was not idly
 “ spent, nor unprofitable to them; but through their patience
 “ the boundless mercy of Christ was manifested. By the living
 “ the dead members of the church were revived. The martyrs
 “ obtained favour for those who were no martyrs. And there
 “ was great joy to the virgin mother, when she received those
 “ alive which had been cast out as dead. For by the holy
 “ martyrs many of those who had denied the faith were *formed*
 “ *again in the womb*, and had their vital heat rekindled in them,
 “ and learned to confess themselves Christians; (Gal. iv. 19),
 “ and, having recovered life and strength, came before the tri-
 “ bunal, that they might be again interrogated by the president.
 “ And God, who desireth not the death of a sinner, being pro-
 “ pitious to them, put into them a better disposition; (Ezek.
 “ xxxiii. 11.) The rescript of Cæsar was, That^r they who con-
 “ fessed Christ should^s be put to death; but that if any denied
 “ themselves to be Christians they might be set at liberty.
 “ The public assembly of this place being now begun, at which
 “ there is a vast concourse of people from all parts, the president
 “ ordered the blessed martyrs to be brought before the tribunal,
 “ exposing them as a public shew to the multitude. Having
 “ again interrogated them, as many as were found to be Roman
 “ citizens he ordered to be beheaded; the rest he sent to the
 “ wild beasts. But Christ was greatly glorified in those who be-
 “ fore had denied the faith; but now, contrary to the expecta-
 “ tion of the Gentiles, confessed themselves to be Christians.
 “ They were interrogated apart, as being now to be dismissed,
 “ and set at liberty; but, making confession, they were added to
 “ the number of the martyrs. However, they remained without,
 “ who never had the principle of faith, nor a regard to the wed-
 “ ding garment, not having the fear of God in them, but were
 “ sons of perdition, and by their conversation had caused the
 “ way of truth to be blasphemed: all the rest were added to the
 “ church. And, when the question was put to them, Alexan-
 “ der, a Phrygian by nation, and by profession a physician, who
 “ had lived in Gaul many years, and was known to almost all
 “ men for his love of God and boldness in preaching the word,
 “ encouraged them: for he was not destitute of apostolic grace.

^r Επιτελειαντες γαρ τῷ Καίσαρι, τῆς μὲν ἀποτυμπανισθῆναι* εἰ δὲ τινες ἀρνήτο, τούτοις ἀπολίσθηναι. p. 162. D. ^s ‘Should be put to death.’ Ut confitentes quidem gladio caderentur. Valef. And see his notes, and Gataker. Miscell. cap. 46. p. 912.

“ He,

“He, standing near the tribunal, and by nods encouraging them
 “to confess the faith, appeared to those, who stood round
 “about the tribunal, as if he endured the pangs of child-birth.
 “But the multitude being greatly incensed that they, who be-
 “fore had denied the faith, should now be admitted to make
 “confession, cried out against Alexander as the occasion of it.
 “Whereupon the president caused him to be set before him,
 “and asked him who he was. He confessing himself to be
 “a Christian, the president in a great rage condemned him to
 “the wild beasts. The day following he came into the amphi-
 “theatre, together with Attalus: for the president, to gratify
 “the people, delivered up Attalus again to the wild beasts.
 “Which two having undergone all the instruments of torture in
 “the amphitheatre, which were invented to torment them, and
 “having endured a great combat, were run through with a
 “sword. Alexander neither sighed, nor said any thing at all,
 “but in his heart conversed with God. Attalus, when he was
 “set in the iron chair, and was scorched all over, and an offen-
 “sive stench of burnt flesh proceeded from his body, spake to
 “the multitude in the Roman tongue:—This, says he, is to de-
 “vour men, which is your practice. As for us, we neither de-
 “vour men, nor do we commit any other wickedness whatever.—
 “Being asked what is the name of God, he answered: God has
 “not a name as men have. After all these, on the last day of
 “the shows, Blandina was again brought in with a young man
 “named Ponticus, about fifteen years of age; who also had
 “been every day successively brought in to see the sufferings of
 “the others. Now they were required to swear by their idols;
 “but, as they remained firm, and set their gods at nought, the
 “multitude was greatly incensed against them, so that they had
 “no compassion on the age of the young man, nor any respect
 “for the sex of the other; but exposed them to all manner of
 “sufferings, and made them go through the whole circle of tor-
 “tures, at times calling out to them to swear, without being
 “able to effect it. For Ponticus, animated and established by
 “his sister, as the Gentiles also perceived, after having courage-
 “ously endured every kind of torment, expired. But the blessed
 “Blandina, the last of all, having, like a good mother, en-
 “couraged her children, and sent them before her victors to the
 “king; after having again measured over the same course of
 “combats that her sons had passed through; hastened to them,
 “rejoicing and exulting at her departure, as if she had been in-

† Καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἀττάλῳ τῷ ὀχλῷ χαρίζομενος ὁ κηρυχὴς, ἐξέδωκε πάλιν πρὸς θηρία. p. 163. C.

“vited to a wedding supper, and not cast to wild beasts. After
“she had been scourged, after she had been exposed to wild
“beasts, and after the iron chair, she was enclosed in a net, and
“thrown to a bull: having been often tossed by the beast (though
“she was all the while insensible, by reason of hope, and a firm
“assent to what she believed, and familiarly conversing with
“Christ,) she also was run through with a sword. The Gen-
“tiles themselves acknowledged that there never had been any
“woman among them who had undergone so many and so great
“sufferings: nevertheless, their cruel rage against the saints was
“not yet satiated....Their abuses began again in a new and pe-
“culiar manner against the bodies of the saints. They were not
“ashamed that they had been vanquished by them. And, as if
“destitute of human reason and understanding, their rage was
“farther inflamed: and the governor, and the people, like a
“wild beast, manifested a like degree of hatred against us, that
“the scripture might be fulfilled which saith, Rev. xxii. 11: *He
“that is unjust let him be unjust still; and he that is righteous let
“him be righteous still.* Those who had been suffocated in prison
“they cast to the dogs, carefully watching them day and night,
“lest any of us should inter them. Then they laid out the
“remainders of the bodies left unconsumed by the fire, partly
“torn, and partly burnt, and the heads of the rest, with the
“trunks of their bodies: all these they kept unburied with a
“guard of soldiers many days. Some were filled with indigna-
“tion, and gnashed with their teeth at the dead, as if desirous to
“be farther revenged upon them. Some insulted over them
“and derided them, at the same time extolling their idols, and
“attributing to them the punishment that had been inflicted on
“the martyrs. Some, who were more mild, and seemed in some
“measure to sympathize with us, nevertheless upbraided us,
“saying: Where is their God? and of what benefit has their
“religion been to them, which they have preferred above their
“lives? In the mean time we were greatly concerned that we
“could not bury the bodies in the earth: for neither did the
“darkness of the night afford us any assistance, nor would money
“persuade, nor entreaties prevail; but they continued to watch
“the bodies very carefully, as if some great matter were to be
“gained by their not being buried.” After interposing here
“some things,” says Eusebius, “they proceed. “The bodies
“therefore of the martyrs having undergone all manner of ig-
“nominy, and having lain exposed in the air six days, were
“burnt: and, having been reduced to ashes by those impious
“men, were by them thrown into the river Rhone, which runs
“hard

“hard by, that no remains of them might be any longer visible on this earth. Thus they acted, as if they could be too hard for God, and prevent their reviviscence; or, as themselves said, that they might have no hope of a resurrection; trusting to which they have brought in among us a strange and new religion, and, despising the heaviest sufferings, are ready to meet death with cheerfulness. Let us now see whether they will rise again, and whether their God is able to help them, and to deliver them out of our hands.”

“Such things,” adds Eusebius, at the beginning of the next chapter, “befel these churches of Christ in the reign of the fore-mentioned emperor; whence it may be reasonably concluded what happened in the other provinces.”

By which we are led to believe that Eusebius supposed there was a general persecution of the Christians throughout the Roman empire at that time.

Eusebius goes on, and I shall continue to transcribe him; hoping that my readers may not be unwilling to admit of some prolixity upon this occasion.

“But,” says Eusebius, in the words next following, “it may be worth the while to take somewhat more from that epistle, wherein the meekness and humanity of the forementioned martyrs is described, and in these words: “Who also were so far followers and imitators of Christ, *who, being in the form of God, did not covet to appear like God*; Phil. ii. 6: that though they were in so great glory, having suffered as martyrs, not once only, or twice, but often; although they had been tossed by wild beasts, and then committed again to prison; although they had the marks of fire and scars and wounds all over them, they did not declare themselves to be martyrs, nor allow us to call them by that name. But if at any time any one of us, either in a letter or in discourse, termed them martyrs, they reproved us sharply. But they readily ascribed the honour of martyrdom to Christ, *the faithful and true witness, and the first-begotten of the dead, and the prince of the life of God*; Rev. i. 5. They also commemorated the martyrs who were already departed out of this life, and said—These now are martyrs whom Christ has vouchsafed to take to himself in the midst of their confession, sealing their martyrdom by their death; we are mean and humble confessors. And with tears they besought the brethren, entreating that earnest prayers might be made for them that

ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ πεποιθότες, ξένου τινα καὶ καὶ τὴν ἡμῶν εἰσαγωγῇ θρησκείαν. p. 165. D.

* Ib. cap. 2. p. 166.

“they

“ they might be perfected. And they demonstrated the power
 “ of martyrdom in fact, using great freedom of speech in all their
 “ answers to the Gentiles, and manifesting * a greatness of mind
 “ in their patience, fearlessness, and undaunted courage under
 “ all their sufferings. But they refused the appellation of mar-
 “ tyrs from the brethren, being filled with the fear of God.
 “ Again, after some few things, they say: *They humbled themselves*
 “ *under the mighty hand, by which they are now exalted;* 1 Pet. v. 6:
 “ they apologized for themselves to all, but accused none. They
 “ loosed all, but they bound none. They prayed for those who
 “ grievously treated them, as did Stephen the perfect martyr:
 “ *Lord, lay not this sin to their charge;* Acts vii. 60. And if he
 “ prayed for those who stoned him, how much more for the
 “ brethren? And again, after a few other things, they say: for
 “ that was the greatest encounter which they had with the ene-
 “ my, proceeding from their genuine love. And the beast
 “ being strangled brought up again alive those whom before he
 “ supposed he had digested. They did not proudly glory over
 “ those that fell. On such as were indigent they bestowed those
 “ good things with which themselves abounded: having mother-
 “ ly bowels of compassion, they poured out many tears for them
 “ to the father: *They asked life, and he gave it them;* Psal. xxi. 4;
 “ which also they imparted to their neighbour: and, having
 “ been in all things conquerors, they went to God. They al-
 “ ways loved peace, they always recommended peace, and in
 “ peace they went to God: leaving no grief to their mother, nor
 “ contention and war among the brethren, but joy and peace
 “ and concord and love.”

Eusebius still goes on in another chapter, which I shall like-
 wise here transcribe.

‘ Moreover,’ says he, ‘ in the same epistle there is another
 ‘ thing well deserving to be taken notice of. It is to this pur-
 ‘ pose: “ For Alcibiades, one of the martyrs, who led a very
 “ austere course of life, and hitherto had fed upon bread and
 “ water only, and still observing the same course of life in prison;
 “ it was revealed to Attalus, after his first combat in the amphi-
 “ theatre, that Alcibiades did not do well in not using the crea-
 “ tures of God, and was an occasion of scandal to others; 1 Tim.
 “ iv. 4: and Alcibiades submitted, and after that partook of all
 “ sorts of food promiscuously, and gave God thanks.” For,’
 adds Eusebius, ‘ they were not destitute of the grace of God,
 ‘ but the Holy Spirit was their director.’

* και την ευχεται δια της υπομονης και αφοβιας, και απρημιας φανεραι εστιν. P.
 166. D. γ Ib. cap. 3. p. 167.

IV. I shall now make some remarks.

1. The fierceness of the persecution at Lyons must have continued for some good while, several months at least. This must be manifest to all, so that I need not add any thing to shew it.

2. Here is a proof of the great progress of the Christian religion in a short time. There were now two churches in that part of Gaul; one at Lyons, the other at Vienne. Pothinus, bishop of the church of Lyons, was a venerable man, of great age. The number of Christians in those two places must have been very considerable. There were among them men of distinction for their knowledge and understanding. Attalus, and divers others, were Roman citizens. Alexander was by profession a physician. There were among them men of substance, who had a number of slaves, some of which were heathens, others Christians, one of whom was the admirable Blandina.

As it may be of use to cast some light upon this remarkable story, and upon the epistle which we have just seen, I shall now transcribe some observations of Valesius: 'Here ariseth,' saith he, 'a twofold question. The first is, Why was this epistle written jointly by the two churches of Vienne and Lyons? The other is, Why these Gauls wrote in Greek, and to the churches of Asia and Phrygia? As for the first, I suppose the reason to be, that the churches of Vienne and Lyons were joined together, not only by vicinity of place, but also by the bonds of mutual love. And since they had suffered together in the same persecution, they join together in an account of their martyrs. And both the provinces seem to have been under the jurisdiction of one and the same president: for these reasons they joined together in this account. For whereas some have supposed that there was but one bishop only of these two cities, they are confuted by the epistle itself, which calls Pothinus bishop of Lyons, not of Vienne. Moreover, they of Lyons out of respect name those of Vienne first: forasmuch as they of Lyons wrote the epistle, and gave an account of what was done in their own city. As for the second question, we perceive from the epistle itself that there were many Greeks in the church of Lyons. Attalus and Alexander were Phrygians: and Alcibiades also, as I suppose, came from Phrygia. Ireneus likewise was born in Asia, and when young, conversed with Polycarp. The name of Pothinus denotes it to be of Greek original. It is no wonder therefore that they, who came into Gaul from Asia, should write to their brethren in Asia;

* Annot. in Euseb. p. 85, 86.

from

‘from whom also, as may be supposed, they had before received ‘an epistle concerning the death of Polycarp and others.’ So writes Valefius.

Sulpicius Severus, referring to this persecution, says, ‘And ‘now first of all martyrdoms were seen in Gaul.’ It is manifest that there were now two churches, one at Vienne, another at Lyons; though the bishop of the former city is not expressly named. These words are very remarkable: ‘However,^b from ‘day to day such were taken up as were worthy to supply the ‘number of such as had gone off. So that the most eminent ‘men of the two churches, by whom good order had been settled ‘among us, were picked out and brought together.’ We cannot hence conclude when conversions were first made in this country: but we can hence reasonably infer that these two churches had been for some while in a flourishing condition; and that the eminent men, who had been the authors of the good order among them, were still living, and several of them ‘now suffered martyrdom.’

And we have reason to believe that, though these two societies underwent a severe shock at this time, they were not shattered or broken to pieces. They may have recovered themselves and flourished again. For Irenæus, who was now ‘presbyter, succeeded Pothinus in the episcopate, and lived and wrote with great reputation after^d this. His large and excellent work against heresies in five books is a work of leisure, and must have been written in a time of peace and tranquillity.

3. The sufferings which the Christians now underwent were various and very grievous; they need not to be here particularly rehearsed. We might have been apt to think that the accounts of the Christians’ sufferings, which we meet with in Lactantius, and other ancient apologists, are oratorical exaggeration. But here is an authentic account of eye-witnesses and fellow-sufferers, which assures us that it is all matter of fact.

Such things may be thought to be a reflection upon the Roman government. But we are to consider that the Romans, and many other people at that time, were accustomed to the inhuman spectacles of gladiators, and that excessive cruelty was then practised upon many occasions. Since which time the farther progress of the Christian religion has in a great degree corrected and

^a Sub Aurelio deinde, Antonini filio, persecutio quinta agitata. Ac tum primum intra Gallias, martyria visa: Serius trans Alpes, Dei religione suscepta. Sul. Sev. l. 2. cap. 46.

^b ὥστε συλλεγεσθαι.

καὶ ἐκ τῶν δύο ἐκκλησιῶν πάντας τῆς ὑπερδαιας, καὶ δι’ αὐτῆς μαρτυρίας συνέστηκεν τὰ ἐνθάδε. p. 156. C.

^c Euseb. l. 5. cap. iv.

^d See in this work, vol. ii. p. 154, &c.

mollified the tempers of men in this part of the world. We ought likewise to consider that the sufferers, whose history we have been reading, were Christians, whom many then thought to be the most contemptible of all men, and not entitled to the common rights of the human kind.

The excessive and repeated sufferings of Blandina were very extraordinary: but she was a slave, and therefore despised. And in the eye of prejudiced idolaters the provocation was very great, that she, a woman, and a slave, should withstand all attempts to induce her to pay homage to their deities.

Attalus was a Roman citizen, and should have been beheaded; but being a Christian this privilege was not allowed. The multitude demanded that he should be tortured, and thrown to wild beasts; and the president granted their request, relying, undoubtedly, upon impunity, though he acted contrary to law. Such was the hard condition of the Christians at that time!

The persecution at Lyons was very severe. The tortures made use of were grievous and various; and the sufferers were numerous. By the edict of Trajan, such Christians as were brought before a governor's tribunal, and were convicted, were to be punished. 'But they are not to be fought for,' says that emperor. But 'the president at Lyons issued out public orders, that strict searches should be made for them.'

4. The sufferings of these Christians in Gaul cannot but be a disparagement to the emperor Marcus Antoninus. He could not be unacquainted with them, though he had not been applied to about them. But he was applied to. The governor wrote to him for direction. And he wrote back that 'they who confessed themselves Christians should be put to death; but that they who denied it might be set at liberty.' Certainly Marcus deserves to be put in the number of persecuting emperors. If he had only connived at the sufferings, (as he may have done in some places,) that would not exculpate him, when he might have restrained and forbid them by his imperial authority. But here is a rescript, with an order that all who, upon examination, confessed themselves to be Christians, 'should be put to death.' And such rescripts may have been sent by him to other governors, and to other provinces.

..... ἐπει δὲ δημοσίᾳ ἐκέλευεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν, καὶ καταδικάζειν πάντας ἡμᾶς. p. 156. D.
Hic finis suppliciorum in Lugdunensi provincia fuit, quæ mirum est, Marci Aurelii temporibus de innocentibus potuisse sumi, eâ tantum de causâ, quod

Ethnicorum sacra suscipere nollent....
Hæc ergo erit macula, quâ boni alias viri vita inusta, infamem eum, crudelis superstitionis causâ, omnibus seculis faciet, et philosophiæ Stoicæ contemptum merito creabit. Cleric. H. E. ann. 167. n. xv.

Some may think that ^z this emperor was hardened by the principles of his sect. Nevertheless, I think that will not fully account for his cruel treatment of the Christians: it was owing to want of equity to them; and he was a bigot to his religion, as well as to his philosophy; and he had been so from his childhood; for he could shew tenderness enough for some men. As Tillemont said some while ^b ago: 'there were many instances of mildness in the reign of this emperor, and very few of severity, excepting against the Christians, who the least deserved it.'

However, it must be owned that ⁱ the beginning of this persecution at Lyons was not owing to any new edicts, or to any express orders from the emperor; for when the president perceived that Attalus was a Roman citizen, he sent him back to those who were in prison, and wrote to the emperor for directions how to act toward those prisoners; and he deferred to proceed any farther till he had received an answer from him; which answer was such as we have just taken notice of. Indeed the persecutions in many places were very much owing to the clamours of the common people. So Eusebius, as we may remember, says in the preface to this fifth book of his Ecclesiastical History, and to his account of the persecutions in this reign: 'At ^k which time,' says he, 'the persecution against us raged with great violence in several parts of the world, through the enmity (or instigation) of the people.'

5. I presume it may be hence apparent that the emperor and the governor at Lyons were persuaded of the innocence of the Christians; or that they were not guilty of the crimes sometimes imputed to them by the credulous, ignorant, and spiteful vulgar. If they had believed that the Christians practised promiscuous lewdness in their assemblies, and that they killed and ate little children, they would not so readily have set at liberty all who renounced Christianity; which we see they did, or were willing to do. And with great regret they saw any who had once renounced Christianity return to the profession of it. It is manifest that they envied them the honour of it. Moreover, we plainly see, throughout this narrative, that they who suffered suffered as Christians. When Vettius Epagathus would have apologized for them, the governor refused to grant his request: and, upon his owning himself a Christian, he committed him to

^z Igitur tragice Christianos mori, non philosophice, censabat. Hinc etiam malis, quibus afficiebatur, parum movebatur, immo ex praescripto sectae, cui parebat, moveri nullo modo debebat. Mosheim. ubi supra. p. 246.

^b See before, p. 407. ⁱ Inde colligitur hanc persecutionem sine novis Imperatorum edictis motam esse. Ruinart. Acta Mart. sincera. p. 67. ^k αναρχισμὸς βίαιος τῶν κατὰ πόλιν διαγωγῶν αἰ ἐπιδεικνύσκει τὴν κατὰ τὰς πόλεις δριμύνην.... p. 153.

prison with this character, 'The advocate of the Christians.' The title carried before Attalus was: 'This is Attalus, the Christian.' Other things might be added to shew that the contest between the accusers and the accused was of a religious kind. Pothinus was asked by the governor, 'who was the God of the Christians.' And Attalus was asked, 'what was God's name.' When Blandina and Ponticus were brought in, they were required to swear by the heathen deities. And under their tortures they were again and again called upon to swear: that was all that was wanted; and they not complying, neither the governor, nor the multitude, had any compassion upon them. When the executions were over, the heathens insulted the bodies of the martyrs, and ascribed the victory, which they had obtained, to their deities. And they did all they could to defeat the hope of a resurrection, as knowing it to be a principle that had greatly contributed to the resolution and fortitude of the Christians under all the sufferings which they had seen them endure.

6. The fortitude of the Christians at Lyons was truly admirable and heroical. The sufferings set before them were very grievous. But neither death itself, nor all the preceding tortures inflicted upon them, could terrify them, or induce them to depart from their steadfastness. The number of these patient sufferers was very great. Many were suffocated in prison, none of whom are expressly mentioned by name, beside Pothinus. The mistress of Blandina was among the confessors or martyrs, but her name is not mentioned. Several Roman citizens were beheaded, as is expressly said in the narrative; but none of their names are mentioned. Attalus was a Roman citizen; but he had not the privilege of the city allowed him. Moreover, among the remains of the dead were heads and trunks of bodies, which must have been the remains of Roman citizens, no others having been put to death by separating the head from the body. Some gave way: but a great part of these afterwards recovered themselves, and made a right confession, in defiance of the sufferings by which they had been once terrified, and which they might now again justly expect: the rest were all along steadfast in their confession; and these were by much the majority of such as were publicly examined at the governor's tribunal.

The testimony of these men is very valuable: they are not such witnesses as the apostles, and others, who were eyewitnesses of Christ and his miracles; but they lived at a time when

¹ ἰδὼν μὲν τῶν ἀποτμηθεὶς κεφαλῆς τετελειωμένων· ἰδὼν δὲ τῶν θηρίων εἰσβόραν παραβέβηκτων· καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης κεκοιμημένων. Euseb. H. E. l. 5. cap. 4. p. 164.

the evidences of the truth of the Christian religion might be easily traced to the first original. Irenæus, now a presbyter in the church of Lyons, afterwards bishop of the same church, in his younger days was^m well acquainted with Polycarp, disciple of St. John. Pothinus, now bishop of Lyons, who was older than Irenæus, and now suffered martyrdom when he was ninety years of age, may be well supposed to have been acquainted with some of the first succession of bishops, or Christians, next after that of the apostles.

All these martyrs must have been firmly persuaded of the truth and divine original of the Christian religion, and all the principles of it. They had embraced it upon the ground of such evidence as appeared to them sufficient and satisfactory: and, as their enemies themselves saw and acknowledged ‘they preferred their religion above their lives.’ They believed, as they supposed upon good ground, that Jesus Christ was a divine teacher sent from God. They were, in particular, firmly persuaded of the truth of his doctrine concerning future rewards for the good, and punishments for the wicked, and were thereby engaged to the sincere profession of the truth, and the abhorrence of falsehood. Their knowledge of the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and their respect for them, are manifest from their frequent allusions to them, or quotations of^a them.

7. They seem to have had among them gifts of the Spirit. Eusebius says, ‘they were not destitute of the grace of God, and the Holy Ghost was their director.’ Of Alexander, the writers of this epistle say, ‘he was known to almost all men for his boldness in preaching the word; for he was not destitute of apostolic grace.’ They likewise say of Attalus, ‘that after his first combat it was revealed to him that Alcibiades did not do well in not using the creatures of God; and Alcibiades acquiesced, and thenceforward partook of all sorts of food promiscuously.’ And it may deserve to be considered that Attalus was a Roman citizen, and not a mean person. To me those expressions likewise appear remarkable, where they say of these confessors: ‘They demonstrated in fact the power of martyrdom, using great freedom of speech in all their answers to the Gentiles, and manifesting a greatness of mind in their patience, fearlessness, and undaunted courage, under all their sufferings.’ Certainly the Christian sufferers had the presence of God with

^m See vol. ii. p. 87....89.
chapter, vol. ii. p. 248....253.

^a Their testimony to the scriptures makes a distinct
them.

them. All men around them were adversaries; but God did not forsake them; he strengthened and supported them.

8. Finally, by the example of these patient and victorious confessors and martyrs, let us be animated and encouraged to steadiness in the cause of truth; humbly depending upon God, and earnestly praying that we may have strength from above, equal to the trials which we may meet with: for it is better to suffer for truth and virtue, though we should be put into the iron chair with Attalus, or be hung upon a stake like Blandina, than to be a persecuting judge upon a tribunal, or a persecuting emperor upon a throne.

What is above was intended for the conclusion of this article: but some may be of opinion that, to my own thoughts upon this subject, I ought to add the observations of that fine writer, and good Christian, Mr. Joseph Addison: 'Under this^o head,' says he, 'I cannot omit that which appears to me a standing miracle in the three first centuries; I mean that amazing and supernatural courage or patience which was shewn by innumerable multitudes of martyrs, in those slow and painful torments that were inflicted on them. I cannot conceive a man placed in the burning iron chair at Lyons, amidst the insults and mockeries of a crowded amphitheatre, and still keeping his seat; or stretched upon a grate of iron, over coals of fire, and breathing out his soul among the exquisite sufferings of such a tedious execution, rather than renounce his religion, or blaspheme his Saviour. Such trials seem to me above the strength of human nature, and able to overbear duty, reason, faith, conviction, nay, and the most absolute certainty of a future state. Humanity, unassisted in an extraordinary manner, must have shaken off the present pressure, and have delivered itself out of such a dreadful distress by any means that could have been suggested to it. We can easily imagine that many persons, in so good a cause, might have laid down their lives at the gibbet, the stake, or the block; but to expire leisurely among the most exquisite tortures, when they might come out of them, even by a mental reservation, or an hypocrisy, which is not without the possibility of being followed by repentance and forgiveness, has something in it so far beyond the force and natural strength of mortals, that one cannot but think that there was some miraculous power to support the sufferer.' So Mr. Addison.

^o Addison of the Christian religion. § vii. num. iv. p. 314.

SECT. III. A remarkable deliverance of this emperor in his wars in Germany, and the history of the Thundering Legion considered.

I. *A general account of the deliverance obtained by Marcus Antoninus in Germany, in the year 174.* II. *The account given by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, where that deliverance is ascribed to the prayers of a legion of Christians in the emperor's army.* III. *Observations upon that history.* IV. *A summary of the argument.*

I. THERE is yet one thing more relating to this emperor, which must be taken notice of. If, upon inquiry, it should appear to be of small importance, some may be of opinion that it might have been passed by in silence, or but slightly mentioned. On the other hand, since some have judged it to be of great moment, and there have been many controversies about it, in which learned men of great eminence on each side have been engaged, it may be justly supposed to deserve particular consideration.

When Marcus Antoninus was engaged in a difficult war with the Quadi, a people in Germany, in ^a the fourteenth year of his reign, and of our Lord 174, he was reduced to great straits, his army being in want of water. Whilst they were in that distress, there came a very seasonable and plentiful shower of rain, which refreshed him and his soldiers, and he obtained a victory over his enemies. This deliverance has been thought by many to have been miraculous, owing to the prayers of the Christians, who were in the Roman army. And it has been supposed that thereupon the emperor wrote a letter to the senate which was very favourable to the Christians.

II. I shall begin with reciting what Eusebius says of this matter in his Ecclesiastical History.

‘It ^b is said that, when Marcus Aurelius had drawn out his forces against the Germans and Sarmatians, his army was brought into a great strait by reason of drought, so that he knew not what course to take: that the soldiers of the legion, called the Melitenian Legion, which still subsists as a reward of their faith, when the armies were going to engage, falling down to the earth upon their knees, according to our usual custom in prayer, offered up requests to God: that the enemies were

^a Vid. Pagi ann. 174. n. ii. Bafnag. 174. n. i. &c. et Cleric. Hist. Ec. ann. 174.

^b λόγος, εχί. κ. λ. H. E. l. 5. c. 5. p. 169. &c.

‘greatly

greatly surpris'd at that wonderful fight; and that, as is^c said, there soon after followed a thing more wonderful, a violent lightning, which put the enemies to flight, and destroyed them; and also a shower, which fell upon that army which had prayed to God, and refreshed it when they were all ready to perish with thirst. This is related by such writers as are far from embracing our religion, but were concerned to record the events of those times: it is also related by our authors. By other writers who were averse to our religion the^d wonderful event is recorded: but they do not acknowledge that it was owing to the prayers of our people: but by our authors, who were lovers of truth, what happened is related in a plain and ingenuous manner. One of them is Apollinarius, who says, that from that time the legion, by whose prayers that wonderful deliverance was obtained, was by the emperor's order call'd in the Roman language, the Thunderbolt Legion, a name suited to the event. Tertullian is another witness worthy of credit; who, in his apology for our faith, address'd to the Roman senate in the Latin tongue, (of which we also before made mention) strongly confirms the truth of this history; saying, that there is still extant the letter of that worthy emperor Marcus, in which he testifies that, when his army was in great danger of perishing in Germany for want of water, it was saved by the prayers of the Christians. He likewise says that the same emperor threatened the punishment of death to such as should accuse them. But^f of these things let every one judge as he sees fit. We now proceed in the course of our history to other matters.

III. I now intend to make some observations for clearing up this history.

Obs. 1. It seems that Eusebius did not rely upon the truth of this history. For, as we have seen, he begins the account in this manner: 'It is said.' And in the end he leaves every one to judge of it as he sees good. A like observation has been already made by^g divers learned men.

Obs. 2. Eusebius quotes Apollinarius, as saying that, by

^c αλλο τι λογος εχει. p. 169. B.

^d τεθειται μεν το παραδοξον. p. 169. C.

^e κεραυτοβολον τη Ρωμαιων επικλη-
νται Φωγη. p. 169. D.

^f Αλλα ταυτα
μεν οση τις θελει τιθεσθω. Μετωμεν δε ημας
ετι των των εξης ακολουθειαν. Ib. p. 170. A. B.

^g Sed et verba, quibus totam hanc
narrationem concludit, satis indicant, ip-
sum de veritate rei dubitasse. Sic enim
ait: Αλλα ταυτα μεν οση τις θελη τι θεσθω.
Id est, sed de his quisque pro arbitrio suo

judicet. Vales. in loc. p. 93.

Equidem, si certum fuisset, et a legi-
one Christianorum advocatum fuisse im-
brem, et Marcus hoc scripsisse Senatui,
nunquam narrationi suae colophonem ejus-
modi imposuisset Eusebius: 'Sed his quif-
' que pro suo arbitratu statuat.' Indicio,
Eusebium ipsum ea de traditione dubitasse,
et si Tertulliani verba immutaret, omisso
forte adverbio, quod habet Tertullianus.
Bainag. ann. 174. n. viii.

Marcus's order, there was a legion called the thundering, or thunderbolt legion, in memory of the wonderful event here spoken of. But ^b he does not quote the words of Apollinarius, nor name the book in which he said it. And, moreover, it has been observed by learned men of late times that ⁱ there had been a legion with that denomination long before the times of Marcus Antoninus.

Obs. 3. Eusebius calls it the Melitenian legion, or the legion of Melitene, *της δε επι της Μελιτινης ετω καλυμενης λεγεωνος στρατιωτας*. If there was any legion so called it is likely that it had it's denomination from Melitene in Cappadocia, where the soldiers, of which it was composed, had been enlisted, or where it had resided. And it appears from writers of good authority that ^k the twelfth legion, called the thunderbolt legion, was sometimes quartered in Cappadocia. However, Valesius denies that ^l there was any legion called the Melitenian legion.

Obs. 4. Eusebius seems to have supposed that the legion, of which he speaks, consisted chiefly, or entirely, of Christians; whereas it is not easy to think so of any legion at that time. There ^m may have been Christian soldiers in Marcus's army: but it is altogether improbable that there should then have been an entire legion of Christians, or near it.

Obs. 5. Eusebius quotes Tertullian as of great weight in this matter. 'Tertullian,' says he, 'is another witness worthy of

^b Qui et in eo peccat, quod Apollinaris locum non protulit, nec librum ipsum, in quo hæc Apollinaris scripserat, indicavit. Vales. ib. Le premier de ceux qu' Eusebe allegue sur ce sujet est S. Apollinaire Evêque d'Hieraple, dont le temoignage est d'autant plus authentique, qu'il vivoit au même temps que ce miracle arriva. Mais il seroit à souhaiter, qu' Eusebe nous eût rapportée ses propres paroles. Tillem. L'Emp. M. Aurele. art. xvi.

ⁱ Jamdudum monuit Scaliger in Animadversionibus Eusebianis, legionem fulminatricem ab hoc miraculo cognominatam non fuisse, quippe quæ diu ante tempora M. Antonini ita vocata fuerit. Docet id manifeste Dio Cassius in libro 55, ubi legiones omnes enumerat. Vetus quoque inscriptio, a Scaligero probata, id ipsum confirmat. Quamobrem de ipso quidem miraculo pluvie a Christianis militibus impetratæ, et Apollinari et Tertulliano testantibus, facile credimus: legionem vero Melitinam ob id fulminatricem esse dictam a M. Antonino Imp. nondum mihi persuasit Apollinaris. Dicit fortasse aliquis,

fulminatricem quidem legionem fuisse ante tempora M. Antonini, sed Marcum ob acceptum a Melitina legione beneficium, ei quoque fulminatricis cognomen indidisse. Verum, si ita esset, secunda fulminatrix dici debuerat. Dio tamen nullam ejus mentionem facit, quamvis omnes legiones a superioribus principibus conscriptas accurate recenscat. Vales. ib.

^k Και το δωδεκατον το εν Καππαδοκια, το κερανοφορον. Dio. Cass. l. 55. p. 564. al. 795. Vid. ibid. annotata a Reimaro. Et conf. Gruter. p. cxciii. 3.

^l Itaque quod de Legione Melitina tradit Eusebius, parum mihi probabile videtur. Adde quod Rufinus hoc legionis nomen consulto, ut arbitrator, prætermisit: quippe qui nosset, Melitinam nomen esse oppidi minoris Armeniæ, in quo legio 12, fulminea, adhuc sua ætate prætenderet. Vales. ib. p. 92. Et Conf. Basn. ann. 174. n. v.

^m Cæterum ut ingenuè dicam quod sentio, parum mihi probabile videtur, totam legionem militum Romanorum eo tempore Christianam fuisse, quod tamen affirmare videtur Eusebius. Vales. ut sup.

credit: who, in his apology for our faith, addressed to the Roman senate in the Latin tongue, strongly confirms the truth of this history, saying that there is still extant the letter of that worthy emperor Marcus, in which he testifies that when his army was in great danger of perishing in Germany, for want of water, it was saved by the prayers of the Christians....'

Now I shall transcribe below ^a the passage of Tertullian from his Apology, in his own words.

In English they are to this purpose: 'Nero and Domitian have been our enemies. But among good emperors we can allege a patron. If the epistle of that worthy emperor Marcus Aurelius be sought for, it will perhaps be seen that he ascribes his deliverance from a great drought in the German war to the prayers of Christian soldiers.' I shall put below also ^o the account which we find in Eusebius's Chronicle, as we have it in Jerom's Latin translation. And now it will be proper to make some remarks upon what we have just seen.

1. Hence it seems that Eusebius chiefly relied upon Tertullian for the truth of this relation. He quotes him with the character of an author of good credit. He also mentions the name of his work, whereas he omits the title of the work of Apollinarius, to which he refers.

2. Eusebius never saw any letter of the emperor in which he ascribed his deliverance in Germany to the prayers of Christian soldiers. If he had met with it, he would have inserted it in his Ecclesiastical History. So ^p says the great Joseph Scaliger.

3. Nor had Tertullian seen any such letter. He does not say that he had seen it. And in the Latin original of Tertullian's Apology, and also as cited in the Latin edition of Eusebius's Chronicle, there is an unlucky *forte*, or 'perhaps:' wherein he seems to express a doubt whether the emperor did in his letter

^a At nos e contrario edimus protestorem. Si literæ Marci Aurelii gravissimi Imperatoris requirantur, quibus illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri discussam contestatur. Sicut non palam ab ejusmodi hominibus poenam dimovit, ita alio modo palam dispersit, adjecta etiam accusatoribus damnatione, et quidem tetriciore. Ap. cap. 5. p. 6. D.

^o Imperator Antoninus multis adversum se nascentibus bellis sæpe ipse intererat, sæpe duces nobilissimos destinabat: in quibus semel Pertinaci, et exercitui, qui cum eo in Quadorum regione pugnabat, sitis oppresso, pluvia divinitus missa est:

quum e contrario Germanos et Sarmatas fulmina persequerentur, et plurimos eorum interficerent. Exstant literæ M. Aurelii gravissimi Imperatoris, quibus illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri discussam contestatur. Euseb. Chron. p. 170.

^p Non igitur illam epistolam vidit, [Orosius,] non magis quam Tertullianus. Quinetiam ea non exstabat tempore Eusebii. Eam enim Græce a se conversam in sua Historia Ecclesiastica posuisset, quæ est ejus diligentia, nulla ejusmodi prætermittere, ne Latina quidem, quæ ipse convertere solet, ut multa ex Tertulliano. Scal. in Euseb. p. 222. fin.

to the senate expressly acknowledge that his deliverance in a time of great drought was owing to the prayers of Christians....quibus illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri discussam contestatur. This does not appear in Eusebius's Greek translation of Tertullian, which he inserts in his Ecclesiastical History....*ἐν αὐτῷ αὐτὸς μαρτυρεῖ...ταῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν εὐχαῖς στενωθῆαι*. Possibly some may think that we ought not to lay much stress upon this observation. Nevertheless, it must be allowed that if this *forte*, 'perhaps,' has no meaning, it comes in here very unhappily. Nor am I the first who have mentioned it. Basnage^a also supposeth it a proof that neither Tertullian, nor Jerom, who so allegeth it in the Chronicle, had seen the emperor's letter.

Before I proceed any farther, it may be observed that, in his book to Scapula, Tertullian speaks again of this matter, where he says: 'And^r Marcus Aurelius in a German war, where he was 'in danger by a great drought, obtained rain by the prayers 'which the Christian soldiers offered to God.' But here he says nothing of the emperor's letter.

We now proceed to some other observations.

Obs. 6. There is little notice taken of this event in the most ancient Christian writers.

It would be without reason for any to allege here so late writers as^s Nicephorus Callisti, and^t Zonaras. I now intend early writers of the second, third, and fourth century. If indeed Marcus Antoninus had obtained a signal deliverance in a hazardous war, and had acknowledged the benefit to be owing to the Christian soldiers in his army, we might expect to see particular notice taken of it in Christian apologies, and other writings of Christian authors, published not long afterwards. I allow that there is a reference to this story in one^u of Gregory Nyssen's homilies, near the end of the fourth century. But^x I think that if an heathen

^a Si Marci literæ existissent de impetrato a Christianis imbri, vix ac ne vix quidem magnum Eusebium in conquirendis ejusmodi monumentis diligentiam effugissent. Atqui in has literas Christianorum nemo est, qui se conjecisse oculos scripto prodiderit. Non Tertullianus, non Eusebius, immo non Hieronymus, cujus hæc verba sunt....Dixisset ne 'Christianorum forte militum precationibus,' si literas perlegisset? Siccine Marcus Senatui scripsit? Basnag. ann. 174. n. viii.

^r Marcus quoque Aurelius in Germanica expeditione Christianorum militum

orationibus ad Deum factis, imbres in siti illa impetravit. Ad Scap. c. iv. p. 87. D.

^s Niceph. Cal. l. 4. c. 12. p. 297, &c.

^t Zon. Ann. Tom. 2. p. 207.

^u De Quadr. Martyr. Or. 2. T. 3. p. 505.

^x Cum igitur ostensum sit, neque Romano in exercitu Christianam fuisse legionem, neque Marci animum id subisse cogitationis, quod a Christianis pluvia sit impetrata, consentaneum est, nullas Patribus Conscriptis a Marco literas datas esse, quibus hoc maximi beneficii Christianis ascriberet. Quæ res aliunde non pertenuibus patet argumentis. Post exhaustum bellum

then emperor and his army had obtained a very extraordinary deliverance by the prayers of Christian soldiers in the year of Christ 174, and he had ascribed it to their prayers in a letter to the senate, it would have been mentioned by many Christian writers, both Greek and Latin, before the end of the fourth century. This argument is largely insisted on by Basnage, whose words I have just now transcribed below. And this is also one of Mr. Moyle's arguments. It is his fifth proposition that 'the Christians' in general did not believe this miracle, notwithstanding the testimony of Apollinaris and Tertullian.'

'For this,' says he, 'no better argument can be alleged than the silence of all the Christian writers of the third century; not one of whom, except Tertullian, that I ever read or heard of, has made the least mention of this miracle. Is it possible that so signal a testimony in favour of Christianity could escape the knowledge and industry of so many able apologists as wrote after Tertullian? Could they have failed to urge so strong an argument against the heathens, as a miracle so publicly avouched and attested and owned, as is pretended, by imperial edicts? No other rational account can be given to this silence but that they gave no credit to the story, and were too wise to expose their religion to the scorn of the heathens by employing so mean an artifice to defend it.'

'Eusebius, though he has given a full relation of the miracle in all it's circumstances, yet it appears plainly, by the close of his narration, that he did not believe it, as Valesius rightly observes: so that the whole credit of this miracle rests on the authority of Apollinaris and Tertullian. As for the first, I know little of his character, his works, I think, being all lost. But it is remarkable that the only particular which is preserved of his relation is undoubtedly false. Tertullian wanted neither wit nor learning; but he must be allowed to be a very credulous writer, and an errant enthusiast.' So Mr. Moyle.

Obs. 7. Paulus Orosius, a Christian historian, who flourished not far from the beginning of the fifth century, and is placed by Cave at the year 416, gives a particular account of this emperor's

lum Marcomannicum scripta est Melitonis apologia, consorte jam imperii Commodi. Quo potius argumento uti Melito debuit, extinguendæ persecutioni, quam beneficio, quo Marcus a Christianis affectus fuerat, dum una cum exercitu pene siti conficiebatur? Quod tamen argumenti non attulit.... At immerito negatur, Athenagoræ apologiam Marcomannico bello fu-

isse posteriorem. Quid, meminitne Athenagoras pluvix a Christianis impetratæ, ut eo beneficio Marci in memoriam revocato, miseris undique vexatis, bevevolentiam conciliaret? At qui certe certoque meminisset. Immo ea de re scriptas ad Senatum literas memorasset. Basnag. ann. 174. n. vii. y Moyle's Works.

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war

war with the Marcomans, Quadians, and other people in Germany. He says that 'the ^z Roman army was in a great strait, and 'likely to be overpowered by the enemy, and that the greatest 'danger was owing to a drought which oppressed the Romans; 'that by the prayers of a few and illiterate soldiers, who openly, 'and with a lively faith, invoked the name of Christ, a plentiful shower was obtained from heaven, by which Antoninus's 'army was refreshed; at the same time lightning and hail fell 'upon the Germans, by which they were greatly annoyed, and 'many of them were killed: whereupon the Romans fell upon 'them, and cut them almost all off, and gained a very glorious 'victory. And it is said that there still is in the hands of many 'persons a letter of the emperor Antoninus, in which he acknowledged that the drought was removed, and the victory 'obtained, by means of an invocation made of the name of 'Christ by Christian soldiers.'

Whence it is evident that Orosius had never seen such a letter of Marcus Antoninus. And it may be argued that there was not then extant any such letter: for, if there had, Orosius, a learned and inquisitive man, and a writer of history, would not have failed to procure it. It is also very observable that Orosius mentions not any legion by name, neither the Melitenian legion, nor the thunderbolt legion. Nor do any such expressions proceed from him as should lead us to think there was then a legion of Christians in Marcus's army. Nay, he plainly supposeth that they were few in number. Finally, We may from all these particulars be disposed to think that Orosius took the account entirely from Tertullian; for he omits divers things which are in Eusebius. And there is a great resemblance in their expressions; both say the ^a drought was removed 'by the prayers of Christian soldiers.'

Tertullian

^z Hoc quidem bellum [Marcomanicum] providentia Dei administratum fuisse, cum plurimis argumentis, tum præcipue epistolâ gravissimâ ac modestissimâ Imperatoris apertissime declaratum est. Nam cum insurrexissent gentes inmanitate barbaræ, multitudine innumerabiles, hoc est, Marcomanni, Quadi, Vandali, Sarmatæ, Suevi, atque omnis tunc Germania, et in Quadorum usque fines progressus exercitus, circumventusque ab hostibus, propter aquarum penuriam, præsentius sitis quam hostis periculum sustineret: ad invocationem nominis Christi, quam subito magna fidei constantiâ quidam milites effusi in preces palam fecerunt, et tanta vis pluvie effusa est, ut Ro-

manos quidem largissime, ac sine injuria refecerit, barbaros autem crebris fulminum ictibus perterritos, præsertim cum plurimi eorum occiderentur, in fugam coegerit. Quorum terga Romani usque ad internecionem cædentes gloriosissimam victoriam et omnibus pene antiquorum titulis præferendum, rudi parvoque militum numero, sed potentissimo Christi auxilio, reportarunt. Existare etiam nunc apud plebsque dicuntur literæ Imperatoris Antonini, ubi invocatione nominis Christi per milites Christianos, et sitim depulsam, et collatam fatetur fuisse victoriam. Oros. l. 7. cap. 15.

^aquibus illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum precationibus ...dis.

Tertullian^b calls Antoninus 'a worthy emperor;' so does Orosius in the same or like words. And they both speak at the same time with a like assurance, and a like diffidence and uncertainty about the emperor's letter, which neither of them had seen.

Obf. 8. Undoubtedly Marcus Antoninus sent a letter to the senate of Rome, giving an account of his deliverance, and of the victory which he had obtained over the Quadians, and others in Germany: which letter, as is^c reasonably supposed, was written in the Latin tongue; but we do not meet with any ancient authors who appear to have seen it.

However,^d there is extant a letter, both in Greek and Latin, which I shall now produce in an English version, without being very solicitous about exactness in my translation: it is to this purpose.

'The emperor Cæsar, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Germanicus, Parthicus, Sarmaticus, high-priest....to the people of Rome, and to the sacred senate greeting. I gave you an account of the greatness of the enterprize which I had undertaken, and what great difficulties came upon me in Germany; how I was surrounded and besieged in the midst of it, and afflicted with heat and weariness: at which time I was overtaken at Carnutum by seventy-four regiments, who were not more than nine miles off from us. Now when the enemy was come near us, our spies gave us notice of it: and Pompeianus, my general, informed me also of what I knew before. In our army we had only the first, the tenth, the double, and the Fretensian legions, to contend with an innumerable company of barbarians. When I had computed my own numbers with those of the enemy, I addressed our gods in prayer: but not being regarded by them, and, considering the distress we were in, I called for those whom we call Christians; and upon examination I found that they were a great multitude, at which I was much displeased, though I should not have been so; for afterwards I understood how powerful they are. For which reason they began, not by preparing their darts, or other weapons, or their trumpets, inasmuch as such things are disagreeable to them

...discussam...Tertull. Ubi invocatione nominis Christi, per milites Christianos, et sitim depulsam, &c. Oros.

^b Si literæ Marci Aurelii gravissimi Imperatoris requirantur. Tertull. ... tum præcipue epistolâ gravissimi ac modestissimi Imperatoris. Oros. ^c ... Latine scilicet, quarum meminit Tertullianus,

cap. quinto Apolog. Non enim aliâ linguâ, quam Latinâ, ad Senatum scribebat. Scalig. in Euseb. p. 222. fin.

^d Ad calcem Justini Mart. Ap. i. al. ii. Vid. et Fabr. Lex Evang. p. 228. et Fr. Balduin. Edict. Prin. Roman. de Christianis. p. 87.

‘on account of God, whom they bear in their consciences: for
 ‘it is reasonable to believe that they, whom we call atheists, have
 ‘God within them for a bulwark. As soon therefore as they
 ‘had cast themselves down upon the ground, they prayed, not
 ‘for me only, but also for the whole army, for relief under our
 ‘great thirst and hunger. For it was the fifth day that we had
 ‘no water, because there was none in that place. For we were
 ‘in the midst of Germany surrounded by their mountains. But
 ‘as soon as they had cast themselves upon the ground, and prayed
 ‘to a God, who was unknown to me, water came down from
 ‘heaven immediately. Upon us it was very cool, but upon our
 ‘enemies it was fierce hail. And immediately after their prayers
 ‘we found God to be present with us, as one that is impregna-
 ‘ble and invincible. Beginning here therefore, let us permit
 ‘these men to be Christians, lest they should pray for the like
 ‘weapons against us and obtain them. And I declare that no
 ‘man who is a Christian is to be called in question as such.
 ‘And if any man accuse a Christian, because he is a Christian,
 ‘I declare that the Christian who is accused may appear openly;
 ‘and that if he confesseth himself to be so, but sheweth that he
 ‘is accused of no other crime but that he is a Christian, let his
 ‘accuser be burnt alive. And as to him that confesseth himself
 ‘to be a Christian, and gives full evidence of the same, let not
 ‘the governor of the province oblige him to renounce his reli-
 ‘gion, nor deprive him of his liberty. I will that this be con-
 ‘firmed by the decree of the senate. And I command that this
 ‘my edict be set up in Trajan’s forum, that it may be read by
 ‘all. Vitrusius Pollio, præfect of the city, will take care that it
 ‘be sent into the provinces. Nor is any one, who desires to have
 ‘it and make use of it, to be hindered from taking a copy of
 ‘this our edict which is publicly set up by me. Farewell.’

Upon this letter Joseph Scaliger^e made such critical remarks
 as have quite disparaged it in the opinion of most learned men.
 Even they who are willing to assert the miraculous deliverance
 of the emperor’s army, and that it was obtained by the prayers of
 Christians, give up^f this letter as spurious. The Greek letter,

^e Nam illa epistola, quæ nomine Marci Aurelii Antonini super hac re ad calcem Apologetici posterioris apud Justinum legitur, tantum abest ut ab ipso Imperatore Græce dictata, aut ex Latino ipsius in Græcum sermonem translata sit, ut infra seculum Justiniani Imp. ab imperitissimo Græculo confictam fuisse manifeste appareat. &c. Jos. Scaliger. in Euseb. p. 222, 223. Conf. Salmaf. in notis ad Capitolin.

Marc. Antonin. cap. 24.

^f Habetur harum Marci literarum ad Senatum exemplar apud Justinum, ad calcem Apologiæ secundæ: sed ejus falsitatem et suppositionem, tum etiam novitatem, quod Justiniano recentius sit, tot argumentis approbaverunt viri eruditi, criticæ artis principes, Josephus Scaliger, et Salmafius, ut nihil contra opponi possit. Huet. Dem. Evang. Prop. 3. p. 40.

as Scaliger says, was not composed before the sixth century. And it is generally thought that the Latin edition of the same letter is taken from the Greek, and is not more authentic.

Without alleging here any abstruse critical observations, it must be obvious to all that an edict so favourable to the Christians could not come from Marcus Antoninus, in whose reign, from the beginning to the end of it, the Christians were persecuted in some of the provinces by the tumults of the people, and put to death by governors, without any control from this emperor. And there were some edicts, or orders of his, particularly in Gaul and Asia, for putting them to death.

And if this letter had been set up in Trajan's forum at Rome in the time of Marcus Antoninus, and had been sent to all governors of provinces, with leave also for men to read it, and to take copies from those which were published by authority, copies of this letter would have been very common among Christians; whereas we cannot now find that it was seen by any of them in the second, or third, or fourth, or even fifth, century.

Obs. 9. Eusebius, in the passage above transcribed, says that the heathen historians of those times had mentioned this extraordinary event, but did not acknowledge it to be owing to the prayers of Christians. We cannot say who are the heathen writers intended by him: but I shall now take notice of such as we have.

1. Dion Cassius flourished at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century, not finishing his history long before the year 230. Of Marcus Antoninus's wars in Germany he writes to this purpose: ' Marcus ^h therefore, having met with many difficulties, subdued the Marcomans and Jazugæ; after ⁱ which he had war with the Quadians, and obtained a wonderful victory over them, or rather had it given him by God; for, when the Romans were in great danger, the Divine Being delivered them in a very wonderful manner. The Quadians having surrounded them in a place that was much to their advantage, the Romans fought very valiantly; at the same time the barbarians relaxed the combat, expecting to see them wasted by heat and drought. They therefore carefully secured every place around them, that they might come at no water: which

² Non dissimulabimus tamen, a viris doctis esse productum exemplar Latinum hujus epistolæ, quasi e Bibliotheca Vaticana, quod paullo melius conceptum videtur. Sed tamen, si propius inspicatur, fatis liquebit, e Græca epistola supposita translatum fuisse. Cleric. H. E. ann. 174.

num. xvii. ^h Dio. Cass. l. 71. p. 805, 806. al. p. 1182, 1183.

ⁱ ...και πολεμος αυτω συνεση μεγας' και νικη παραδοχος εν τυχηθη, πολλοι δε παρα Θειη ιδωρηθη. Κινδυνευσαντας γαρ εν τη μαχη της Ρωμαϊκας παραδοξατα το Θεω εξεσωσι. p. 1182.

was easily done by them, as they were much superior in number. The Romans were then in a great strait, wounded, and fatigued with labour, oppressed with the heat of the sun, and with thirst: and for that reason neither able to fight nor to escape. They only stood still in their ranks consumed with heat. On a sudden there appeared a gathering of clouds, which was soon followed, not without divine appointment, with a plentiful shower of rain. For it is said that Arnuphis, an Egyptian magician, who was present with Marcus, invoked the aerial Mercury, and other dæmons, with magical rites.

Upon which Xiphilinus, a Christian author of the eleventh century, who abridged Dion, says: 'So this affair is related by Dion. But he lies, as seems to me, either knowingly and wilfully, or through ignorance. But I rather think wilfully. And how should it be otherwise? For he was not unacquainted with the legion of soldiers, called the thunderbolt legion, which himself has mentioned in his catalogue of the other legions. Nor has it been ever said that it obtained that denomination for any other reason than upon account of what happened in that war; when it was the cause of deliverance to the Romans, and of destruction to the barbarians, and not Arnuphis the magician. Nor is it any where related that Marcus was fond of magicians, or their tricks. The truth is this: Marcus had a legion, the soldiers of which were brought from Melitene, and were all Christians. At that time the præfect of the prætorium, being in great perplexity, and apprehensive of the loss of the whole army, is said to have come to the emperor, telling him that there is nothing which Christians are not able to perform by prayers, and that there was in the army a whole legion of that sort of men. When Marcus heard that, he desired them to pray to their God: when they prayed, God immediately heard them, and beat down their enemies with lightning, and refreshed the Romans with rain. At which Marcus, being greatly astonished, favoured the Christians with an edict, and ordered that the legion should be called the thundering legion. It is also said that there is an epistle of Marcus concerning these things. The Gentiles know very well, and bear witness, that there is a legion with that name, but they do not mention the reason of it.

And now Dion proceeds again: 'When the rain began to fall,' says he, 'all, looking up, at first received it in their

^kεἰς πολλὰ ἐξαιφνης συνεδραμε, καὶ νετὸς πολὺς οὐκ ἀβέβη καταρραγε. p. 1183.

^l Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν τινὰ περὶ τούτων εἶναι τοῦ Μάρκου. p. 1184.

' mouths.

‘mouths. Afterwards they caught it, some in their shields, others in their helmets: out of which they drank greedily, and also gave to their horses to drink. And when the barbarians fell upon them they drank and fought at the same time: and some who were wounded drank water and blood together, which fell from their wounds into their helmets. And indeed they would have suffered greatly from the enemies who attacked them, when the greatest part of the army were employed in satisfying their thirst, if a violent storm of hail, with lightning, had not fallen upon them; so that at the same time, and in the same place, might be seen water and fire coming down from heaven; whereby some were refreshed with drink, and others were burnt and consumed. Nor did the fire reach the Romans: or if it did it was presently extinguished. Nor did the rain help the barbarians, but rather increased the flame, like oil: so that, though they were rained upon, they called for water: and some wounded themselves, that they might put out the fire with blood; and others went over to the Romans, as being the only people who had wholesome water; wherefore Marcus had pity upon them. And he was, for the seventh time, proclaimed emperor by the soldiers. And, though he had not been wont to admit such a thing to be done before it had been decreed by the senate, he did not refuse it now, it seeming to come from heaven. About this he wrote to the senate, and Faustina was declared mother of the camps.’

So writes Dion Cassius. We may therefore rely upon it that Marcus Antoninus was in a great strait, and was delivered, and obtained a victory over the Quadians. And from the pompous style of Dion upon this occasion it may be inferred, that the heathen people were very willing to magnify this event, and the circumstances of it, as very extraordinary.

Dion, in his account of this matter, above quoted, writes: ‘For it is said that Arnuphis, an Egyptian magician, who was present with Marcus, invoked the aerial Mercury, and other demons, with magical rites.’ I therefore shall observe that, in Suidas, the article of Arnuphis is in these words: ‘He was an Egyptian philosopher, who, being present with Marcus the philosopher, emperor of the Romans, when the Romans laboured under a great drought, is said to have caused a gathering of black clouds, which on a sudden poured down great rain with thunder and lightning. This^m Arnuphis is said to have ef-

^m Και τετο σοφία την εργασασθαι Αρνυφιν. Οι δε φασιν Ιελιανον τον Χαλδαιον τετο πει-
τασθαι το θαυμασιον. Suid. V. Αρνυφης.

‘fected by a certain art. Others say it was Julian, a Chaldean, ‘who performed this wonderful work.’ For whom likewise Suidas has another article, which may be consulted by such as are curious.

There is no need to make many remarks upon Xiphilinus, after what has been already said upon the passage of Eusebius. Notwithstanding what is said by him, learned men are persuaded that before this time there was a legion called the thunderbolt legion, from a thunderbolt engraved upon the soldiers shields. Xiphilinus also supposeth that there was in Marcus’s army a whole legion of Christians: which, as before shewn, is very unlikely. He also says that after this, ‘Marcus published an edict favourable to the Christians:’ which we are not assured of. He likewise adds: ‘It is said there is an epistle of Marcus concerning ‘these things.’ Nevertheless, Xiphilinus had not seen that letter, or did not think it authentic, or to his purpose; as is evident from his manner of speaking.

2. Julius Capitolinus, one of the writers of the Augustan History, who flourished near the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century, in his Life of Marcus Antoninus the philosopher, says: ‘When ⁿ his army was in a great strait, and in ‘danger of perishing by thirst, he by his prayers obtained ‘from heaven lightning against his enemies, and rain for his ‘own people.’

3. Ælius Lampridius, another of those writers, who also flourished about the same time, in his Life of Antoninus Heliogabalus, is supposed to refer to the same thing in a passage which ^e I place below without translating it.

4. Themistius, in an oration spoken in the year 381, and the third of Theodosius, ascribes the victory now under consideration to the piety and prayers of Antoninus. ‘When ^p that emperor’s army was much incommoded by a drought, lifting up ‘his hands to heaven he said: “By this hand, which has taken “no life away, I desire to appease thee, and I pray to thee the “giver of life.” With which the deity was so well pleased that ‘the clouds presently poured down rain upon the soldiers. I

ⁿ Fulmen de cœlo precibus suis contra hostium machinamentum extorsit, suis pluvia impetrata, quum siti laborarent. Capit. Marc. A. Phil. cap. 24.

^e Quum Marcomannis bellum inferre vellet, quos Antoninus pulcherrime protigaverat, dictum est a quibusdam, per Chaldeos et magos Antoninum Marcum ad egisse, ut Marcomanni P. R. semper de-

voti essent atque amici, idque factis carminibus et consecratione. Lampr. Anton. Heliog. cap. 9.

P...ανασχων τη χειρι ο βασιλευς προς τον θρανον, ταυτη φησιν τη χειρι προειρησαμην σε, και ικετευσα τον ζωης δετητας, η ζωην εκ αφιλομην. Και ετω κατηδεσε τον θεον τη ευχη, ως εξαυθρας ελεγον νεφελαι υδροφερσαι τοις στρατιωταις. κ.λ.λ. Them. Or. 15. p. 191.

‘have

‘ have seen a representation of this event, in which was the emperor praying at the head of his army, and the soldiers receiving the rain in their helmets, and refreshing themselves with drink that was the gift of heaven. Of so great advantage is the virtue of a prince to his subjects.’

So speaks Themistius in an oration to a Christian emperor. He ascribes all to the virtues and prayers of Antoninus, without any the least notice of the Christians. He seems to refer to the Columna Antoniana: though we do not observe in that sculpture the emperor standing at the head of his army, as here intimated.

5. The poet Claudian, in his panegyric of the sixth consulate of Honorius, in the year 404, speaking of the victory of Marcus Antoninus over the Quadians, says: ‘ It was not owing to the valour or conduct of the generals: the glory of this victory must be given by the Romans to heaven. There was a flaming shower which fell upon the enemies, and put to flight them and their horses: whether it was owing to Chaldæan magicians, who by their incantations brought the gods to the assistance of the Romans; or whether the piety of the emperor Marcus, as I rather think, engaged the favour of Jupiter the thunderer on their side.’

So he also, without taking any notice of the Christians.

Eusebius, as we may remember, said: ‘ By other writers, who were averse to our religion, the wonderful event is recorded; but they do not acknowledge that it was owing to the prayers of our people.’ Which indeed is true of all those heathen writers which we now have. One of whom, Dion Cassius, is older than Eusebius: but we cannot certainly say that Eusebius ever saw him.

Obs. 10. ‘ Antoninus never ascribed this miracle to the prayers of the Christians.’

That is Mr. Moyle’s third observation, upon which he enlargeth in this manner: ‘ Had this miracle been publicly owned

¶ Clemens, Marce, redis, cum gentibus undique cincta
Exiit Hesperiam paribus Fortuna periclis.
Laus ibi nulla ducum. Nam flammeus imber in hostem
Decidit. Hunc dorso trepidum flammante ferebat
Ambustus Sonipes: hic tabescente solutus
Subsidit galea, liquefactaque fulgure cuspis
Canduit, et subitis fluxere vaporibus enses.
Tunc contenta polo mortalis nescia teli
Pugna fuit. Chaldæa mago seu carmina ritu
Armavere Deos: seu, quod reor, omne Tonantis
Obsequium Marci mores potuere mereri.

Claudian. de Sexto Conf. Honor. ver. 340, &c

¶ Vol. 2. p. 91.

G g 2

‘ by

‘by the emperor, and ascribed by him to the prayers of the Christians, it is incredible that all the pagan historians should with one consent conspire to disown it in their writings, as Eusebius confesses they did. See Dio. Cass. l. 71. p. 805. Capitolin. in Antonin. cap. 24. the nameless authors cited by Suidas in *Apud Phil.* Nor would Themistius [de regia virtute ad Theod.] and Claudian [in vi. Conf. Honor.] have dared to ascribe the honour of it to heathen gods, in panegyrics to Christian emperors.’

‘That Antoninus thought himself obliged to his own gods for this miracle, we have a testimony beyond exception in his own pillar, which is still extant at Rome; of which I have seen a cut in Baronius’s Annals, to whom I refer you for farther satisfaction. The same is confirmed by a medal in the French king’s cabinet, published by Morelli, which was struck the very year in which this miracle is said to be wrought, viz. 174. On one side is the head of Antoninus crowned with laurel: on the reverse is a mercury with this inscription: Religio Augusti. Which exactly agrees with Dion’s account of the miracle.’

A like cut or print of the sculpture, or bas relief, in Antoninus’s pillar, may be seen in Havercamp’s edition of Tertullian’s apology, and in Colonia. Where is Jupiter Pluvius, the giver of rain, sending down rain and thunder and lightning; by which the soldiers on one side are refreshed, and the others annoyed and terrified.

And Montfaucon, in his Antiquities, has exhibited an exact representation of this Jupiter. I shall transcribe him in his own words: ‘Jupiter, giver of rain, was honoured by the Athenians,

‘At the top of the sculpture, to which Mr. Moyle refers, appears Jupiter Pluvius, sending down rain and lightning upon the two armies. Says Baronius: Visitur adhuc in ea [Antonini columna] imago expressa rei gestæ: sed iis plane signis, ut Jovis, imbres dantis, et illis fulgura admiscens, representet effigiem: quam ex eâ graphice incisam, hac tibi formâ exprimendam curavimus. Baron. Ann. 176. num. xxiii.

‘Colon. Tom. i. ch. vii. p. 110.

‘Jupiter Le Pluvieux, Pluvius, appelée par les Grecs Ζεύς ομβριος, et par Lucien Ὀρέας, étoit honoré par les Athéniens, qui lui avoient dressé un autel sur le mont Hymette. Nous le donnons d’une manière bien extraordinaire, tel qu’il est représentée dans la Colonne Antonine. C’est un veillard à longue barbe, qui a des ailes, et qui tient les deux bras étendus, et

la main droite un peu élevée. L’eau sort à grands flots des ses bras, et de sa barbe. Les soldats Romains de l’armée de M. Aurele, que la sécheresse et la soif avoient réduits à une extrême nécessité, reçoivent cette eau dans les creux de leurs boucliers. Les Romains plongez encore dans le Paganisme, attribueront ce prodige à leur Jupiter Pluvieux. Mais ce furent, dit avec plus de raison Baronius dans ses Annales, les soldats Chrétiens, qui obtinrent cette pluie, qui sauva l’armée. L’Antiquité Expliquée Tom. i. Liv. 2. ch. iii. Pl. xiii. à la p. 44. The concluding words of the Latin, in Montfaucon, are these: Romani multiplicium numinum errore adhuc obruti id prodigii Jovi Pluvio adscriperunt. At Baronius in Annalibus aquam a militibus Christianis a Deo impetratam affirmat.

‘who

‘who erected an altar to him on the hill Hymettus. We give an extraordinary figure of him as he is represented in the pillar of Antoninus. It is that of an old man with a long beard, who has wings: [the wings are upon the upper part of the arms:] with two arms stretched out, the right hand raised somewhat higher than the other. The water flows in large streams from his arms, and from his beard. The Roman soldiers in Marcus’s army, whom the drought and thirst had reduced to the utmost extremity, receive the water in the hollow of their shields. The Romans, still plunged in paganism, ascribed this prodigy to their Jupiter Pluvius. But they were, as Baronius with more reason says, the Christian soldiers who obtained this rain, which saved this army.’

So says Montfaucon, overpowered, as it seems, by the authority and credulity of his church.

Obf. 11. I must be allowed to add, that other like things are recorded in the Roman history. One instance is mentioned as happening in the time of the emperor Claudius, in the year of Rome 795, of Christ 42. ‘The * Moors had rebelled, and were reduced by Suetonius Paullinus, a man of prætorian rank, [several times mentioned by Tacitus upon account of his government and successes in Britain,] who wasted their country as far as Mount Atlas.... There being fresh disturbances in that country afterwards, Cneius Hosidius, a man of the like rank, made an expedition against them, and obtained several victories over their general Salabus. The Moors fled into a sandy country. And Hosidius pursued them with a part of his army; having beforehand furnished himself with such supplies of water as he was able to get. But when that was spent he was reduced to great straits, the barbarians being better able to endure thirst than the Romans, and being also better acquainted with the places where water might be had. It was impossible for the Romans to proceed; nor was it easy for them to retreat, so that they knew not what course to take. At that time an inhabitant of the country, who was friendly to the Romans, came to Hosidius, and advised him to make use of magical incantations; assuring him that, by that means, he had often obtained rain. The Roman general having followed that advice,

* Dion. l. 60. p. 670, 671. al. p. 947, 948. y Vid. Tacit. Ann. l. 14. cap. 29. et alibi.

z Τοις δὲ ὁν Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ τῶν ἐναντιῶν, ἀδύνατον μὲν προχωρεῖν, χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ ὑπομένειν τὴν ἀπορροήν οὐκ αὐτῶν οὐ, τὴν χερσὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐκπορεύουσαν τὴν ὕδωρ.

σκοπῶν, ἐπὶ τῶν τε τοῖσι καὶ μαγγανίαις χρῆσασθαι, λέγων, πολλάκις σφισιν ἐκ τῆ τοιαύτης πολὺ ὕδωρ δεδοσθαι. Καὶ αὐτῶν παραχρημα τοσούτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐρρη, ὥς καὶ αὐτοὶ διψῶς ἐξαισθῆσαι, καὶ τῆς πολεμικῆς προσκαταπαύσασθαι, νομίσαντας τὸ θεῖον οὐ ἐπικουρεῖν. p. 948.

‘there fell on a sudden great quantities of rain, which refreshed the Romans, and terrified their enemies. For they concluded that the gods favoured them. They therefore submitted, and accepted of the terms of peace proposed to them.’ So ^a writes Dion Cassius.

There was another like shower in the contention between Niger and Septimius Severus, particularly in the last and decisive action, as related also by Dion Cassius. ‘For ^b a while,’ he says, ‘the battle was fought with doubtful, and almost equal, success. Afterwards the army of Niger, by the superiority of their numbers and the advantage of the situation, prevailed very considerably, and the victory had been complete, were it not that on a sudden, when the sky was clear, nor a puff of wind blowing, there appeared clouds, and a violent shower of rain followed, with terrible thunder and lightning, which beat upon the faces of Niger’s men. At the same time the army of Severus was not at all annoyed, as the storm was at their backs. This circumstance animated the army of Severus, esteeming themselves favoured by the Deity. But the army of Niger was dispirited, and gave way, thinking that heaven fought against them. In a short time the victory became complete: and not less than twenty thousand men were slain on the side of Niger.’ So writes Dion ^d again. But I do not here see any notice taken of magical incantations. The storm therefore happened in the usual course of nature; though it was sudden and unexpected, (as such things frequently are) and it was favourable to the army of Severus. This is supposed to have happened in the year of Rome 947, of Christ 194.

I add no more observations.

IV. It may be reasonably expected that this long argument should be now summed up, and reduced to some propositions. This summary shall be now made according to the sentiments, and almost in the very words, of the late ^e Mr. Mosheim.

1. ‘In the first place, It is certain that, in the war with the Quadians and Marcomanni in Germany, Marcus, with his army, was in a great danger. Marcus was a better philosopher than emperor: nor could he learn the art of war from the writings of the stoics. And his imminent danger from the enemy may be imputed to his own imprudence.’

^a Loco citato. Vid. et Basnag. Ann. 42. num. i.

^b Dion. lib. 74. p. 843. al. p. 1248, 1249.

^c Και παντελως εκρατησαν, ου μη νεφη εξ αιθρας, και ανεμος εκ ινεμειας, εβροται τε σκληραι και αστραραι οξειαι μηδ’

υιτε λαβρε κατα προσωπων αυτοις περιπι-
σον. κ. λ. p. 1249.

^d L. cit. et Conf. Basnag. ann. Ch. 194. num. iii.

^e Mosh. de Rebus Christianor. ante Constant. M. sec. 2. § xvii. p. 248....253.

2. 'It is also certain that he was unexpectedly delivered out of that great danger by a shower of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning, and obtained a victory.'

3. 'Farther, It is certain that not only the Christians, but also the emperor and the Romans, ascribed that shower, the great cause of their deliverance and victory, not to the ordinary course of nature, but to an extraordinary interposition of the divine power: they to the true God and their own prayers; these to Jove or Mercury. This we learn from the Roman authors, Dion Cassius, Capitolinus, Claudian, and Themistius, and especially from the pillar at Rome, set up by Marcus, and still remaining, in which Jupiter, the giver of rain, is represented refreshing the almost-expiring Roman soldiers by a plentiful shower of rain.'

4. 'There may have been many Christian soldiers in Marcus's army. If there were, it may be taken for granted that, in the time of the danger, they offered up prayers to God for deliverance: and that afterwards they also gave thanks to God for it; and when they sent an account of it to their Christian brethren, they let them know how great advantages God had vouchsafed to their prayers. Hence it is easy to suppose that a rumour prevailed, and was also firmly believed, that the Romans had been miraculously saved by the prayers of the Christians.'

5. 'It is false, though supported by the authority of Apollinaris and Eusebius, that there was a whole legion of Christian soldiers in Marcus's army. Consequently, there is no reason to believe that, when this imminent danger appeared, these soldiers drew up in a body, and falling down upon their knees presented prayers to God; and that immediately, before their prayers were over a shower, with lightning and thunder, came down from heaven.'

6. 'It is not true that Marcus ascribed the safety of himself and army to that legion, and thereupon honoured it with the name of the thundering legion. Scaliger, and Henry Valefius, and other learned men, have shewn that the thundering legion is older than the times of Marcus, and did not take it's denomination from this event. But some Christian, little acquainted with the military affairs of the Romans, having heard that there was such a legion, concluded, without reason, that it had derived it's name from thunder and lightning, obtained by the prayers of Christians, and then propagated his groundless imagination, which was received as true by too many, without examination, as is common in such cases.'

7. 'That Marcus did not think that he owed his safety to the favour which the Christians were in with God, is manifest from the pillar set up at Rome, with his consent and approbation, in which Jupiter is acknowledged to be the deliverer of the Romans.'

8. 'Consequently, all that is said of Marcus's public letter, written at that time, in which he is supposed to have extolled the piety of the Christians, and to have restrained their enemies and accusers, is entirely without foundation.'

'The letter which we now have, and is generally placed at the end of one of Justin Martyr's apologies, is allowed, even by the defenders of the miracle of the thundering legion, to have in it manifest tokens of spuriousness, and to be the work of a man unskilful in Roman affairs, and who probably lived in the seventh century.'

'But since Tertullian, in the fifth chapter of his Apology, makes mention of such a letter of Marcus, many are of opinion that in his time it was really in being, but has been since lost, through the injury of time. 'On the other hand,' says Tertullian, 'we can allege a protector, as may appear, if the letter of Marcus Aurelius, a most worthy emperor, be sought for, in which he acknowledgeth the remarkable drought in Germany to have been removed by a shower, obtained perhaps by the prayers of Christian soldiers.' Nevertheless this testimony of Tertullian is weakened, and even overthrown, by divers considerations. I forbear, says Mr. Mosheim, to insist here upon the word 'per-haps;' whence some learned men have argued that Tertullian himself doubted of this miracle, or that he had not seen the emperor's letter. For to me it appears clear that it does not relate to Tertullian, but to the emperor and his letter. The meaning of what he says is this: that Marcus did not openly confess and declare that the shower was obtained by the prayers of Christian soldiers, but spoke doubtfully, 'that perhaps this great benefit was owing to the prayers of the Christians.' This I pass by. But there are two other considerations by which this testimony is absolutely enervated and overthrown. First of all, what Tertullian says of the design of the emperor's letter, if I am not

'At nos, ait Tertullianus, e contrario edimus protectorem. Si literæ Marci Aurelii gravissimi Imperatoris requirantur, quibus illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri discussum contestatur. Ap. cap. 5. § Manifesto nimirum pertinet, non ad Tertullianum, verum ad Impera-

tozem, ejusque epistolam, sensusque orationis hic est: Marcum non aperte fateri ac decernere, imbrem militum Christianorum supplicationibus impetratum esse, verum dubitanter loqui, atque significare, forte magnum hoc beneficium Christianorum precibus deberi. Mosheim. ibid. p. 251.

greatly mistaken, manifests that when he wrote this he had in his eye the edict of Antoninus the pious, * (who is often confounded with Marcus,) which he sent to the community of Asia, of which we spoke formerly. For so he says: 'Who,^h though he did not openly abrogate the laws against the Christians, yet in another way he openly broke their force, appointing also a penalty to their accusers, and of the severest sort.' Let us now attend. First of all Tertullian says that 'Marcus did not openly abrogate the laws against the Christians,' that is, he did not openly forbid Christians to be punished. Then he adds, 'but in another way he openly broke the force of the laws,' that is, he made a wise provision that the Christians should not be easily punished by the judges. Lastly he says 'that he appointed a punishment for the accusers of the Christians.' All these three things exactly suit the edict of Antoninus the pious to the common council of Asia. There, indeed, he does not absolutely forbid the punishing of Christians: nevertheless, when he appoints that no Christian should be punished, unless he be convicted of some crime, he very much restrains their punishment, and contracts their sufferings in narrow limits: Lastly, he requires that the accusers of the Christians, who could not convict them of some crime, should undergo the punishment of their own temerity. In this therefore, as I think, Tertullian was certainly mistaken in ascribing the edict of Antoninus the pious to his successor Marcus Antoninus. And when he had been told that Marcus and his army had been saved in a time of imminent danger by the prayers of the Christians, he imagined that this benefit had induced Marcus to pass that law in their favour. The other consideration, which invalidates this testimony of Tertullian, is the persecution of the Christians at Lyons and Vienne, of which we spoke formerly. It happened in the year of Christ 177, three years after the victory obtained over the Quadians and Marcomanni. For who can believe that the emperor, who in a public letter to the senate, in the year 174, had extolled the Christians, and appointed a heavy punishment to their accusers, should in the year 177 deliver them up into the hands of their enemies, and order them to be capitally punished, unless they renounced their religion?

9. 'There still remains one point to be considered: 'Whe-

* I also think that edict, sent to the community of Asia, to be rightly ascribed to Antoninus the pious. It may be seen at length above, at p. 390, 391.

^h Sic nem pe loquitur: sicut non palam

ab hujusmodi hominibus pœnam dimovit, ita alio modo palam dispersit, adjecta etiam accusatoribus damnatione, et quidem tetriore. Apol. cap. 5.

‘ther * the shower, by which the Romans were saved in the war
 ‘with the Marcomanni, ought to be placed in the number of mi-
 ‘racles. But this question, in my opinion, may be solved with-
 ‘out much difficulty. Learned men are now agreed that
 ‘nothing ought to be placed among miracles, which may be
 ‘accounted for by the ordinary powers of nature. But in this
 ‘shower, though it happened unexpectedly, there is nothing
 ‘beyond the power of nature, or which needs a divine interposi-
 ‘tion. For it is a very common thing, according to the laws of
 ‘nature, for long droughts in the summer season to be followed
 ‘with plentiful showers of rain, joined with terrifying thunder
 ‘and lightning. Nor ought it to be esteemed miraculous that
 ‘the lightning fell upon some of the enemies, and put their ar-
 ‘my to flight: forasmuch as all the people of Germany sup-
 ‘posed that lightnings came from God, and they would form
 ‘their judgment accordingly.’

So writes Mr. Mosheim; and, as seems to me, judiciously and
 plausibly. I have transcribed him here, as summing up my ar-
 gument, and making also some valuable additions to it.

I shall take this opportunity to correct a mistake common
 among learned foreigners—that Mr. King, who had a debate with
 Mr. Moyle about the thundering legion, was sir Peter King,
 afterwards baron of Ockham, and lord high chancellor of Eng-
 land. So thought Mr. Mosheim,ⁱ who translated these letters into
 Latin, and in the main embraced Mr. Moyle’s sentiments. But
 I am assured, by those who are likely to know the truth, ‘that
 ‘Mr. King, who disputed with Mr. Moyle, was a clergyman,
 ‘and minister of Topsham, near Exeter: which last was the
 ‘place of his nativity, as well as Sir Peter’s. He is the same
 ‘king to whom Mr. Lock wrote some letters, which are in the

* That observation of Mr. Mosheim
 answers to what is the sixth observation
 of Mr. Moyle, p. 99, &c. ‘That the de-
 ‘liverance of the Roman army, though
 ‘undoubtedly true, was no miracle.’
 Whereupon the same ingenious writer pro-
 ceeds: ‘I see nothing supernatural in this
 ‘deliverance of the Romans. Thunder
 ‘and rain are no miracles, and they are
 ‘never the less natural for happening in
 ‘so critical a season. There are examples
 ‘enough in the Greek and Roman story
 ‘of such casual events, which, because
 ‘they were a little uncommon and sur-
 ‘prising, and fell out in seasonable junc-
 ‘tures of time, have been styled miracles

‘by the ignorance and superstition of the
 ‘vulgar.’ &c.

ⁱ Post hos Petrus Kingius, Magne
 Britanniae Cancellarius, et Gualther. Moy-
 lius, Eques Anglus inprimis acutus et
 eruditus, de hac re epistolis quibusdam
 egerunt: quas ex Anglico Latine conver-
 sas Syntagmati Dissertationum ad disci-
 plinas sanctiores pertinentium cum obser-
 vationibus nonnullis adjeci. Moshem. de
 Reb. Christian. ante C. M. p. 249.

Walterus Moyle. Diss. contra Petrum
 Kingium, inserta tomo secundo ejus Ope-
 rum, editorum Anglice Londin. 1726. 8.
 Fabric. Lux Evangel. p. 139.

'posthumous collection of his letters, published by Mr. Collings.
'He is there styled the reverend Mr. King.'

It is pity that the person who corresponded with Mr. Moyle, upon so curious a subject, should be so little known. Mr. King and Mr. Moyle must have been intimate friends; for Mr. Moyle's Dissertation upon the age of the Philopatris was sent to the same person in several letters.

Since writing what is above I have received an authentic account from a gentleman personally acquainted with Mr. Moyle. It is in these words: 'Mr. Moyle's correspondent in the affair of the thundering legion was Mr. Richard King, vicar of Topsham. Mr. Moyle died in 1721; Mr. King survived him many years.'

C H A P. XVI.

APULEIUS of Madaura in Africa.

- I. *His history, time, and works.* II. *Passages relating to the Christians.*
III. *Miracles ascribed to him.* IV. *The design of his metamorphosis, or golden ass.*

I. LUCIUS APULEIUS ^a of Madaura in Africa, a platonic philosopher, flourished in the times of the emperors Antoninus the pious and M. Antoninus the philosopher. Madaura was a Roman colony, and his family was ^b considerable. He ^c appears to have had an insatiable thirst for knowledge, and studied at Carthage, Athens, and Rome. He was the author of many works, divers ^d of which still remain monuments of great learning and ingenuity.

He had married a rich widow, named Pudentilla, against the will of her first husband's relations, which occasioned him a great deal of trouble. They accused him of the practice of magical arts to gain her consent. He pleaded for himself before Claudius Maximus,

^a Vid. Fabr. Bib. Lat. l. 3. cap. ii. T. i. p. 514. &c. Apuleii Vita et Scripta, ex Wouero, ap. Apul. in usum Delphin. Balaug. Ann. 163. n. v. Tillemont L'Emp. Marc. Aurele. sect. 32. Bayle Dictionnaire, Apulee. ^b In quâ coloniâ patrem habui loco principe Duumviralem, cunctis honoribus perfunctum. Apol. p. 444.

And farther see Bayle, as above, note c.

^c Vid. Apul. Ap. p. 442. et Florida. l. 4. num. 18. p. 813. et num. 20. p. 831.

^d Metamorphosis, sive Lusus Asini, Pro se apud Cl. virum, Cl. Maximum Proconsulem Apologia. De Habitudine Doctrinarum Platonis Philosophi. De Deo Socratis. De Mundo. Florida.

proconsul of Asia, who had been consul of Rome in the year of Christ 144: which has induced learned men to place Apuleius as flourishing about the year 163.

II. Apuleius seems to have had some knowledge of the Christians and their affairs.

The first place which I shall quote will be taken from his *Metamorphosis*, or the *As*, or the *Golden As*, as it is sometimes called; which is a fabulous story, wherein are represented many events observed by him, and disasters that befel him, whilst in the shape of an *as*, enjoying human understanding. He ^e could see, and hear, and observe; but ^f he could not speak with human voice.

1. Among his many adventures in this state one is this: 'he ^g was sold to a baker; who,' as he says, 'was a very good sort of a man, but he had a very bad wife, who so abused her husband, that he could not but lament his unhappy condition as well as his own. She had every vice without any thing agreeable. She was perverse, ill-natured, obstinate, given to drinking, she robbed her husband, was profuse in her expenses, and unchaste; and moreover, slighting the immortal gods and their worship, instead of the true religion she adopted a false and sacrilegious opinion concerning the Deity, which she said was one only, and practised vain observances, deceiving all men, and especially her miserable husband, and devoting herself to drinking and lewdness from morning to night. The mistress being such a woman, she was very severe to the new-bought *as*. She took care he should be early put to the mill; nor would she let him be released when the other cattle were at noon. And what follows.'

There can be no doubt that Apuleius here designs to represent

^e Ego vero quamquam perfectus asinus, et pro Lucio jumentum, sensum tamen retinebam humanum. *Metam.* l. 3. p. 95.

^f sed jam humano gestu simul et voce privatus. *Ibid.*

^g Pistor ille, qui me pretio suum fecerat, bonus alioqui vir, et apprime modestus, pessimam et ante cunctas mulieres longe deterrimam fortitus conjugem, poenas extremas tori larisque sustinebat: ut hercules, ejus vicem ego quoque tacitus frequenter ingemiscerem. Nec enim ullum vitium nequissimæ illi foeminæ deerat: sed omnia prorsus, ut in quandam canosam latrinam, in ejus animum flagitia confluxerant. Scæva, seva, vitiosa, ebriosa, perversa, pertinax, in rapinis turpibus avara, in sumptibus turpibus pro-

fusa, inimica fidei, hostis pudicitiae. Tunc spretis, atque calcatis divinis numinibus, in vicem certæ religionis, mentitâ sacrilegâ præsumptione Dei, quem prædicaret unicum, confictis observationibus vacuis, fallens omnes homines, et miserum maritum decipiens, matutino mero, et continuo stupro corpus mancipiârat. Talis illa mulier miro me persequabatur odio. Nam et anteluculo recubans adhuc, subjungî machinæ novitium clamabat asinum: et statim ut cubiculo primum processerat, insistens jubebat incoram sui plagas mihi quamplurimas irrogari: et cum tempestivo prandio laxarentur jumenta cætera, longe tardius applicari præsepio jubebat. *Metam.* l. 9. p. 282.

a Chris-

a Christian woman. And, as he was pleased to prolong his fiction with a great variety of incidents, we are not to wonder that he brought in this character. The Christians at that time, being under persecution, often had their religious solemnities, and particularly the eucharist, early in the morning. Therefore Apuleius charges this woman with 'getting up early to drink.' And as their assemblies for divine worship were then private, and sometimes in the night season, he charges her with lewdness. It is also very likely that Christian people were often charged with 'robbing their husbands'—to give to poor Christians or their ministers. It cannot be thought very strange that, in such a work as this, Apuleius should gratify his own malice, and divert his reader with the character of a Christian, dressed up agreeably to the common reports which prevailed among their enemies.

2. I now proceed to another place, which is in the apology; where Apuleius, having mentioned his own initiations into the mysteries of several deities, he goes on: 'But ^h I know some, and especially that Emilian, (brother of Pudentilla's first husband, by whom the present accusation was carried on,) who laughs at all these things and derides them: for, as I hear, from the accounts of those who know them well, he has never yet made supplication to any god, nor worshipped in any temple. When he passes by a consecrated place, he esteems it a crime to put his hand to his mouth by the way of adoration: nor does he consecrate to the gods of agriculture, who feed and clothe him, any first-fruits of grain, or of the vine, or of his flocks. Nor is there in his country seat any chapel, nor indeed any consecrated grove or other place whatever. But why do I talk of groves and chapels? They who have been there say they never saw in his territories so much as a stone anointed with oil, or a crowned bough. Inasmuch that there are two surnames given him: Charon, as I said before, because of the fierceness of his look and temper; the other is Mezentius, upon account of his contempt of the gods: which last mentioned name, possibly, he likes the best of the two.'

^h Atqui ego scio nonnullos, et cum primis Emilianum istum, facetiæ sibi habere, res divinas deridere. Nam, ut audio, percensentibus iis qui istum novere, nulli Deo ad hoc ævi supplicavit: si sanum aliquod prætereat, nefas habet, adorandi gratiâ manum labris admove-
re. Iste vero nec Diis rurationis, qui eum pascunt ac vestiunt, segetes ullas, aut vitis, aut gregis primitias impartit. Nul-
lum in villa ejus delubrum situm, nullus

locus aut lucus consecratus: et quid ego de luco et delubro loquor? Negant vidisse se, qui fuere, unum saltem in finibus ejus aut lapidem unctum, aut ramum coronatum. Igitur agnomenta ei duo indita: Charon, ut jam dixi, ob oris et animi diritatem: sed alterum, quod libentius audit, ob Deorum contemptum, Mezentius. Quapropter facile intelligo, hæc ei tot initiorum enumerationes nugas videri.
&c. Apol. p. 496, 497.

There

There is very little here that needs explication. But it may be proper to observe that Mezentius is the name of a king of the Tyrrhenians, who is several times spoken of by Virgil as ¹a contemner of the gods.

The place first alleged by me has been taken notice of by all commentators upon Apuleius in general. But this other was first observed by the learned Dr. Warburton, now bishop of Gloucester; ^k who, from what Apuleius has said, concludes that Licinius Æmilianus, his wife's brother-in-law, was a Christian; and that the accusation of magic, brought by him before the proconsul of Africa, did not a little contribute to inflame our author's bigotry for Gentilism, and increase his aversion to Christianity.

3. I shall allege one place more in the same apology, where he wards off the charge of magic in procuring the marriage with Pudentilla in this manner: 'If,' ^lsays he, 'they can shew any particular advantage which I could propose to myself in this marriage, let me then be esteemed Carinondas, Damigeron, or that Moses, or Jannes, or Apollonius, or Dardanus, or any other, who since Zoroaster and Hostones have been most celebrated among magicians.'

In 2 Tim. iii. 8. mention is made of *Jannes and Jambres, who withstood Moses*. I do not say that Apuleius had read this text, or any book of the New Testament: but the passage is a proof that Moses was well known in the world as a person of great eminence; and doubtless ^mhe was esteemed the Jewish lawgiver.

III. I have not observed any more passages in Apuleius relating to the Christians. In the fourth and fifth centuries miracles were ascribed to him; of which I say nothing now: but I propose to consider that point hereafter in the chapter of Hierocles.

IV. But, if it might not be reckoned too presuming, I would now consider the judgment passed upon the Metamorphosis, the principal remaining work of this author, by Dr. Warburton, now

¹ Primus init bellum Tyrrhenis asper ab oris,
Contemtor divum Mezentius, agmina que armat.

Virg. Æl. 8. ver. 647, 648.

Contemtorque Deum Mezentius.

Ib. l. 8. ver. 7.

^k See the Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated. B. 4. sect. 4. p. 120. in the notes, the second vol. edit. 1741.

^l Si una causa, vel minima fuerit inventa, cur ego debuerim Pudentillæ nuptias, ob aliquod meum commodum appetere: si quamlibet modicum emolumentum probaveritis, ego ille sum Carinondas,

vel Damigeron, vel is Moses, vel Jannes, vel Apollonius, vel ipse Dardanus, vel quicumque alius, post Zoroastrem et Hostonem inter magnos celebratus est. Apol. p. 544.

^m Vid. Strabon. l. 16. p. 760. al. 1103. Tacit. Hist. l. 5. cap. 4.

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p. 256. APULEIUS. *The Design of his Metamorphosis.* A.D. 164. 463
bishop of Gloucester: who supposes that 'hisⁿ design was to
'recommend the pagan religion as the only cure for all vice in
'general.'

Against that interpretation, it seems to be no small objection
that the author himself calls it a^o Milesian tale, and^p a Greek fa-
ble; and the ancients always so understood it, as our great au-
thor himself acknowledges.

'The Metamorphosis,' says he, p. 117, 'even from it's first
'appearance, hath had the character of a trifling fable. Capi-
'tolinus, in Clodius Albinus, tells us that Severus could not
'bear with patience the honours which the senate had conferred
'on Albinus, especially the distinguishing title of learned, who
'was grown old in the study of oldwives fables, such as the Mi-
'lesian Punic tales of his countryman and favourite Apuleius.
'Major fuit, (says Severus in his letter to the senate on this oc-
'casion,) dolor, quod illum pro literato laudandum plerique dux-
'istis, quem ille næniis quibusdam anilibus occupatus inter Mi-
'lesias Punicas Apuleii sui et ludicra literaria confenesceret. That
'poor, modern-spirited, critic Macrobius, talks too of Apuleius
'in the same strain. lib. 1. cap. 2.' Again, p. 118. 'The an-
'cients, who stuck in the outside, considered it without refine-
'ment as an idle fable.' And p. 123. 'The author introduces
'his Metamorphosis in this manner: At ego tibi sermone isto
'Milesio varias fabulas conferam, auresque tuas benevolas lepi-
'do fufurro permulceam....And his kind readers took him at his
'word: and from that day to this never troubled themselves
'about any farther meaning.'

And why should not 'his readers take him at his word,' and
accept of his own account of the design of his work? And why
should we trouble ourselves farther? Why may not we under-
stand him as the ancients did?

One reason against that is taken from the character of the
writer, p. 117. 'However, Macrobius seems to wonder that
'Apuleius should trifle at this rate; and well he might; for the
'writer of the Metamorphosis was one of the gravest and most
'virtuous philosophers of his age.'

I do not know what assurance we have of this. I am not able
to reconcile that character with the many horrible obscenities of
that work, not inferior to the most offensive things of that kind

^a See the Divine Legation of Moses de-
monstrated, book iv. sect. 4. vol. 2. p.
117. &c. in the notes, ed. 1741.

^p At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio va-
rias fabulas conferam, auresque tuas bi-

bulas [al. benivolas] lepidò fufurro per-
mulceam. Apul. Met. lib. i. p. 1.

^p Fabulam Græcam incipimus. Lector
intende, ketaberis. ib. p. 4.

in any of the works of Lucian. A grave philosopher may, for the sake of diversion, propose in conversation, or writing, a tale, 'a Milesian tale,' if you please; but not such a story as that of Apuleius's ass. Marcus Aurelius was a philosopher of the same age: no man can believe him capable of such an obscene performance as this, notwithstanding his aversion to Christianity. I own that Apuleius must have been studious; otherwise he had not attained to such learning as appears in his writings: and he had the character of a philosopher: but his obscenity is a strong objection to his virtue and gravity. And his apology also manifests great gaiety of temper: nor is it entirely free from obscenity.

P. 123, 124. 'The fable opens with the representation of a 'young man, figured in his own person.' For certain, it is Lucius Apuleius himself throughout, who speaks, and acts, and suffers, in his fable.

P. 125. 'Matters growing still from bad to worse, his affairs 'come to a crisis: for being now about to perpetrate, in the 'ninth book, (it should be said the tenth,) one of the most shocking enormities,...he abhors the idea of his projected crime, 'evades his keepers, and flies to the sea shore.'

I must take the liberty to say I do not perceive that to be the truth of the case: for ^a he had before perpetrated that shocking enormity, and has related the commission of it with shameful particularity: but ^r he scorned to repeat it in public, and made his escape from his keepers.

At the end, in the eleventh book, he recovers his original form; and he undergoes three initiations into the mysteries of Isis, and then of Osiris, and lastly the Roman rites.

'All this considered,' says the venerable and laborious author before named, p. 130, 'who can any longer doubt but that the 'true design of this work was to recommend initiation into the 'mysteries, in opposition to the new religion?' meaning the Christian religion.

I do not yet perceive the certainty of that conclusion. Supposing a man by some means to have been transformed into an ass, and in that state to have been treated as a beast of burden, and to have undergone many hardships; it was natural for him, upon his recovering the human shape, to make acknowledgements to heaven, in a way agreeable to the religion of which he makes profession, or as best suited his own temper. Lucian, whose regard for the gods is not reckoned to have been very extraordinary, having been transformed, as Apuleius is represented

^a L. 10. p. 336. &c.

^r Ib. p. 343. &c.

to have been, upon the recovery of human shape, 'sacrifices' to 'the gods, his saviours, and makes offerings to them.' Apuleius, who was more accustomed to religious rites, is initiated, as just shewn.

I must therefore still understand this to be a Milesian fable, as the ancients did. And I cannot but consider the allegorical interpretation as a fiction without foundation.

But, though I am not able to discern that deep and hidden design which our author sees in this work, it may be allowed to be (what 'divers learned and ingenious men have supposed) a perpetual satire of the tricks and irregularities of magicians, priests, debauchees, cheats, and sharpers, with which the world was then filled.

Crevier's 'character of Apuleius is absurd and unaccountable. I put it below with a remark or two; and perhaps it may be remembered when we come to the chapter of Hierocles.

Since writing what is above, upon reviewing the chapter, I have observed that * Mr. Mosheim had seen and examined the argument of the bishop of Gloucester. But, after expressing just tokens of respect for his lordship, he declares himself not to be fully satisfied with his representation of the design of the fable of the ass.

* Εσταυθα, θεοις σωτηριον εθρον, και ανα-
θηματα εθνα. Lucian. Asin. p. 117. T.
2. Grav.

Tota porro hæc Metamor-
phosis Apuleiana et stilo et sententiâ Sa-
tyricon est perpetuum, (ut recte observa-
vit Barthius Adv. l. 51. cap. 11.) in quo
magica deliria, sacrificulorum scelera,
adulterorum crimina, furum et latronum
impunitæ factiones differuntur. J. Florid.
Annot. in Apul. in usum Delphin. p. 2.

See likewise Bayle in Apulée. note 2.

' Apuleius ought to be ranked with
' the philosophers who pretended to join
' magic to philosophy. He was an Apol-
' lonius Tyaneus in miniature. Mira-
' cles were ascribed to him, and a super-
' natural commerce with the gods. In

' the main, all he did was mere imposture,
' by which he proposed to raise his charac-
' ter for knowledge, and to make himself
' a subject of admiration.' Crevier's Hist.
of the Emperors. vol. vii. p. 344.

So says that learned modern. Had he
never read the Apology of Apuleius? And
did he suppose every thing said in the
Metamorphosis, or Fable of the Ass, to
be real matter of fact?

* De consilio vero fabulæ de Asino,
quod commendationem mysteriorum, et
Christianæ religionis contemtionem, vir
doctissimus esse conjicit, dubitare mihi li-
ceat: quum nihil afferri videam ex ea,
quod difficulter in aliam partem accipi pos-
sit. Mosheim, de Reb. ante C. M. p. 563.

[The continuation of this second volume of Jewish and Heathen Testimonies will be found
in the next volume.]

THE END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.



